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SCULPTURED

STONES OF SCOTLAND

VOLUME SECOND

EDINBURGH

PRINTED FOR THE SPALDING CLUB

1867

+ F941
Sp18 35

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Printed by R. CLARK, *Edinburgh.*

THE SPALDING CLUB

DECEMBER 1866.

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THE PLATES.

INDEX OF THE PLATES.

PERHAPS there is no custom in the history of human progress which serves so much to connect the remote past with the present time as the erection of pillar-stones to commemorate events: for while the hoary monuments of the East and West combine to show its universal adoption by the human family, and while we meet with it in the infancy of history, it is even yet, in some shape or other, the means by which man hopes to hand down his memory to future times.

Throughout Scotland there appear many rude unsculptured pillars, both single and in groups, such as are found in many countries of Europe and the East; while, in certain districts, there are numerous and varied sculptured stones which, besides the interest attached to them as records of the thoughts, and specimens of the art, of the early tribes of Alba, provoke especial atten-

tion, from the fact that as yet similar sculptures have not been found on the monuments of any other people.

A previous volume of "The Sculptured Stones of Scotland," which I prepared for the Spalding Club about ten years ago, was principally devoted to the elucidation of the earliest class of these sculptured memorials.

Since that time, additional monuments of the same character having been discovered, and a very general interest in the peculiar symbols of the Scotch stones been awakened, not only in Scotland, but among the archæologists of other countries, it was resolved to prepare for the Club a supplementary volume, which should not only represent these newly-discovered sculptures, but also such contemporary remains of art in other quarters, as might assist in the comparative study of the Scotch monuments.

With this view the present volume has been undertaken. It will be found to contain additional and interesting examples of early sculptured pillars and crosses from the same district of Scotland as the monuments in my former volume. Along with these I have given drawings of early sculptured crosses from Saxon sites in ancient Northumbria—viz. Lindisfarne, Jarrow, Hexham, Rothbury, Billingham, Aycliffe, Chester-le-Street, Coldingham, Norham, Jedburgh, Bewcastle, Ruthwell, and Hoddam.

Illustrative specimens are furnished of early Celtic art as exhibited in the illuminated manuscripts and bronze ornaments of Ireland in her brightest days, and as it appears on kindred remains of the people of Alba, and it will be found that these have a special bearing on the sculptures of the Scotch stones.

I have included typical examples of the rich family of crosses and slabs on the west coast and islands of Scotland, both for the sake of their own beauty and interest, and to afford means for studying their sculptured ornaments in contrast with those on the earlier class of monuments.

It has been deemed necessary also to furnish drawings of recently-discovered cave sculptures, from the resemblance which some of them bear to the symbols of the pillar-stones.

Ample descriptions of these different classes of monuments are given in Notices of the Plates; while in the Appendix to the Preface various points bearing on their history are discussed under separate chapters, where numerous illustrative diagrams are introduced.

The following observations are directed to a consideration of the date of the monuments, and the people to whom their erection may be ascribed.

When writing of the symbols on a former occasion, I ventured to conclude that

many of them were peculiar to a people on the north-east coast of Scotland, and were used by them, at least partly, on their sepulchral monuments.[1]

The result of wider investigation and further thought has led me to believe that the peculiar symbols on the Scotch pillar-stones are to be ascribed to the Pictish people of Alba, and were used by them, mainly on their tombs, as marks of personal distinction, such as family descent, tribal rank, or official dignity.

The peculiar symbols described in my former volume, and more fully in the Appendix to this Preface, are found almost solely on the monuments of that part of Scotland lying to the north of the Forth ; and we learn from the venerable historian of the Angles, that in the beginning of the eighth century the inhabitants of this country, known as Pictavia, and Alba, were the Picts, whose southern boundary was the Firth of Forth.

At that time the country on the south of the Forth was possessed by the Saxons,[2] and the name given to it in our Celtic annals is "Saxonia."[3] It was subject to the Bishop of Lindisfarne, and the Saxon monastery of Abercorn was placed on its western boundary.[4]

Beyond Saxonia, on the west, was the British kingdom of Strathclyde.

In the time of Bede, the country which came subsequently to be called Galloway, was under the Saxon dominion—"in the English nation ;"[5] and the

[1] Sculptured Stones of Scotland, vol. i. Pref. p. xiii.

[2] It appears that for a time the Saxon dominion extended to the north of the Forth. In describing the defeat of the Northumbrian Egfrid we are told by Bede, "Ex quo tempore spes cœpit et virtus regni Anglorum fluere, et retro sublapsa referri. Nam et Picti terram possessionis suæ quam tenuerunt Angli et Scotti qui erant in Brittania, Brittonum quoque pars nonnulla, libertatem receperunt, quam et hactenus habent per annos circiter quadraginta et sex" (Hist. Eccles. iv. 26).

As the Angles, at the time when this was written, were in possession of the region on the south of the Forth, it seems plain that the territory which the Picts are said to have recovered after a temporary loss, must have been situated elsewhere, and probably was part of their possessions on the north of the Firth. Now we learn that Oswi, the predecessor of Egfrid, overran the Picts, and made them tributaries, and it would appear that the defeat of Egfrid enabled the Picts to recover the country which had been thus wrested from them, and to throw off the servitude imposed by the victorious Oswi. During this period of subjection, we read that Wilfrid was made Bishop of York and of all the Northumbrians, and of the Picts as far as the dominion of Oswi extended ; and the Saxon chronicle, under the year A.D. 689, records the ordination of Trumwine as Bishop of the Picts, "who then were subject to us." The country from the Tweed to Abercorn was planted with several Saxon monasteries, and was within the limits of the see of Lindisfarne ; it formed no part of Scotland till long after the union of the Picts and Scots.

[3] Chronicon Pictorum ap. Pinkerton's Enquiry, vol. i. App. pp. 494, 497.

[4] Simeonis Dunelmensis Hist. de Gestis regum Anglorum ap. Twysden, Hist. Anglic. Script. Decem, p. 139. It was a favourite practice to place early monastic settlements on islands adjoining the country to which missions were addressed. Besides Iona and Lindisfarne, I may note the primitive monasteries on the Isles of Aran, Tory, Inishmurry, and Inishbofin in Ireland, and those on Bardsey Island and Ramsey Island, near St. Davids, in Wales. Abercorn was a Saxon establishment placed among the Angles of Lothian, but with a mission, at least in part, to the country of the Picts then subject to the Angles, apparently on the north bank of the Forth.

After the period of the Scottish supremacy, the Forth came to be called "Aqua Scottorum, quæ regna Scottorum et Anglorum dividit" (De Situ Albaniæ, apud Innes' Essay, p. 770). Fordun, speaking of Fergus, says he was "primus regum Scotici generis in terra Pictorum a montibus ad mare Scoticum" (Scotichronicon, vol. i. p 107).

[5] Bedæ Hist. Eccles. iii. cap. 4

ancient British see of Ninian had been reconstituted under the Saxon prelate Pecthelm.

The country lying to the north and east of the Strathclyde Britons was in the possession of the Scots, an invading colony from Ireland, who effected a permanent settlement in these parts, in the beginning of the sixth century.

Now, no symbols have been discovered in this country of the Scots, nor in Strathclyde. Neither in Galloway have symbols been found on pillar-stones; but in a solitary instance they appear on the face of a projecting slab of live rock.

In the country known as Saxonia, one slab, with incised symbols, has been found—viz. on the slope of the Castlehill of Edinburgh.

With the exception of these two instances,[1] all the symbols occur on pillars and crosses in the land of the Picts, lying north of the Forth.

We have not been made acquainted with any other inhabitants of this country, subsequent to the period of the Roman abdication, than the Pictish tribes who possessed it in the time of Bede. If, therefore, the symbol-pillars were not erected by a later race than the Picts, it seems reasonable to believe that they were the work of the Pictish people.

And inasmuch as no such symbols have been found on the pillars in the country of the Scots on the west of Scotland, any more than in their own country of Dalriada in Ireland, we are, I think, justified in believing that the influence which led to the erection of the symbol-pillars was in operation at an earlier period than the middle of the ninth century, when the Scots became the predominating people in Pictland.[2]

[1] In both the cases referred to the symbols are of the early type, being simply incised and unornamented. To what influence we are to ascribe the occurrence of these isolated examples at such distant points it is impossible to say, any more than we can say how an isolated example of a burgh or "Pictish tower" should be found at "Edin's Hall," on one of the Lammermuir Hills, while none are known in the country between that and the north side of the Moray Firth; but it must have been an influence different from that which gave rise to their frequent occurrence on single pillars, and on pillars in groups, all along the north-east coast. Even if we must regard the symbols as peculiar to the people of that district, it may be that casual circumstances had led some of them to erect monuments with their peculiar symbols in the adjoining country, over some of their heroes who had fallen there. We know that the Scottish king Alpin was slain in Galloway, far away from his own country, but a mouument was raised over him where he fell, on the shore of Loch Ryan, which is yet known as Lecht Alpin. The flux and reflux of warlike expeditions led, in these times, to many temporary occupations, which would account for such a casual occurrence of the symbols beyond the district to which they are otherwise confined, in the same unexpected way as we meet with an inscription in Scandinavian runes by Harald and his Norse comrades of the Varangian guard on the colossal marble lion which guarded the harbour of the Piræus (Inscription Runique du Pirée, par. C. C. Rafn, Copenhagen, 1856).

[2] Neither at Dunkeld nor at Brechin—two religious establishments of Scotic foundation—have stones with the symbols been discovered; while they are found around neighbouring ecclesiastical sites, some of them of an earlier date, as at Monifieth, Kingoldrum, Meigle, and Aberlemno.

I may remark also that at St. Andrews, which was probably founded towards the end of the Pictish period, no monument with the symbols has been discovered. The curious sarcophagus found there (vol. i. Plate LXI.) differs in style from that of the cross-slabs; and the numerous examples of crosses and ornamented pillars which occur at St. Andrews, appear to have more in common with the monuments at Lindisfarne and Norham, than with the sculptured cross-slabs in the adjoining districts of Forfar and Fife (vol. ii. Plates IX. X. XI. XXVI. XXVII. XXVIII.)

If, therefore, we are justified in believing that the rude symbol-pillars were set up before the period of the Scottish supremacy, it may be asked, At what time of the Pictish sway were they erected? and in endeavouring to arrive at a conclusion, the following facts must be kept in view :—

(1.) In some instances, where stones of this class were found undisturbed, they were standing on cairns covering cists or graves, as the stone at Keilor (vol. i. Plate CII.), and the Piccardy Stone (vol. i. Plate VI.)

(2.) The stone at Kintradwell (vol. ii. Plate CIV.) was close to a cist, in a site marked by other graves.

(3.) The stone at Dunrobin (vol. i. Plate CXII. No. 2) was one of three covering slabs of a cist, in a neighbourhood where other cists occurred. The grave was eight feet in length. It contained portions of two skeletons, and the fragment of an iron weapon, probably a spear. The sculptured stone was not adapted to the size of the cist, but was laid lengthwise across it, so that it projected beyond the cist on each side.[1] It seems likely that this sculptured stone had been standing beside an earlier cist, like the pillar at Kintradwell, and had been applied to the secondary use of covering the large cist at the time of its construction. My late friend Mr. Rhind of Sibster—than whom few were more able to exercise a discriminating judgment on such matters—after investigating the facts connected with this discovery, was led to believe that the remains were those of Norsemen.

(4.) The stone at Linlathen (vol. ii. Plate C.) is a fragment of a pillar-stone on which the elephant is sculptured. It was found between the covering slabs of a remarkable cist in Cairn Greg, under the circumstances detailed in "Notices of the Plates," p. 54. The cist contained an urn and a bronze dagger.

If, as on the whole seems probable, this fragment was placed between the covering slabs at the time when the cist was constructed, the inference arises that an earlier monument had at one time stood near the same spot, and that on the formation of the cist, a portion of it had been used for a secondary purpose, as in the instance at Dunrobin just noticed.

These circumstances, although they do not enable us to assign a definite period to the pillars with incised symbols, connect their use with burial usages, all of which were probably of a pre-Christian character, as some of them undoubtedly were.

We find that in Ireland the usual memorial of a pagan chief was a cairn and pillar-stone, and it is probable that cairns with their pillar-stones were erected in Scotland for the same purpose. But supposing burials in cairns to be of pagan character, it is not improbable that such burials might have been continued for a time into the Christian period. I have elsewhere noticed the burial under a cairn of a

[1] Sculptured Stones of Scotland, "Notices of the Plates," vol. i. p. 35.

converted Pict, as recorded by St. Adamnan, and also the occurrence on a cairn of a pillar bearing an inscription to the memory of Carausius, with the Christian monogram prefixed.[1]

But there can be little doubt that the Christian system inculcated from the outset the necessity of burial in consecrated sites, and that, as its doctrines took root, the older system of cairn-burial in mounds and ridges was abandoned. The southern Picts had come under the influence of St. Ninian's teaching about the beginning of the fifth century, and we know that it was a practice of that saint to consecrate cemeteries.[2]

It seems probable to me that the cairn on the hill of Keilor, which covered a group of cists, and was surmounted by a pillar sculptured with symbols, is to be referred to pagan times, although no deposits were discovered in the cists to indicate their specific character; and the occurrence of a cist, short or long, without a deposit of weapons or ornaments, is no conclusive evidence on either side, as cists of both kinds have been found under isolated crosses, and in Christian sites, as well as in cairns.[3]

There is less reason for hesitation in ascribing the cist in Cairn Greg to pagan times. The deposit of an urn of an early type, with a bronze weapon, concurs with other features of the monument, to fix its pagan character.

The time when bronze weapons were employed in Denmark has been carried back by Mr. Worsaae to five centuries before our era;[4] while it has been supposed that in Britain they were in use at a still earlier period.[5]

However much weight may be attached to such inferences, they will not help us to say how long the use may have been continued. It is plain from what is elsewhere recorded, that bronze weapons were deposited with bodies buried in stone circles,[6] and with those whose bones were burned and placed in urns.[7]

If, therefore, we are satisfied with the evidence tending to prove that the fragment at Linlathen was introduced at the original construction of the cist, we shall be led to carry back the use of sculptured symbols to a very early period. The secondary use of a symbol-monument as one of the covers of a cist at Dunrobin, under the circumstances already detailed, also serves to establish the remote date of

[1] Vol. ii. "Notices of the Plates," p. 57. Examples of burials of a transitional character will be found in Notices of the Plates, p. lxiv. "Early Modes of Burial."

[2] Vita S. Kentigerni, p. 220, *apud* Pinkerton's Vitæ Antiquæ Sanctorum Scotiæ.

[3] See Sculptured Stones of Scotland, vol. ii. "Early Modes of Burial," p. lx.

[4] "There are geological reasons for believing that the bronze period must have prevailed in Denmark five or six hundred years before the birth of Christ" (Primeval Antiquities, p. 135).

[5] "In Britain I entertain no doubt that they (bronze weapons and implements) were introduced at a much earlier date" [than that in Denmark suggested by Worsaae] (Prehistoric Annals of Scotland, vol. i. p. 353).

[6] Sculptured Stones of Scotland, vol. i. Appendix to the Preface, p. xx.

[7] *Idem*, vol. ii. "Early Modes of Burial," pp. lix. lx.

the symbols, while, it must be added, that the adaptation of monuments to a secondary purpose in early times cannot always be received as proving that they are of a greatly anterior date, and had lost the reverence in which they were originally held, for we frequently find that sculptured crosses have been used for building-materials in the walls of churches almost contemporary in date with themselves. And if the cist at Dunrobin may be considered the work of the Norse inhabitants of the district, it is easy to understand that the neighbouring sculptured stone would be used by them from motives of convenience, and without any reference to a supposed loss of reverence for it, such as might have been inferred by some, if the cist and the symbol-pillar had been regarded as the work of the same people.

On the supposition of its Norse character being maintainable, we may infer the date of this cist to be about the beginning of the tenth century, and there is nothing in the appropriation of the sculptured stone as one of the covers, which would require us to assign to its original erection a much earlier date, for it does not appear to me that the occurrence of the symbol-pillars on cairns and cists, nor any facts in their history, are necessary tokens of extreme antiquity, if we except the discovery of symbol-sculptures, associated with urn-burial and remains of bronze, in the cist in Cairn Greg.

Except for this circumstance, I would have been disposed to ascribe the introduction of the symbols to a comparatively late period of the Pictish history, probably to the time when (as has been suggested by some),[1] they were led to abandon their former system of painting animals and other objects on their bodies.

But, however this may be, it is plain that the symbols were continued into the Christian period, and appear in sculptures of which the main feature is the Christian cross.

The monuments of this period are generally formed of dressed slabs, with carvings on both faces. On one of these faces a cross is designed, which occupies its centre, and is covered with ornamental work of intricate and varied patterns; while the symbol-figures, which retain their original outline as on the pillar-stones, are frequently covered with ornaments of a like kind.

The art employed in the decoration of these monuments is of a very marked and distinctive character, and corresponds not merely in general design, but in minute

[1] The Hon. Algernon Herbert supposes that the name of Bruide or Brudi, borne by so many kings of the Picts, was official or titular, and common to all, like Pharaoh or Augustus. He adds that the word means aeu-punctus, the Pict, and was never wholly disused among them. "The thirty Bruides end just fourteen years before the accession of Bruide II.—that is, of the first king by name, and not by title, so called—and he was their first Christian king baptized by St. Columkille. We may therefore suppose that it ceased to be the regal appellation, when the increase of civility and approaches of Christianity, had caused the actual practice upon which it was founded to fall into desuetude; and may accordingly conjecture that Celtraim Bruide, who died in 543, and was the last of the thirty, was also in fact the latest rex aeu-punctus." (Irish version of Nennius, additional notes, pp. xlv. xlvi. Irish Arch. Soc.)

details, with the illuminations in copies of the Gospels executed by early Irish artists, some of them at ascertained dates.

The distinguishing ornaments of the sculptured crosses also appear on objects of bronze and silver, and other relics of an early character.

The examples of these different kinds of monuments, of which drawings are given in this volume, afford sufficient data for comparison, and for approximate conclusions as to the date of the cross-slabs, while a literal inscription which occurs on one of them may help to test such conclusions.

On one of the cross-slabs at St. Vigeans (vol. i. Plate LXIX.), we find the lower part of a central cross of elaborately-interlaced work, with a border of grotesque birds and beasts. On the other face of the slab is a picture, where some of the symbols appear, retaining their original outline, but decorated with interlacing and spiral ornaments. Beneath is a scene representing a deer suckling her young; an osprey devouring a fish; a boar attacked by a dog; a bear, at which a man is shooting with a cross-bow; besides a nondescript horned animal like a unicorn.

Apart from other considerations, I think we might fairly assume that such a monument was of a later date than the rude symbol-pillars, both from the very developed style of art which it displays as compared with the simple form of the pillar-sculptures, and from the occurrence on it of the Christian symbol.

Another stone at St. Vigeans (vol. i. Plate LXX.) exhibits the same style of art, and is, to all appearance, of contemporary date. It has a cross in the centre, and on one side of it a picture of four ecclesiastics in rich robes. A part of the cross-slab, on which the two upper ecclesiastics are portrayed, has been broken, but the two lower figures are complete; they show the coronal tonsure, and wear cowls on their shoulders. One of them has in his hand what seems to be a candle; the other bears a staff. All the four wear slippers of a peculiar shape.[1] Between these ecclesiastics is the figure of a man inverted, and apparently bound or under restraint, with his head over a vessel, into which, it may be thought, it is about to be put. On the other side of the cross are two figures seated on chairs, and below them an ox, with a man apparently in the act of piercing its throat with a knife.

Both these slabs were found in the burial-ground of the church of St. Vigeans, which we have reason to regard as a religious site dedicated to St. Fechin, one of the early Irish missionaries to Alba. But if we may think ourselves prevented from believing that the first of the two monuments marks the complete predominance of the Christian idea, from the prominent appearance on it of some of the symbols which in their simple form are found on the rude pillars placed on pagan mounds and cists, we may be equally unable to regard the occurrence of the cross and of the tonsured

[1] These slippers are seen on a mounted figure at Meigle, and also on the figure upon the sarcophagus at St. Andrews represented as wrenching open the lion's jaws (Sculp. Stones, vol. ii. Plate VI.; vol. i. Plate LXI.)

ecclesiastics on the second monument as evidence of that predominance, when we find portrayed beside them an act which seems to be the sacrifice of an ox.

The sacrifice of oxen, and the slaying of animals for feasts at funerals in mounds, are pagan customs, which, with other rites, were proscribed by the capitularies of kings and the canons of councils; although the early missionaries were directed to labour rather for a change of their purpose by associating their observance with Christian festivals, than for their immediate extirpation.[1]

We should be apt to gather from these conjoined representations that the period of such monuments, combining the symbols of the pillar-stones with the symbol of the cross, must have been one of transition. Now, on the edge of this last monument we find an inscription in letters of the character of the early Irish and Anglo-Saxon writings, being the debased Roman minuscule letter common in Europe in the sixth and succeeding centuries. Unfortunately, scholars are not as yet agreed on the reading of the whole inscription, but the majority of those skilled in palæography concur in holding that the letters in the first line are to be read "Drosten," a name of frequent occurrence in the lists of the Pictish kings.[2]

If we adopt the ingenious reading of the remaining lines of the inscription suggested by Professor Sir James Y. Simpson, we shall hold that the Drosten commemorated on this monument, was Drust, king of the Picts, who is recorded in the Irish Annals to have been slain at the battle of Drumderg-Blathmig, "in regionibus Pictorum," in the year 729,[3] as will be seen in the account of this monument given in "Notices of the Plates." There is much to recommend the conclusion, and this elaborate cross would certainly have been a seemly monument for a Pictish king; while the appearance on it of ecclesiastics tonsured after the Roman usage, enforced throughout Pictland in 710, would harmonise with the date thus suggested.

It seems to me that we may regard "Drosten's Cross" as furnishing one standing-point for approximating the date of monuments of a like character

The memorable advice given by Pope Gregory to the Abbot Melitus, prescribes a course of action which we cannot doubt was adopted by the early missionaries in dealing with the superstitions of the heathen: "Et quia boves solent in sacrificio dæmonum multos occidere, debet eis etiam hac de re aliqua sollemnitas immutari; ut die dedicationis vel natalitii sanctorum martyrum quorum illic reliquiæ ponuntur, tabernacula sibi circa easdem ecclesias quæ ex fanis commutatæ sunt de ramis arborum faciant, et religiosis conviviis sollemnitatem celebrent; nec diabolo jam animalia immolent, sed ad laudem Dei in esu suo animalia occidant, et donatori omnium de satietate sua gratias referant; ut dum eis aliqua exterius gaudia reservantur, ad interiora gaudia consentire facilius valeant. Nam duris mentibus simul omnia abscidere impossibile esse non dubium est; quia et is qui summum locum ascendere nititur, gradibus vel passibus non autem saltibus, elevatur" (Bede, Hist. Ecc. i. 30). It is probable that the permission to adopt for a time a heathen rite with the view of giving it a new character, was taken advantage of, by acting on it after the cause of the concession was gone.

Reginald, the monk of Durham, has preserved a notice of the offering of a bull to St. Cuthbert at his church on the Solway, on the festival kept on the day of the dedication of the church in the year 1164 (Libellus de Admir. B. Cuthb. virtut. p. 185, Surtees Soc.)

[2] The inscription, with the letters of the full size, will be found among the Plates in this volume.

[3] Reeves's Adamnan's Vita S. Columbæ, p. 383.

and style of art, and from it may reasonably believe that the erection of crosses combining the two symbolisms prevailed in Pictland in the eighth century.

Of the condition of the Pictish people about the period thus suggested for the erection of the decorated cross-slabs, we obtain glimpses from various sources.

In the time of the Romans, Scotland was inhabited by tribes, whose names and relative position we learn from the geographer Ptolemy, and later writers.

In the time of Venerable Bede, the country on the north of the Forth was inhabited by two nations—the northern and southern Picts; and when this author tells us that Columba came preaching "provinciis Septentrionalium Pictorum," it is probable that we are to understand subdivisions of their country, occupied by tribes or clans, representing the arrangements described by the Roman writers. The same thing seems to be stated in the Pictish chronicle, when it records that Nectan was king "omnium provinciarum Pictorum."[1]

We are told in that Chronicle that Crudine,[2] the father of the Picts in Alba, had seven sons, of whom two were named Fiv and Fortreim. A treatise in the Book of Ballymote,[3] on the origin of the Picts, informs us that these seven sons divided the kingdom into seven parts, "ut dixit Columcille," "and it is a name of each man of them that is given to their respective portions." The tract "de Situ Albaniæ" speaks of the same sevenfold division of the kingdom, and adds, that these seven brothers were regarded as seven kings, having under them seven Reguli.[4]

A chapter in the Register of St. Andrews on the devotion of St. Andrew among the Picts, speaking of Ungus, their king, says that on a certain day he was walking "cum septem comitibus amicissimis;" and again, on another occasion, he is described as seated "cum suis septem comitibus."[5] All these entries seem to point to some early division of the country into seven districts. We may recollect also the later reference to seven earls, in the Appeal to Edward I.—"Septem Comitum Regni Scotiæ super jure ejusdem Regni ad eosdem Comites pertinente."[6]

The verdict of an inquest held at Kirkcaldy on Thursday before the feast of St. Luke the Evangelist, in the year 1316, for the purpose of ascertaining whether the earls of Fife were wont to pay homage to the abbots of Dunfermline for the lands of Cluny, informs us that the jury well remembered the homage paid by Malcolm, Earl of Fife, to the abbot before the high altar, "illo die quo translata fuit beata Margareta Regina, apud Dunfermlyn, in presencia domini Alexandri Regis Scottorum, scilicet Alexandri tercii, Septem Episcoporum, et Septem Comitum Scociæ."[7]

[1] Meaning probably supreme king of Alba over the provincial rulers, who are called mormaers, and at times kings.

[2] Pinkerton's Enquiry, vol. i. p. 491.

[3] Quoted in the Notes to the Irish Nennius, p. xci. (Irish Arch. Soc.)

[4] Innes' Critical Essay, Ap. i. p. 770.

[5] Pinkerton's Enquiry, vol. i. pp. 490, 498, 506.

[6] Palgrave's Documents and Records of Scotland, p. ix. Lond. 1837.

[7] Registrum de Dunfermelyn, p. 235.

In the "Book of Deir," which preserves to us the legend of Drostan, the companion of St. Columba, and their joint mission from Iona to the Celtic people of Buchan, in the sixth century, when Bede the Pict was mormaer of Buchan,[1] we find notices of clans in that district, and of their toisechs or captains.

Bede, the mormaer, gave to Columcille and Drostan, the town of Aberdour, in freedom for ever from claim of mormaer or toisech; and also another town, which got the name of Dear from Columcille, and became the seat of a monastery. Then came grants of land from various individuals, some of them with the like freedom from mormaer and toisech. In one case the offerings are declared to be free from all burdens for ever, except so much as would fall on four davachs, of such burdens as came upon all the chief monasteries of Alba generally, and upon chief churches. One of the grants gave the share of the toisech and a dinner for a hundred, every Christmas and every Easter.

Malcolm MacKenneth gave the king's share in Bidben,[2] and the Pett-mic-Gobroig, and two davachs of Upper Rosabard.

The grant of lands by Bede the mormaer was made to Columcille and Drostan personally, while some of the other grants were probably made soon after; and we find from a charter of King David I. in favour of the "clerics" of Deir, that they were able to maintain themselves in legal possession of their lands, with the immunities "ab omni laicorum officio et exactione indebita," conferred on them by these grants, "sicut in libro eorum scriptum est." It is plain, however, that attempts had been made to encroach on their rights, regarding which the charter says, the clerics "direrationaverunt apud Banb, et juraverunt apud Abberdeon."

These facts require us to assume a considerable progress of the Picts in social policy. Divisions of land into davachs and towns had been made. The right of property in the soil had been established, and the various interests in its produce as vested in the king, the mormaer, and the toisech, had been defined and recognised.

The Venerable Bede has recorded in detail a transaction which occurred in his own day, and which helps us to form an idea from another point of view of the state of Pictish progress in the early part of the eighth century.

He begins by telling us that the celebrated Abbot Benedict Biscop, having received from King Ecgfrid a grant of seventy hides of land ("terram septuaginta familiarum") on which to found a monastery, went to France in quest of masons, "qui lapideam sibi ecclesiam juxta Romanorum, quem semper amabat, morem facerent." This was in the year 676, and within a twelvemonth the church was roofed in. He

[1] Columcille, and Drostan son of Cosgreg, his pupil, came from Hi, as God had shown to them, unto Abbordoboir, and Bede the Pict [Cruthnec] was high steward [mormaer] of Buchan before them (Legend in Book of Deir).

[2] The lands of Bidben were granted by Donnal MacRuadri, and Malcolm MacCuleon, Gartnait MacCainnech, and Ete, daughter of Gillemichel, gave Petmac-Cobrig for the consecration of the church of Christ and the apostle Peter, and to Columcille and Drostan, free from all exactions.

then brought from Gaul makers of glass,[1] for the purpose of glazing the windows. All the vessels and vestments necessary for the service of the altar and the church were brought from abroad, because they were not to be found in England. The good work was thus well advanced, but Benedict still sighed for additional ornaments for his church, which could only be got at Rome, and thither he repaired in the year 678. This was the fifth pilgrimage which he had made to the holy city, in quest of the objects which he required. On this occasion, the treasures which he brought from Rome exceeded all that he had previously collected. The library was increased by the addition of many volumes "omnis generis;" he brought relics of the blessed apostles and martyrs, and introduced the Roman method of singing and playing on instruments in the service of the church. For the decoration of the church of St. Peter which he had erected, he brought various paintings of sacred subjects—namely, the blessed Virgin and the Twelve Apostles—with which he might enclose the middle vault of the church, the boarding running from wall to wall, "quibus mediam ejusdem ecclesiæ testudinem, ducto a pariete ad parietem tabulato, præcingeret." On the south wall of the church were scenes from the gospel history; on the north wall were subjects from the Apocalypse, so that all who entered the church, even if they should be ignorant of letters, might always behold the benign aspect of the Saviour or his saints, or recall the grace of our Lord's incarnation, with more awakened minds; or, having before their eyes the judgment of the last day, might thereby be led to examine themselves more strictly. In the year 685 Benedict paid his last visit to Rome, from which he returned with fresh acquisitions of books and pictures. It was on this occasion that he brought the pictures of our Lord's history to crown in a circle the whole church of the Blessed Mother of God, which he had constructed in his larger monastery [of Wearmouth]:[2] "Nam et tunc dominicæ historiæ picturas, quibus totam beatæ Dei Genetricis, quam in monasterio majore fecerat, ecclesiam in gyro coronaret, adtulit."

He also brought pictures for ornamenting his church and monastery at Jarrow,

[1] We find traces of the art of working in glass a few years after this in a letter from the Abbot Guthberct to Bishop Lul, who was the successor of Boniface at Mayence. The abbot here asks if there be any one in Lul's diocese who is skilful in making "vitrea vasa," and if there be, he requests that he may be sent to the writer, and if he is beyond the bishop's jurisdiction, that he would persuade him to come "quia ejusdem artis ignari et inopes sumus." The abbot adds a request that if possible he would send him a harper "qui possit cytharizare in cithara, quam nos appellamus rottæ, quia citharam habeo, et artificem non habeo."

The letter gives an interesting glimpse of the intercourse between two friends who began life in the same monastery of Jarrow, and of the gifts which passed between them. Guthberct sent certain books of the Life of St. Cuthbert, both in prose and verse, and among other presents which he received in return was "cooperto-rium variatum," sent by Lul to protect his friend's body from the cold, but which he, "cum magno gaudio," gave as a covering to the altar in the church of St. Paul, "quia et ego sub ejus protectione in hoc monasterio XL. and III. annos vixi." Guthberct afterwards sent to his friend "ad consolationem tuæ peregrinationis, librum quem clarissimus Ecclesiæ Dei magister Beda de ædificio templi composuit" (S. Bonif. Martyris Primi Moguntini Archiepiscopi Epistolæ LXXXIX. XCV. ap. "Bibliotheca Magna Veterum Patrum," vol. viii., Cologne 1618).

[2] Vita S. Benedicti Auct. Beda, ap. Op. Hist. Min. vol. ii. pp. 145, 148, 149 (Eng. Hist. Soc.)

which showed the concordance of the Old and New Testament, placing one of Isaac bearing the wood on which he was to be sacrificed, and one of our Lord bearing the cross on which he was to suffer, opposite to each other. Another contrast was that of the serpent erected by Moses in the wilderness, and the Son of Man raised on the cross. He also, on this occasion, brought with him two silken palls of incomparable workmanship, which he gave to the King Ecgfrid in exchange for three hides of land on the south side of the river Wear, near its mouth.

The church of Benedict Biscop at Wearmouth was erected by him of stone "juxta Romanorum morem;"[1] and the fame of this structure having apparently reached the ears of Nectan, the Pictish king, he, in the year 710, despatched messengers to Abbot Ceolfrid, the successor of Benedict Biscop, with a request that he would send him architects "qui juxta morem Romanorum, ecclesiam de lapide in gente ipsius facerent," promising to dedicate the church when erected in honour of the chief of the apostles.

At the same time he requested Ceolfrid to send him written instructions as to the proper time for keeping the Easter festival, and the correct mode of tonsure,[2] engaging that he and his people would follow the Roman customs as far as was possible for those who were so distant from the Roman people and tongue.

The whole transaction is singularly suggestive, for it exhibits the anxiety of the Pictish monarch not only to adopt an improved mode of ecclesiastical architecture, then newly introduced into a neighbouring kingdom, but also his wish to be better informed on two ecclesiastical subjects much in controversy in his day, between the Scotican clergy, who clung to the traditions of their fathers, and those

[1] When St. Ninian was on his return from Rome, he visited St. Martin at Tours, and telling him of his purpose to erect his church after the Roman manner as well as the Roman faith, he requested that he would give him masons who could build after this fashion; to which St. Martin consented. It is added, that at Whithern, "jussu viri Dei cementarii quos secum adduxerat ecclesiam construunt; antequam nullam in Britannia de lapide dicunt esse constructam" (Vita S. Niniani, cap. i. ii., Pinkerton's Vitæ Ant. Sanct. Scot. pp. 6, 7).

[2] Hist. Eccles. lib. v. cap. 21. Adamnan, abbot of Iona, paid two visits to Northumbria, and Ceolfrid, in his letter to Nectan, has preserved the arguments which passed between him and Adamnan, and which resulted in the adoption of the Roman usages by the latter. During his stay in Northumbria, Adamnan would not only see, as Bede says he did, "ritus ecclesiæ canonicos," but also the structures erected and ornamented after the Roman fashion, and if the arguments of Ceolfrid had such weight with the candid mind of Adamnan on the point of ritual, we cannot doubt that the sight of these churches must also have impressed him, and that as he was urgent with his own monks at Iona, and his countrymen in Ireland, for their adoption of the canonical customs, so he would recommend an improved mode of constructing their churches. With the wonders of the holy places at Jerusalem Adamnan was familiar, from the relation of the Gaulish Bishop Arculfus, whose account of them he formed into a treatise. I have elsewhere noticed the account given by Mr. Donald Monro of certain tombs at Iona, called the tombs of the kings, "formit like little chapels," of which no vestige now remains (Notices of the Plates, p. 26). Perhaps the idea of the "little chapels" may have been derived from Arculfus' Description of the Tombs of the Patriarchs in the Vale of Mamre, "quorum quatuor sepulcra habent circumcisas et dolatas de singulis lapidibus superpositas quasi ad formam ulicujus basilicæ, parvas Memorias fabricatas" juxta mensuram longitudinis et latitudinis unumcujusque sepulcri formatas (Adamnani Libri Tres de Locis Sanctis Mabilloni Acta Sanct. Ord. S. Benedict. tom. iv. p. 564).

among the Saxons who propagated the Roman usages on these points. It is plain also that Nectan had previously studied the question of the time of Easter "Et quidem et antea novi quia hæc erat vera paschæ celebratio, sed in tantum modo rationem hujus temporis observandi cognosco, ut parum mihi omnimodis videar de his antea intellexisse." On receiving Ceolfrid's letter, with the language of which the king was unacquainted, for he required it to be interpreted "in linguam ejus propriam,"[1] he at once adopted the new computation of time for observing Easter, and we are told that his order on the subject was sent through all the provinces of the Picts to be transcribed, learned, and observed in future,[2] while the coronal tonsure was immediately imposed.

In considering the general state of the Pictish people, we must also bear in mind the character of their religious polity, which under the successive missions of Kentigern, Columba, and Regulus, was moulded on the monastic system. We know that in the monasteries in Ireland the art of writing and illuminating was carried to great perfection ; and in the Columbian institution expertness in it was especially regarded. In the annals of Iona we hear of the scribe, or choice scribe, as a distinct member of the body. When, in after-times, instruction in literature was added to the practice and teaching of penmanship, the more honourable name of ferleighinn (vir lectionis) was adopted.[3] Dorbene, the abbot of Iona, in the beginning of the eighth century, was the writer of one of the codices of Adamnan's Life of St. Columba, of which Dr. Reeves has given specimens in his invaluable edition of that work ; and when Aidan and his brethren bore the torch of Christian light from Iona among the heathens of Northumbria, they carried with them the Irish art of illumination, which soon bore fruit in such works as the illuminated Gospels of Lindisfarne, written in honour of God and St. Cuthbert by Eadfrith, a monk of Lindisfarne, and who was bishop of the see of Lindisfarne from 698 to 721.[4]

We cannot doubt that the monasteries of the Picts, which, as we are told by Venerable Bede, were all subject to that of Iona, also had their scribes. Of one Pictish scribe we seem to have a notice in the following entry in the Register of St. Andrews : "Thana filius Dudabrach hoc monumentum scripsit Regi Pherath filio Bergeth in villa Migdele ;" and as this, along with other facts relating to the early history of the Picts, was copied about the middle of the twelfth century by the monks of St. Andrews from the ancient books of the Picts, we cannot doubt that the Pictish

[1] According to Venerable Bede, the Pictish was one of the five *written* languages of Britain in his day (Hist. Eccles. lib. i. cap. i.)

[2] Bedæ Hist. Eccl. lib. v. cap. 21. We should probably ascribe some influence in favour of the Roman usages to the Saxon occupation of the southern part of Pictland for twenty years prior to Ecgfrid's defeat, which would give an opportunity to Wilfrid and Trumwin to propagate the decisions of the synod of Whitby.

[3] Reeves' Adamnan, p. 365.

[4] Mr. Westwood has pointed out certain features of the illuminations of the Lindisfarne Gospels peculiar to MSS. executed in Ireland, or by scribes of the Irish school elsewhere (Palæographia Sacra, *voce* "Anglo-Saxon Gospels," p. 3 ; see also under "Book of Kells," p. 2).

people were possessed of written records, "Hæc ut præfati sumus, sicut in veteribus Pictorum libris scripta reperimus, transcripsimus.[1]

The art of illuminating manuscripts in Ireland took a particular shape, and resulted in the foundation of a national school of design. We have examples of it in the Book of Kells, the Gospels of MacDurnan, the Book of Dimma, and the Book of Armagh.

The chief characteristics of the style, as it appears in the initial letters of the Gospels, or in pages covered with ornament, consist in the division of the letter or page into compartments, filled up with geometrical designs of interlaced work, convoluted serpentine figures, spiral ornaments, grotesque birds, and monsters. Of such letters, that at the beginning of this Preface, from the Lindisfarne Gospels, is a good example.

The Irish manuscripts, conspicuous for this style of ornament, were executed at various dates, ranging from the seventh to the ninth centuries.[2] Now, it is very remarkable that the same style of ornament is reproduced on the sculptured slabs of Pictland, and in many instances with so close a resemblance, that one of the crosses might be supposed to have been copied from an initial letter. I cannot, indeed, doubt that in both cases plans of these intricate patterns were first written out, after careful measurement of the spaces to be filled up ; for on the stone monuments we find, as in the manuscripts, a minute accuracy of adaptation, which would have been unattainable by any sculptor who had no design to work from.[3]

The discovery of silver relics in a mound at Norries Law, engraved with the patterns common to the crosses, manuscripts, and bronzes already referred to, affords

[1] Hist. B. Reguli et fund. Eccles. S. Andree ; Pinkerton's Enquiry into the History of Scotland, vol. i. p. 462, Edin. 1814. One volume written in Pictish times, which belonged to Ternan, who is called the Archbishop of the Picts, was to be seen at his church on the Dee in the sixteenth century, but, with other treasures of ancient art, perished in the fires kindled by the ecclesiastical revolution of that century (Kalendar in Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, vol. iii. p. 264). We are told that Bonifacius "centum et quinquaginta evangeliorum scripsit libellos (Brev. Aberd. Propr. Sanct. Part Hyem. fol. lxx.)

[2] Mr. Westwood, who has studied the details of this intricate style of ornamentation, tells me that in copying the interlacing patterns, if a line is lost, it takes a long time and much pains to rectify it. In the Irish MSS. the figures are generally perfect, but he pointed out in an illuminated page from one of them a faulty line, and the attempt of the writer to amend it.

[3] The same result might perhaps have been attained by working from *a model* formed of ropes or twigs. The interlacing patterns often suggest an original formed of such pliable materials, and it appears that crosses formed of boughs were not unknown to those who could execute such specimens in stone as those at Kells and Monasterboice.

"Dunadhach, son of Raghallach, lord of Cinel-Cairbre-Mor, died A.D. 871. Of his death was said :—

Dunadhach, a noble protection, a famous man by whom hostages were held,
A pious soldier of the race of Conn [lies interred] under hazel crosses at Druim-cliabh."

(O'Donovan's Annals of Four Masters, vol. i. p. 517.)

The idea of the sculptured crosses being reproductions from originals formed of twigs, has been worked out with much ingenuity by Mr. Gilbert J. French of Bolton (Journal of Archæological Association, p. 63, vol. xv.)

another evidence of the application of early art to ornamental design, while the occurrence of the symbols on some of these objects connects them specially with Pictish art.

The circumstances connected with the discovery of these relics must have considerable weight in determining the character of the deposit, and a full relation of them will be found in Notices of the Plates. The ascertained facts leave it doubtful whether the silver objects were found in a cist, and so are to be regarded as the ornaments of an individual, or whether they consisted of a hoard hidden in the mound which contained the sepulchral deposit.

The ornamentation on these silver relics is, however, in a developed style of art, which serves to connect them with the period of the cross-slabs, and the manuscripts just referred to.

The prevalence of this style on the ornaments of the period may be inferred from its occurrence on a silver pin from a stone circle at Gaulcross in Banffshire (figured in this volume), which is a reproduction of the Norries Law pin, except that it wants the symbols.

Some of the Irish bronze pins also are of the same form and style as those of silver just described.[1]

It seems very probable, on the whole, that the sculptor of the crosses, as well as the "scribe" who prepared the design, was a member of the monastic community, if indeed the offices were not united in one person. Under the rule of St. Benedict every monk was compelled to learn some trade, and many of them applied themselves so energetically that they became the ablest artists, writers, architects, goldsmiths, blacksmiths, sculptors, and agriculturists in the kingdom.[2] We know that in Ireland the monks were the artificers of the shrines, crosiers, book-covers, and bells which yet excite our wonder by the grace, and, at the same time, the minute intricacy of their style, while they also were the writers of those manuscripts of matchless caligraphy to which I have referred.[3]

When, therefore, we consider the circumstances illustrative of the social and ecclesiastical state of the Picts, together with the facts relating to the history and

[1] See Wilde's Catalogue of the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, p. 559; Prehistoric Annals, vol. ii. p. 256.

[2] Thrupp's Anglo-Saxon Home, p. 97, Lond. 1862.

[3] In the Legend of St. Wynnin, an early Scottish bishop, we read of a cross of stone at the door of his church at Kilwinning, "miro artificio constructa, quam sanctus ipse Wynninus in vita sua, propriis manibus in honore beate Brigide virginis erexerat (Breviar. Aberd. Propr. Sanctor. Part. Hyemal. fol. xxxix.) We learn from Wyntown that a "trystyre," a silver cover for a copy of the Gospels, made by Fothad, who was bishop of the Scots before the middle of the tenth century, was still to be seen on the high altar of St. Andrews about the end of the fourteenth century. He states that the following lines were engraved on it:—

"Hanc evangelii tecam construxit aviti
Fodwach qui Scottis primus episcopus est."
(Cronykil, b. vi. c. x. vol. i. p. 180.)

St. Ternan's copy of the Gospels was kept in a silver-gilt case (Proceedings of the Soc. of Antiq. of Scot. vol. iii. p. 264).

art of that people to which I have now referred, we may be justified in believing that the sculptured pillars were erected at an early period after the establishment of Christianity in the Pictish country, and that some of them probably date from the early part of the eighth century.

But, after all, some may think it unlikely that the designers and sculptors of such elaborate works of art could have been fostered, or that thoughts of progress could have found place, among a people like the Picts, whose meagre annals record little besides continual broils amongst themselves, and contests with their neighbours.

But the history of Celtic society and art presents us with many contrasts, where rudeness and polish are wonderfully intermingled. The monarchs who lived within the earthen raths at Tara and Emania were probably wearers of the massive torques and graceful tiaras of gold,[1] of which so many have been found in Ireland; and although there were inmates of the monasteries who could achieve such triumphs of caligraphy as the Book of Armagh and the Book of Kells—at a later period, could fabricate the jewelled shrines and croziers of which happily so many specimens yet remain,[2] and cover the crosses of Monasterboice, and Kells, and Clon-

[1] Two torques of gold, of great size and delicate design, were found on a spot near to the "rath of the synods" on the hill of Tara, and are now in the museum of the Royal Irish Academy (Petrie on the History and Antiquities of Tara Hill, pp. 157, 158).

[2] A single entry in the Irish Annals preserves a list of ecclesiastical ornaments very suggestive of the monastic wealth in such treasures:—"A.D. 1129. The altar of the great church of Cluain-mic-Nois was robbed, and jewels were carried off from thence—namely, the carracan [model] of Solomon's Temple, which had been presented by Maelseachlainn, son of Domhnall; the Cudin [Catinum] of Donnchadh, son of Flann; and the three jewels which Toirdhealbhach Ua Conchobhair had presented—*i.e.* a silver goblet, a silver cup with a gold cross over it, and a drinking-horn with gold; the drinking-horn of Ua Riada, king of Aradh; a silver chalice, with a burnishing of gold upon it, with an engraving by the daughter of Ruaidhri Ua Conchobhair; and the silver cup of Ceallach, successor of Patrick (Annals of the Four Masters, by O'Donovan, vol. ii. p. 1033).

With this we may contrast the following notice, A.D. 1041. The annals of Ulster and Clonmacnoise at this year record—"The annals are too many of killing of men, dicing, praies, and battles. None can tell them wholly but a few among many of them by means that men's ages could not be thoroughly known" (*Ibid.* p. 840, *note*).

While the works of art in the treasuries of princes and monasteries in these early times may surprise us, and, in some cases, suggest an unexpected amount of intercourse between distant countries, they are, as is stated in the text, no evidence of diffused culture. In Brittany both the civil and ecclesiastical government were for a long time in an unsettled state, and the degeneracy in spiritual things which was common to most of the countries of Europe in the eighth and ninth centuries was here also very great. An interesting list of gifts by Solomon, ruler of the Celtic people of Brittany to the monastery of St. Salvator at Redon, in the year 869, has been preserved, and is worth quoting here as an example of the great value and variety of the gifts conferred, under the circumstances to which I have referred.

"Calicem aureum ex auro obrizo mirifico opere fabricatum habentem .CCCXIII. gemmas, pensantem X. libras et solidum I.; et patenam ejus auream habentem gemmas, .CXLV., pensantem VII. libras ac semis; et textum Evangeliorum, cum capsa aurea mirifice fabricata, pensantem .VIII. libras, habentem CXX. gemmas; et crucem auream magnam, miri operis, habentem .XXIII. libras et .CCCLXX. gemmas; et unam capsam ex hebore indico mirabiliter incisam, et quod his preciosius est, praeclarissimis reliquiis Sanctorum plenam; casulamque sacerdotalem preciosam extrinsecus interstincte (*sic*) ex auro cooperatam, quam mihi mens compater piissimus Rex Karolus, pro magno, sicut est, transmisit dono; miraeque magnitudinis pallium ad ipsius sancti corporis desuper operiendum; et ad cumulum miraculi, virtute tamen S. Maxentii, ante se, Deo providente, Britanniae missum ipsum Sancti adjutoris Evangelium ex hebore Pario et auro honorifice redimitum; necnon

macnoise with sculptured histories—yet many of the monks must have been engaged in more stirring and less fruitful occupations. Many entries in the Irish Annals[1] show that the monastic bodies not only engaged in warfare with each other, but took part in the battles which were continually occurring between rival tribes. They were at last released from the necessity of sharing in the clan fights, as we gather from the following entry in the Irish Annals under the year 799 :—"A full muster of the men of Ireland (except the Leinstermen), both laity and clergy, was again made by him [Aedh Oirdnidhe, king of Ireland], [and he marched] until he reached Dun-Cuair, on the confines of Meath and Leinster. Thither came Connmhach, successor of Patrick, having the clergy of Leath-Chuinn along with him. It was not pleasing to the clergy to go upon any expedition ; they complained of their grievance to the king, and the king—*i.e.* Aedh—said that he would abide by the award of Fothadh na Canoine ; on which occasion Fothadh passed the decision by which he exempted the clergy of Ireland for ever from expeditions and hostings."[2] This, however, did not terminate the wars between the monasteries themselves, for in A.D. 806 we read of "Bellum inter familiam Corcaighi et familiam Cluana ferta Brendain, inter quas cedes innumerabiles hominum Ecclesiasticorum et sublimium de familia Corcaighi ceciderunt." This encounter was between the monastic societies of Cork and Clonfert.[3]

At the same time the mass of the Irish population was little advanced beyond the nomad state—a condition of society which in some districts of Ireland was maintained for many succeeding centuries.

"When Ulster, south and west of Lough Neagh, came to be finally subdued by Queen Elizabeth's forces under Lord Mountjoy in 1603, and James I. resolved to effect the plantation of it with colonists from Scotland and England, one of the greatest difficulties met with was, how to fix and render amenable to law and order the pastoral population, which from early ages had been accustomed to wander without any fixed habitation after their herds of cattle, living almost solely on white

et librum Sacramentorum quondam et nunc similiter ipsius Sancti ex hebore Indico circumtectum ; alium quoque librum ex argento et auro intus forisque ornatum vitamque ipsius Sancti Maxencii et prosaice et metrice compositam, vitamque Sancti Leodegarii martyris continentem ; exceptis aliis donis que ante jam dederam, id est altare ex argento auroque paratum, et crucem argenteam ex una parte ; ex altera parte, imaginem Salvatoris ex auro obtimo et gemmis coopertam habentem ; et alteram crucem minorem ex auro et gemmis coopertam ; et duo vestimenta Sacerdotalia et purpura preciosa ; et III. clocas mirae magnitudinis" (Cartulaire de L'Abbaye de Redon, en Bretagne, p. 190, Paris, 1863).

Another contemporary entry gives us a glimpse of the rough manners of the clergy. Anauan, clericus, gives to the monastery of Redon, "suam vineam que est in suo horto in Treal . . . . pro redemptione manus sue dextre, quam judicaverunt inciderc eo quod voluit occidere Anauhoiaru presbyterum, flagellans eum ac mauus ei ligans" (*Idem*, p. 157).

[1] Annals of the Four Masters (by O'Donovan), vol. i. p. 413, *note*

[2] Annals of Ireland by the Four Masters (O'Donovan), vol. i. pp. 409.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 413, *note.* A very full list of these ecclesiastical encounters, drawn from the Irish Annals, is given in Reeves' Colton's Visitation, Appendix B, pp. 93-97.

meats, as the produce of their cows was called. At this period there was not one fixed village in all the country, a circumstance we learn incidentally from Sir John Davis' letter to the Earl of Salisbury, written during the first circuit ever held in Fermanagh, where he mentions that 'the fixing a site for a jail and sessions-house had been delayed until my lord deputy had resolved on a fit place for a market and corporate town; for,' he adds, 'the habitations of this people are so wild and transitory, as there is not one fixed village in all this country.' Their dwellings are described as made of wattles or boughs of trees covered with long turves or sods of grass, which they could easily remove and put up as they wandered from place to place in search of pasture. The aggregate of families that in one body followed a herd was called a 'creaght.'"[1]

That the population of Pictland had passed from this nomad state at an early period of their history, we may infer from various circumstances, and may also gather more expressly from the instructive notices implying early divisions of land in the Book of Deir, to which I have already referred. But till the introduction of new elements resulting from Saxon and Anglo-Norman colonisation, there was wanting any principle of coherence or national unity, or any germ of diffusive vitality for civilising the masses.

The parochial topography of Pictland is also suggestive of an early settlement and division of lands. The names of parishes on the west coast are very frequently associated with those of early Irish saints, having the prefix *Kill,* from *cella,* thus suggesting that the parochial divisions arose out of ecclesiastical arrangements; while, in the provinces of the Picts, on the east coast, the names of parishes are more generally local or territorial, implying that these arrangements had been adapted to divisions of territory previously recognised.

It seems to me that the Scotch cross-pillars bear witness to the introduction of

[1] "The Ulster Creaghts," by John P. Prendergast, Esq., in Proceedings of the Kilkenny Society for 1855, pp. 422, 423, quoting Fynes Moryson, p. 164, and Spenser's "State of Ireland," p. 35. Venerable Bede records a characteristic instance of the restlessness of the Celtic nature. When Colman was defeated by Wilfrid at the council of Whitby, on the subject of the time for observing Easter, and the shape of the tonsure, he took with him all his Scottish monks in the monastery at Lindisfarne, and about thirty Saxon monks, and retreating from Northumbria, first to Iona, he afterwards retired to a small island on the coast of Ireland, which is called in the language of the Scots, *Inishofine*—"The Island of the White Cow." There he erected a monastery, and placed in it the monks of both nations who accompanied him. It was found, however, that they could not agree, "eo quod Scotti tempore æstatis quo fruges erant colligendæ, relicto monasterio per nota sibi loca dispersi vagarentur; at vero hieme succedente redirent, et his quæ Angli præparaverant communiter uti desiderarent" (Hist. Eccles. Gent. Anglor. lib. iv. cap. 4).

Thus early do we find an instance of the restless disposition of the Celtic people. Their later annals furnish examples of its continued existence, for it was the same temper which led Colman's Irish monks to forsake their monastery for a wandering life in summer, which impelled the undisciplined soldiers of Montrose to forsake their ranks and carry back their booty to their own Highland glens after the battle of Tippermuir, and thereby took away from the great Marquis the means of improving his victory.

artistic influence from at least two separate channels, which combined with the simple style previously in use.

Many of the curious intricate patterns and figures elsewhere described, which gave character to the Irish school, may probably be traced to the influence of Byzantine art, subsequent to the introduction of Christianity ; but it seems likely that it was grafted on a previously-existing native style, of which the germs are to be found in some of the sculptures which adorn the chambers and galleries of New Grange, and more expressly in those which appear in the tombs recently discovered in a series of cairns on the Loughcrew Hills, in the county of Meath, and on the carved bone objects found in them.

The intricate interlacing patterns are also sculptured on the Scotch crosses, in union with the earlier symbols of the pillar-stones, which come to partake of the elaboration of the crosses.

If the knowledge of this intricate style of ornament was introduced into Pictland from Ireland, the fact remains, that such knowledge was used in so independent a fashion that we must allow to it the merit of a national art. For not only did it make use of the sculptures which it found on the earlier rude pillars, embellishing and working them up in the general design of the crosses, but it seems plain that the artists in Pictland preceded those in Ireland in the art of sculpturing the elaborate devices in question *on stone*.

This will be granted, if we bear in mind the prevailing character of the Scotch crosses as compared with such Irish crosses as those at Monasterboice, Kells, and Clonmacnoise. In Pictland, the idea of the pillar-stone is still retained. The cross is merely sculptured on the face of a pillar or erect slab, having its limbs filled up with the ornaments in question on a flat surface. Occasionally, a circle is cut on the face of the slab, at the intersection of the limbs. A comparison will show that this is the Irish cross in germ, and that the latter is in a greatly more developed stage than the Scotch examples. In Ireland the stone is cut into the figure of a cross, with sculptures on its faces and edges, and the circle around the arms is cut free ; so that we may regard a Scotch cross as an artist's draught on stone of the plan of an Irish one, and as first attempts at that form which the Irish crosses subsequently attained. The subjects of the Irish sculptures are generally biblical, and the date of the crosses is probably two centuries later than those of Pictland.

In the pictorial representations with which the latter are embellished, where the figures of men and animals are introduced, there is a grace, and freedom of design and execution, unknown in the remains of early Irish illuminations or sculptures, suggestive of the influence of classical art in their production.

If I am right in believing that such slabs as the inscribed pillar at St. Vigeans, with its cross of Celtic style, may be ascribed to the beginning of the eighth century,

this period will coincide with the advent of the Roman missionary St. Boniface and his companions—a mission which I think must have been one of importance, and to which I do not think it unreasonable to trace an influence in art, as in ecclesiastical polity.[1] At all events, the subjects of the Scotch pictorial sculptures partake so much of the character of scenes on Etruscan frescoes and Roman friezes and sarcophagi, that I cannot help seeing a connection between them.

From the influence of Roman art, however introduced, probably came the centaurs and some of the monstrous figures on the cross-pillars which are also found in the ornaments of early middle-age ecclesiastical architecture. Thus, among other sculptures of the ancient church of Souvigny, in the Bourbonnais, were the griffin, the unicorn, and the elephant. St. Bernard inveighed against the introduction of such figures into the sculptures of churches, and he describes specifically some of those which occur on our Scotch stones—viz. apes; lions; centaurs; figures, half-men half-beasts; monsters having many bodies and only a single head, or many heads on one body; quadrupeds, with tails of serpents, or fishes with the heads of quadrupeds; animals, half-horses half-goats, horned horses, and the like.

[1] The mission of Boniface occurred in the time of Nectan. This ecclesiastic, according to the tradition of the Scottish church, filled the papal chair for upwards of seven years, but forsaking this dignity, he came to preach the gospel in Pictland, accompanied by Madianus and other six bishops, by two virgins—Crescentia and Triduana, by seven presbyters, seven deacons, seven subdeacons, seven acolytes, seven exorcists, seven readers, and seven porters, and many other men and women who feared God. Being guided by a sign, they came to Restinoth, where Nectan met them and received the sacrament of baptism. The king then gave the place to Boniface (Brev. Aberd. Part. Hyem. Prop. Sanct. fol. lxx.)

Boece, while doubting whether Boniface were a pope, or only believed to be so by the rude people to whom he was sent, asserts that the saint, arriving in the estuary of the Tay from Italy, landed near the mouth of the river Gowry, which divides Angus from Gowry, and there built a church, which he dedicated to St. Peter. He then proceeded to Tellein [now Tealing], where he erected another church, which he dedicated to the Prince of the Apostles. A third he built at Restennot. After tarrying here for some years, he went northwards, preaching in the Mearns, in Mar, and Buchan, in Strathbogie, and in Moray, erecting in these places not a few churches, all of which he dedicated to St. Peter. At last he came to Ross, where, after his many labours, he died, and was buried at Rosemarkie, in which place also rests his companion St. Moloc, the disciple of St. Brandan (Scotorum Historiæ, fol. clxxviii. Paris, 1526).

Wyntown tells us that Nectan founded Rosemarkie—

> That dowyd wes wytht Kyngys syne
> And made was a place Cathedrale
> Be-north Murrave severale;
> Quhare Chanowynys ar Seculare
> Wnder Saynt Bonyface Iyvand thare.
>
> (Cronykil, vol. i. p. 138, Lond. 1795.)

What amount of truth is contained in the details of these traditions it may be difficult to say, but the arrival of a mission, whose churches were dedicated to St. Peter, may be accepted as a fact, while its occurrence at the time when the Pictish ruler had imported the Roman usages and mode of building from Northumbria, suggests an influence of foreign on native art such as would account for the peculiarities of the Scotch cross-pillars.

Two sculptured stones occur in the ruined church of Invergowrie. On one of them are three ecclesiastics, with books in their hands, and large clasps on their shoulders (vol. i. Plates LXXXVIII. LXXXIX.)

St. Boniface is called by Boece, Bonifacius Querituus. His day in the calendar of the Breviary of Aberdeen is March 16. The Irish calendars have on the same day "Curitanus episcopus et abbas Ruis-mic-Bairend," from which it has been supposed by Dr. Reeves that Boniface was an Irish saint, as his companion Moloeus was. However this may be, it seems difficult to believe that a missionary, with merely Irish influence, would have dedicated all the churches which he erected to St. Peter, as we know that the early Irish dedications were mainly to their own native saints. The Culdees of the British Islands, by Wm. Reeves, D.D., p. 45. Dublin 1864.

The use of these grotesques in Christian sculpture in the twelfth century seems to show that they were introduced with the idea merely of decoration, and without any symbolical design ; and St. Bernard objects to the figures, not as anti-Christian, but as distracting and foolish, besides being expensive.

The introduction of similar figures in the pictorial representations on the cross-pillars of Scotland seems also in the main to have been with a view to merely ornamental design, and in most cases it is impossible to recognise in them, or in the Saxon crosses of the period, such as those of Ruthwell and Bewcastle,[1] any unity of idea, which would admit of their being regarded as characterising an *individual.* On the early Christian sarcophagi at Rome, in the same way, we find sculptures of Scriptural scenes and subjects, so varied in character as to preclude the belief that they symbolised the character or profession of an individual. On the walls of the painted tombs of Etruria we find hippocampi, centaurs, dolphins, lions, sphinxes, and other fanciful figures, which are introduced merely for ornament ; and on an Etruscan lady's tomb we have the representation of a combat, obviously as a picture, and without reference to the character of the departed.

In the Appendix to the Preface I have discussed various subjects connected with the history of the sculptured monuments of Scotland, of which I here indicate the general gist and results.[2]

The first chapter—"Objects Sculptured on the Stones"—is devoted to the symbols and pictorial representations. The former are considered in two classes—the first consisting of known and familiar objects, such as the mirror, comb, fibula, shears, book, and chalice ; and unfamiliar objects, such as the serpent, elephant, "crescent," and "spectacle ornament."

Before these are discussed in detail, I have adverted to the usage so prominent among early races, of representing by symbols on their tombs the occupation or rank of the persons commemorated ; to the general custom of burying with the dead the objects used and loved by them during life, and when this usage ceased, of representing such objects on their tombs.

I have then adduced instances in which some of the known symbols of the Scotch stones have been used by various nations, at different times, for these purposes. Thus, as to the comb, we learn from Sir Henry Rawlinson, that on the tombs of the Lurish tribes in Babylonia, the single-toothed comb is the distinctive mark of the male sex, as the double-toothed comb is of the female ; while his

[1] On the pillar at Nigg is represented the consecration of the host in a panel by itself. The lower parts of the stone are covered with interlacing patterns and bosses, while the opposite side is covered with incongruous groups—such as a dog seizing a deer, a man clashing cymbals, a harp, a sheep, an armed man, a bird, and other figures of men and animals.

[2] The authorities for the statements in the Appendix to the Preface being fully cited there, are not repeated here.

brother Mr. Rawlinson states, that in the pictorial writing of the Chaldæans, the double-toothed comb is used to denote a woman, or more generally the feminine gender.

Combs occur on the tombs in the catacombs, and they are frequently found, with other deposits, in Roman, Frankish, Saxon, and Celtic graves.

St. Cuthbert's comb was buried with him, and the comb of St. Kentigern was one of the relics in the cathedral church of Glasgow.

In the same way the mirror is found as a deposit in Etruscan, Roman, and Frankish tombs, and it is also sculptured on Roman tombs.

In conformity with this usage we sometimes find deposited in the tombs of ecclesiastics a chalice and paten, while at other times these objects are sculptured on their tombs. Sometimes a precious copy of the Gospels was placed in the tombs of saints, as in the case of St. Cuthbert and St. Kilian, while in St. Patrick's tomb were found the cup, the Angel's Gospel, and the Bell of the Will.[1] At others, the book is represented on the monument—as in the very early example at Arbirlot[2]—and some of the "cases" on our pillar-stones seem to represent the "cumdachs," or covers in which the Book of the Gospels was carried.[3] Many figures on the Scotch stones, apparently of ecclesiastics, carry books in their hands.

The custom of representing on the early monuments of saints and ecclesiastics figures holding books, is also found in the paintings of the catacombs.

In two of the Plates in Rossi's great work are ecclesiastics, tonsured, and habited in their robes, who hold in their hands volumes, with richly-gemmed covers.

An inscription ascribes one of these to Pope Sixtus II. "Immagini de . S. Sisto II. papa ed ottato vescovo dipinte alla sinistra del Sepolcro di . S. Cornelio." The other is that "de Santi Cornelio Cipriano.[4]

At other times it would seem that the priestly character of the dead is commemorated by a representation of the consecration of the host, as in the remarkable monument at Nigg in Ross-shire.[5]

In some of the chambered tombs of Brittany stone celts are found which are frequently broken across, while in others the weapon is sculptured on some stone of the monument.

[1] Dr. Reeves, quoting the Annals of Ulster, Adamnan's Life of St. Columba, p. 326.

[2] On a slab at Gainford the chalice is worked into the stem of the cross, while a book is sculptured at its side.

[3] Æthilwald, the bishop, made a cover for the Lindisfarne Gospels, "and Billfrith, the anchorite, he wrought the metal-work of the ornaments on the outside thereof, and decked it with gold and with gems, overland also with silver, malloyed metal" (The Lindisfarne and Rushworth Gospels, Prolegomena, p. xliv. Surtees Soc.

[4] La Roma Sotterranea Cristiana, G. B. de Rossi, Roma 1864.

[5] On another slab at Gainford a priest is represented in the act of elevating the host (Walbran's Antiquities of Gainford, p. 32, Ripon, 1846).

In many early graves the sword of the warrior was deposited with the dead body, while in other cases the weapon is represented on his tomb.

The estimation of the mirror and comb in early times may be gathered from their being considered a suitable gift by Pope Boniface to the queen of the Northumbrian Edwin in 625, when he sent to her a silver mirror and an ivory comb, gilt.

The shears occur on one of the early cross-pillars along with the "spectacle" and "horse-shoe" ornaments. They are also found on Scotch monuments of the fifteenth century, and on many cross-slabs of various dates in England.[1] The shears are also found deposited in tombs in the catacombs.

The occurrence of the mirror and comb on Scotch pillar-stones and crosses, regarded as monumental, is thus in harmony with the associations in which these objects appear elsewhere. They appear on a monument from a Saxon ecclesiastical site of early date, and the continued existence of the idea may be traced in the representation of the mirror and comb on some of the Scotch sepulchral slabs of the fifteenth century.

In some cases they seem to symbolise the sex, in others the trade of the departed.

On the cross at Dunfallandy (vol. i. Plate XLVII.) appear, below groups of figures and symbols, an anvil, hammer, and tongs, apparently emblematical of a blacksmith.[2] On the stone at Abernethy (vol. i. Plate XLIX.) are an anvil and hammer, in association with the "crescent;" and on a cross at Kingoldrum is a mallet on one side, and an animal's head on the other. The modern use of trade symbols on tombstones might be illustrated by examples from all parts of Scotland. The stone figured on the first of the cuts on the next page, which is probably of the early part of last century, is one of this class, and is placed in the burial-ground surrounding the ruined chapel of Macalen at Knockando, on the banks of the Spey. The second represents a stone in the old burial-ground at Moulin in Perthshire, of about the same date. It is placed over the grave of one of a family of Macfarlanes, who were celebrated as salmon-fishers—the trident on the stone being intended for the *leister* used in that art.[3]

[1] Manual of Sepulchral Slabs and Crosses, pp. 41, 42, London, 1849.

[2] We have an early notice of a Scotch blacksmith in the legend of St. Moloch, the patron saint of Lismore, and pupil of St. Brandan, who died in A.D. 592. The saint requiring a bell of iron, and of a square shape, for his church, desired the neighbouring blacksmith to make it. The blacksmith being unwilling, pretended the want of fuel, on which the saint brought a bunch of rushes, and told him to make use of it for fuel. The indignant blacksmith put the bunch with the iron into the furnace, in the belief that it would be at once consumed, but it amply supplied the want of coals, "et ferrum inde malleo aptum reddidit, ex quo campanam fabricavit, que hactenus in ecclesia Lismorensi in magno precio habetur, in hodiernum diem (Breviar. Aberd. Part. Estiv. fol. vi.)

[3] It may be remarked that a figure almost identical with this trident occurs among those in Jonathan's Cave at East Wemyss. The trident also appears in a set of cyphers at Pompeii, which are supposed to be old

As bearing on the monumental character of the symbols, I refer to three

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stones of the earliest class, two of which were found standing on cairns containing sepulchral remains, and the third was placed over a cist.

On the first, which is known as the Piccardy Stone, is sculptured a mirror, a serpent with "sceptre," and the "spectacles with sceptre."

On the second, at Keilor, there appear a mirror, and the "spectacles with sceptre," surmounted by a pig-like animal.[1]

On the third, which is the pillar at Dunmichen, are figured a mirror and comb, the "spectacles with sceptre," and a flower.[2]

After what has been said of the use of the mirror, the comb, and the shears, as symbols on the tombs, or as deposits in the graves of early races, it appears probable that the mirror and comb figured on the pillar-stones just described were used with a similar design.

If this conclusion be conceded, it seems to follow that the other figures on the stones—viz. the "spectacles," and serpent which are grouped with the mirror, comb,

Oscan characters (Garrucci's Graffiti de Pompei, Plate XXIX.; Text, p. 12, Paris 1856). Among the homely trade symbols on tombstones to which I allude, a circular figure occasionally occurs, and represents a millstone. Archibald M'Callum, a miller at Lochgilphead, died in 1830, and was buried in the churchyard of Kilmichael. On the back of the headstone over his grave is figured a circle, with a moulding round the edge, and a central hole—meant for a millstone. On the back of the stone over the grave of his relative, also a miller, there is a similar figure. At the feet of these two headstones, there lies flat an old rude cross, said to have stood at one time at some distance from the church, and on which the miller's friends have had his name profanely cut (Note of Dr. Arthur Mitchell). Many instances occur where old monuments have been appropriated as tombstones in times comparatively recent (see vol. i. Notices of the Plates, p. 10.), and it has been assumed too readily that all such monuments are of the date thus intruded, and that the old system of carving was continued till very recent times.

[1] Piccardy Stone, vol. i. Plate XI. Appendix to the Preface, p. xxiv.; stone pillar at Keilor, Plate CXII. *Idem*, p. xxv.

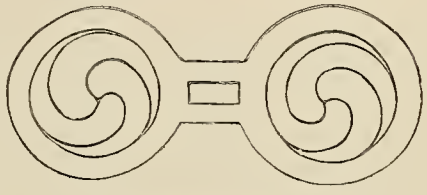
[2] Pillar at Dunmichen, vol. i. Plate XCII. *Idem*, p. xxv.

and shears—were probably intended as symbols likewise; and further, that they represented objects not dissimilar in character from the mirror, comb, and shears—that is, articles of personal use or ornament.[1]

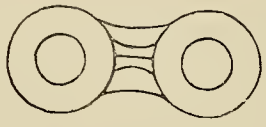
I extend this conclusion to the other figures which occur on the monuments, such as the "elephant" and the "horse-shoe figure," the "oblong figure" and the "crescent."

The reasons which have led me to think that the "spectacle ornament" represents a brooch or clasp, that the "horse-shoe figure" is a torque, or a brooch, the "crescent" an ornament for the head or breast, and the "oblong figure" a rectangular fibula, are given at length in this chapter.

It there appears that clasps and brooches have been found in early tombs of a shape resembling that of the "spectacles" and "oblong figures." The fashion of the present day has recurred to double-disc clasps, horse-shoe brooches, and to forms like some of the other symbols. It seems likely that the kind of spectacle ornament here figured (in the first cut), may represent a fibula of two spirals, while the double discs, without the "sceptre" (such as that in the second), may be



SPECTACLE ORNAMENT.



SPECTACLE ORNAMENT.

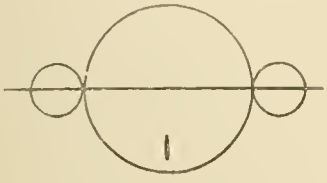
meant to represent brooches formed of penannular rings, with cup-shaped ends (of which specimens in gold have been found in Ireland, Scotland, and elsewhere), seen foreshortened.

I suppose that the objects, of which the first of the following cuts gives one, are intended for fibulæ. In other instances, however, the object is represented as a central ring, with two smaller rings attached, as at Glammis (vol. i. Plate LXXIV.; "Illustrations of the Symbols," vol. ii. Plates XVIII. and XX.) There, the two smaller rings are seen to pass through hooks on the rim of the central one, and I lately observed in the Museum of Trinity College, Dublin, a bronze relic so closely

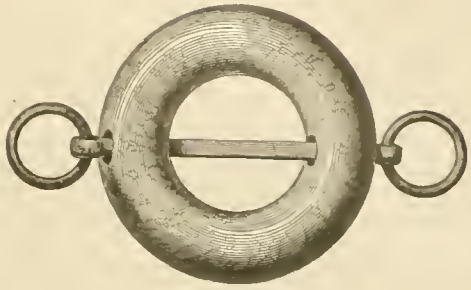
[1] The serpent occurs on the stones sometimes as a symbol, and at others it forms part of an ornamental design. In the treatises devoted to the hieroglyphics of animals, it is said that the serpent was a symbol of sovereignty, while it appears to have been assumed as an ensign in war by many ancient races. According to Dennis it was a funereal emblem. Serpents enter much into the ornamental work of Scotch crosses, and appear in the elaborate patterns of Irish MSS., crosses, and shrines of early date.

According to the Abbé Cochet, serpents, as well as dragons, griffins, and fabulous animals, are used in the ornamentation of clasps and buckles, and he describes an enamelled clasp of bronze which was in the form of a serpent.

resembling that just described, that I have been induced to figure it in the second cut for the sake of comparison.



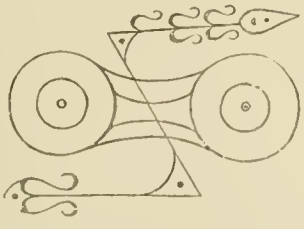
FIBULA ?



TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN.

The ornament which has been called a "sceptre" is found in connection with five of the symbols—viz. the "spectacles," the "crescent," the "horse-shoe figure," the "serpent," and the "oblong figure." An examination of the "sceptre," however, is sufficient to satisfy us that this term, which was at first used for the sake of convenient reference to the object, and from the resemblance which its floriated ends bear to those of a sceptre, cannot be used with any strictness, so as to admit of conclusions or deductions founded on the *name*.

The "sceptre" never appears by itself. In connection with the "spectacles" it resembles the letter Z, the two end lines having floriated terminations. In many cases there may be seen in the angles an insertion as if to connect or strengthen the lines. At times the cross-bar is made to pass under one of the marginal lines of the spectacle ornament, and above the other; while occasionally the central connecting lines of the "spectacles" are looped into the upright bar of the sceptre, as if to fix,



SPECTACLE ORNAMENT, WITH SCEPTRE.

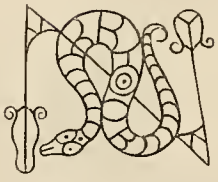
SPECTACLE ORNAMENT, WITH SCEPTRE (LOWER PART IMPERFECT)

and yet give the means of play to the latter. In one case (at Rosemarkie) the sceptre forms part of the spectacles.

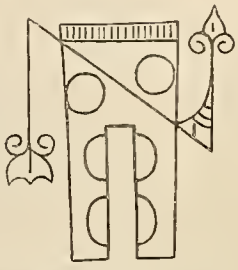
A reference to the diagrams of the symbols (Plates XIV. XV. XVI.) will make these remarks more intelligible.

The angles of the "sceptre" connected with the serpents, and the "oblong figures," are also filled up, as will be seen in the examples figured on next page, and more fully in Illustrations of the Symbols (Plates XVI. XXV.)

The "sceptre" of the "crescent" is quite different from that of the objects just described. It consists of two lines, which start from a point under the centre of the



SERPENT WITH SCEPTRE.



OBLONG ORNAMENT WITH SCEPTRE.

CRESCENT WITH SCEPTRE.

"crescent," and diverging, extend across or beneath its surface, the ends of the lines being floriated, and terminating outside the crescent.

In the angles formed by the junction of the lines, the same filling up, as in those of the other "sceptres," for uniting or strengthening the object, may be observed. In some instances this "sceptre" is seen to pass through loops in the "crescent," or one limb is seen to pass under and the other above the lines of the "crescent;" while in others the "sceptre" and "crescent" obviously form one object (see Illustrations of the Symbols, Plates XX. XXI.)

The impression which these details leave is, that the "sceptre" is a piece of mechanism for attaching the objects with which it is figured to something else. On the stone at Congash (vol. ii. Plate CVII.), the appearance which the "sceptre" assumes is plainly that of an *acus,* or pin for fastening a brooch.

The object certainly cannot be regarded as a sceptre, which has always been represented by a single line, with its appropriate head.[1]

If, therefore, we should be led to regard the "spectacles," "horse-shoe," "oblong figure," serpent, and "crescent," as figures of personal ornaments of various kinds, the so-called "sceptres" may be held either to be parts of such ornaments, or to represent the contrivance by which they were fixed to the person.

If these can be held to be of the nature of clasps, brooches, and objects of personal use, their occurrence among other recognised sepulchral symbols, sculptured on tombstones, may be regarded as a mere variety of the idea which led to the frequent deposit of these objects in early graves, in conformity with the statement of M. Didron, that, after the custom had been abandoned of burying them with the dead, they still continued to be represented upon the tombs.

With regard to the figure of the "elephant," I have adverted to the channels through which the knowledge of that animal may have reached Western Europe,

[1] The sceptres of the Merovingian kings were short rods, with variously-ornamented heads. See Plates in Montfaucon's Les Monumens de La Monarchie Francoise, tom. i. Paris 1729.

[2] See "Objects Sculptured on the Stones," p. 1.

and suggested that it seems to have been copied from some typical form, and not from a real animal, nor from a traditional description of it. While other animals, including the camel, are represented in various and natural attitudes, this creature appears only in one ; and while attempts are made to imitate the wool of the sheep, the plumage of a bird, or the scales of a fish, the "elephant" is covered with the ornamental patterns which occur on the crosses, and in MSS., metal-work, and other *inanimate* objects. It may thus be supposed that the "elephant" was copied from *an object* which had come to be a badge,[1] and that its form was perpetuated with the same fidelity as in portraits by the monastic artists of Mount Athos, where we may recognise in pictures of the eighteenth, the costume, colour, and form of the fifth, sixth, and tenth centuries. It will make no difference in this conclusion, that we should hesitate to recognise in the symbol the likeness of a real elephant, if we admit that it represents some animal whose form, adopted as a symbol, was perpetuated with a rigorous adherence to the original type.

The use of some badge to mark the divisions of races, or armies, or families, can be traced to the earliest times.

The nations and cities of antiquity frequently selected animals as their distinguishing ensigns. In our own times, the Indians in North America mark the divisions of the tribe into clans and families by the adoption of some animal as the badge or cognisance of such subdivision. This animal is a symbol of the name of the progenitor, and stands as the surname of the family. It always appears on the tombs, or grave-posts which mark the places of burial.

A kindred species of symbolism was remarkably developed among the ancient Ditmarshers. Among them, each had a symbol or sign, by which he distinguished the boundaries of his lands. This mark was cut in stone over the principal door of the house. It designated not only his land and cattle, but his stall in the church, and his grave when he was dead. Among these signs, that by which the priest was designated was two concentric circles.

Among the Pictish people, divided into tribes, governed by mormaers, and led into battle by toisichs, the necessity for distinguishing badges would be sure to be felt, and as the Manlian family at Rome adopted a *torques* as the family badge, from their ancestor having taken one of these ornaments from the neck of a Gaul slain in single combat, so a like object may have been received into the heraldry of some of the Pictish tribes, out of a similar motive.

That the symbols were in some cases engraved on personal *ornaments*, we infer with some certainty from their appearance on the silver bodkins and plates found at

[1] It appears that after the African war Cæsar gave the fifth legion an elephant for their ensign (Appendix, pp. xi. xii. xvii.)

Norries Law, while their arrangement on the stones seems at times to connect them with the human figures beside them, and to suggest their use as their *personal* symbols. Thus, on the stone at St. Madoes, there are three men on horseback on the upper part, while below, three of the symbols are sculptured in three separate panels.

On the cross at Dunfallandy are two figures seated on chairs, each with a group of symbols beside him. In a lower panel is a mounted horseman with another like group close to him.

On the cross found at Woodwray, now at Abbotsford, is a panel separated from the pictorial representation, and within it is a man on horseback, having beside him the "spectacle" symbol.

On a cross at Kirriemuir is a mounted horseman, and the only symbol on the stone is placed close beside him.

The flower, and dog's head, which occur on some of the pillars, at once suggest their design as *personal* cognisances,[1] and the mode in which they were used may be inferred from the position of what appears to be the "flower" on the shoulder of a horseman on the cross at Edderton in Ross-shire, figured in this volume.

The conclusion at which I arrive is, that the symbols—the comb, mirror, books, brooches, "spectacles," "crescents," and associated figures, were all objects of personal ornament or use, and that when they appear on our pillar-stones, they are to be regarded as symbols, representing the dignity, office, or descent of individuals. Such memorials would probably be confined to a very limited class or race,[2] and this would partly account for the apparent sameness of the representations. But it has to be added, that the grouping of the symbols is generally marked by some difference, however slight, and that out of all the monuments the same arrangement is repeated only on three of them.

In our own day, when the Circassian hero Schamyl instituted an order of chivalry, which he called the "Sign of Courage," among his mountain tribes, its three degrees were marked by insignia of engraved silver-plates, represented in the following cuts. The first, in the form of a crescent, bore for its device a sabre, with the inscription—"This is the mark of the brave." The second was a disk with perforated ornaments; a sabre, with the device—"He who is thinking of the consequences is wanting in courage." The third, and highest, was like the second, with a sabre, a pistol, and the Arabic words—"He who is think-

[1] It may be worth keeping in view that Boece, one of our earliest historians, regarded the symbols on the pillar-stones, such as the figures of birds, serpents, and fishes, as a secret system of symbolical writing, or cyphers, by which our forefathers were wont to record on their tombs the deeds performed by their great men.

[2] With some early races the golden fibula was a mark of *royal* descent (Appendix to the Preface, p. ix.)

ing of the consequences is wanting in bravery. Be devoted, and you shall be saved."[1]

INSIGNIA OF SCHAMYL'S ORDER OF BRAVERY

That such figures should have been selected as distinguishing badges, is only in harmony with the later system of heraldry, which has adopted almost every one of the symbols on the sculptured stones into its charges, as marks of rank or descent, and distinguishes the cadency of families by differences, not much more perceptible than that suggested by the varying position of the same symbols.

The crescent is still a family badge, and its position in the shield, expressed by the technical terms "increscent," "decrescent," and "reversed," is significant.

The buckle is the cognisance of several old families; and "buckles,[2] clasps, and rings, are said by heralds, especially by Menestrier, to represent power and authority in the bearers."[3]

The serpent and elephant enter into heraldic charges; as also flowers, and the heads of dogs, boars, and other animals. Heraldry, indeed, uses more arbitrary signs of distinction than these, when it traces descent by such figures as bends, saltires, mascles, piles, or fesses.

Nations and districts in later times have also adopted animals and objects as distinguishing marks, as we find they did in early ages. Thus France adopted the lilies; Scotland the lion; the Isle of Man three legs joined; and the Hebrides a galley.

It has appeared to some that the symbols of the Scotch stones are to be regarded as devices of a religious system, and that the "spectacles" and "crescent" were used as emblems of solar and lunar worship, or as zodiacal signs, and that the whole system exhibits traces of a Phœnician or Asiatic origin.[4]

Such a view presupposes a principle of arrangement of symbols which seems an

[1] The Book of Days, by Robert Chambers, LL.D., vol. i. pp. 757, 758, from which the engravings are here introduced by the kind permission of the author.

[2] Two rich mediæval slabs at Lanludhno have each two buckles on them as symbols. On a slab at Gainford is a floriated cross, with a sword on one side and a buckle on the other.

[3] Nisbet's System of Heraldry, vol. i. p. 401.

[4] The Early Races of Scotland and their Monuments, by Lieut.-Col. Forbes Leslie, 2 vols. Edin. 1866; Moore's Ancient Pillar Stones of Scotland. Edin. 1865.

unnatural one—viz. the mixture of those having a sacred and religious import—as the "sun" and "moon"—with others of such common every-day character as the shears, comb, mirror, and fibula; while it requires us to believe that the Pictish Christians continued to use on their monuments a series of figures, symbolical of pagan rites, along with the great symbol of the cross.

The conclusion, that representations of objects like those last mentioned on sepulchral monuments are personal symbols, is not a mere guess, but is suggested by our knowledge of the custom among many early races—continued into the middle ages—of depositing such objects in their graves, or sculpturing them on their tombs, while it is strengthened by various historical analogies, which I have elsewhere dwelt upon.[1] A probability hence arises that the figures associated with such familiar symbols as the mirror, comb, and shears, were not dissimilar in character, and were used with a like object. The theory which ascribes to some of the symbols a religious or astronomical character is not based on any such knowledge or analogies, for similar figures with a like purpose have not been found on the early stone monuments of any other people. It may be added also, that while the worship of the sun and moon was common to the Celtic people of Ireland and Gaul, as well as to some of the Teutonic races in Germany, the pillar-stones of those people display no traces of the "spectacles" and "crescent," which have been regarded as symbols of that worship.

Whatever inference we may draw from the similarity of monuments in different countries, it must, to have any value, be founded on a wide and discriminating observation of numerous examples, and not on mere partial resemblances. In the same way the casual occurrence of isolated figures "resembling" some of the Scotch symbols on monuments in other parts of the world, affords no real aid in arriving at a conclusion.

Among the marks on glazed bricks found at Susa are crosses (sometimes within circles), two connected circles, and a figure like the *swastika* of the Buddhists. A cross also appears on "the Black Stone" of Susa, with serpents, birds, the moon, stars, and nondescript animals. On the Babylonian cuneiform brick tablets, the figures of the heavenly bodies and zodiacal signs are frequently repeated in their inscriptions, which relate almost entirely to the domestic economy of the temples.[2]

But because on the coins and monuments of many different and early races, circles and crescents occur, it does not follow that the restricted and peculiar use of crescents and circles, at a later period of history, by a distant and isolated people, will entitle us to assume a connection between such races, any more than

[1] Appendix to the Preface, "Objects Sculptured on the Stones."

[2] Travels and Researches in Chaldæa and Susiana, by William Kenneth Loftus, pp. 232, 398, 419, London 1857.

the occurrence of the cross on the bricks at Susa, or in the paintings of the tombs of Egypt, will permit us to infer the existence of the same symbolical meaning among the early races of these countries, as was expressed by the people throughout Christendom in their use of the cross on pillars and other monuments.[1]

Mr. Westwood has referred to figures on two Gnostic gems as bearing a resemblance to the Z figure of the Scotch symbols, and has probably originated the opinion held by some that the symbols were expressive of Gnostic mysteries.

But, as it appears to me, this resemblance can by itself afford no real foundation for such a conclusion, when we recollect that the influence of Gnosticism was diffused through many countries of Europe and the East, while that which gave rise to the symbols was practically confined to the east coast of Scotland.

Such a supposed connection with Gnosticism is also negatived by the fact, that in the wide series of engravings of Gnostic symbols given by Montfaucon,[2] none of those on the Scotch monuments occur, for the occasional occurrence of a Z among thousands of figures in no way resembling the Scotch ones, cannot be held to be an exception.[3]

And if we cannot trace in the symbols any Gnostic signification, we shall be equally unable to ascribe these figures, or any of them, to the Phœnicians, for no such figures occur on the monuments of that people in their own country or colonies, or in the parts of Britain where, if at all, we might expect to find them, as in Cornwall, to which the Phœnicians are, with some probability, said to have traded; and it seems impossible to explain the appearance of a Phœnician or Asiatic influence among the Pictish people of Scotland, of this peculiar development, which was not manifested among the people of Phœnicia and Asia, nor among those of any intervening country.

This question differs from that which seeks to deduce a connection between the races of the East and West from the occurrence of the same kind of stone chambers, stone pillars, and stone circles, in both extremities, and from the fact that such monuments are scattered over most of the countries through which the migrations to the West were directed.[4]

[1] See Sculptured Stones of Scotland, vol. i. Preface, p. xiv. and vol. ii. Appendix to the Preface, p. xx.

[2] L'Antiquité Expliquée, vol. ii. Plates 144-178.

[3] In this conclusion I am confirmed by the Rev. C. W. King of Trinity College, Cambridge, who has made the subject of Gnosticism and its emblems a special subject of research, of which "The Gnostics and their Remains," and other works of his, are the fruits. Having drawn his attention to the Scotch symbols, and inquired if he had met with any similar figures on Gnostic gems, he answered me in his letter of 17th March 1866—"The Celtic figures you inquire about are certainly in no way derived from the symbols of Gnosticism. I strongly suspect their origin is infinitely more commonplace, and that they are no more than copies of the ornaments, chiefly fibulæ, worn by their sculptors."

[4] The similarity of many of the stone monuments of India to those found in Europe and some intervening countries, is pointed out by Col. Forbes Leslie in his work on "The Early Races of Scotland and their Monuments."

On the same subject see an interesting communication from Capt. Meadows Taylor to the Royal Irish Academy Transactions, vol. xxiv. p. 329. In it he

The subject of the Scottish monuments is much more restricted, and relates to a class of sculptures on them, of which only a few have been found elsewhere, so that we are without any such link as the lines of monuments just referred to, which might serve to connect the Scottish sculptures with those of other countries, and are deprived of the light which a comparison of the Scotch symbols with analogous figures elsewhere would have afforded.

These symbols, or at any rate most of them, must therefore be treated as isolated, and of merely local occurrence, the result of some peculiar development of idea and art among the Pictish people by whom they were sculptured. Assuming, with Thomas Innes, that the Picts were in the main British tribes living beyond the line of the Roman settlements, we must bear in mind the custom attributed by classical writers to the Britons, of puncturing their bodies with the forms of all sorts of animals, in connection with the suggestion of Innes, that this practice, after being abandoned by the tribes who lived in contact with Roman civilisation, was continued by their brethren, who were strangers to its influence, and hence came to be called Picti, or Painted. Isidore, and after him the Pictish Chronicle, trace the name of the people to their custom of painting the body with various figures.

If, therefore, the Pictish people were accustomed to paint such figures on their bodies, perhaps it is not unreasonable to expect an aptitude to represent animals and objects on their monuments, when the progress of art led to the sculpturing of these on stone. However this may be, the art appears to have been one of local development. No sculptured monuments like those of Pictland are found in Dalaradia, the country of the Irish Picts, nor in the territories of the Scots either in Ireland or Alba. And while they are numerous on many of the early ecclesiastical sites in Pictland, they do not occur in connection with churches of importance founded by the Scots, after they had attained the supremacy in that country.

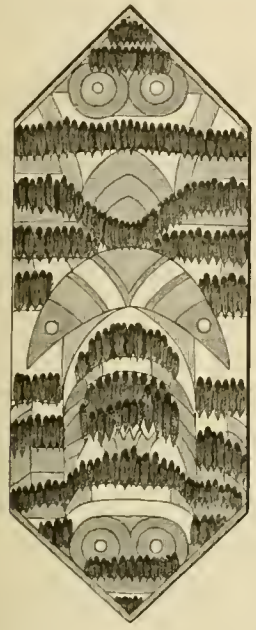
Besides what we are told by the classical writers of the custom among some races of painting the skin with forms of animals, we learn from the same source that their shields were frequently charged with like distinguishing figures. Thus Tacitus describes the Gauls as using "a shield proportioned to the height of a man, garnished with their own ensigns;" and again, "some carry the shapes of beasts in brass artificially wrought, as well for defence as ornament." On many of the shields represented on the Antonine column are figures of crescents and lozenges; on the

gives the details of diggings in groups of cists, cromlechs, and cairns, exactly resembling European monuments of the same kind. Their contents included burnt and unburnt human remains, pottery, weapons, and implements of bronze. See also papers by Lieut. Henry Yule, and T. A. Wise, M.D., in Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, vol. i. pp. 91, 154.

Professor Holmboe of the Royal University of Norway has traced a conformity between the monuments of Norway and India, from which he infers the influence of Buddhism in Norway before the introduction of Christianity, in his work "Traces de Buddhisme en Norvege avant l'Introduction du Christianisme," par M. C. A. Holmboe, Paris 1857.

column of Trajan the shields are ornamented with crescents and circles; and on a bronze shield of beautiful late Celtic work, found in the river Witham, was the figure of a boar.[1]

That such figures would be natural distinguishing marks among a rude people, we may gather from their continued use by the tribes of Borneo in the present day. The first of the following engravings represents the shield of a Dyak of that country, which, as will be observed, is ornamented with a crescent and other figures.



A DYAK SHIELD.

BRONZE PLATES LOCHABER.

BRONZE PLATE LOCHABER.

The shield is formed of very tenacious wood, which holds firmly any weapon that pierces it. The crescent is painted on the centre; the circular ornaments at the ends are of bone, and are rivetted to the frame.[2]

The other cuts represent certain objects formed of thin plates of bronze, of unknown use, but which may have been the ornaments of an ancient shield of oblong shape, found under deep moss in Lochaber.[3] The oval relic, which may have the boss of the shield, shows that it has been pierced by the thrust of some sharp weapon.

On the sculptured fragment of a cross at Dull (vol. ii. Plate XVI.) are several warriors bearing circular shields, resembling those so frequently borne by the horsemen of the cross-pillars. The shields at Dull have each within the outer circle, five smaller circles, which may be meant for bosses. The circular figures on the stones at Kinellar (vol. i. Plate X.), at Rothie-Brisbane (vol. ii. Plate XIV.), and at Balneilan

[1] Kemble's Horæ Ferales, p. 190.

[2] For a drawing of this shield, and relative information, I am indebted to Mr. Frederick Boyle, author of "Adventures among the Dyaks of Borneo," Lond. 1865.

[3] These relics are in the collection of Cluny Macpherson of Cluny, the chief of his race, and I am indebted to his kindness for being allowed to engrave them.

(vol. ii. Plate CIV.), have also small inner circles, and may be meant for shields with bosses.

Stone Circles.[1]—In this chapter I have given an account of several excavations recently made in monuments of this class, the general result being the discovery of traces of sepulchral deposits. The use of groups of pillars for monuments in different countries is then traced, and the question is considered, whether there be any reason for drawing distinctions between small circles admitted to be sepulchres, and those of larger size, like Stonehenge and Stennis.

The various terms applied by early writers to Stonehenge are collected, and the recent employment of the word "Druidical," as descriptive of its use, is shown. The system of the Druids of Gaul, as detailed by Cæsar and other classical writers, is then described, in which there are no indications of stone circles being used by them as temples; while it is attempted to be shown from a consideration of the circumstances which led to the "consecration" of meeting-places among other Celtic races, that the "locus consecratus" of the Gaulish Druids, at which they held an annual meeting, was not a circle of stones.

It has been suggested by some that the stone circles of Scandinavia were originally places of worship. This point is investigated in a valuable and exhaustive letter addressed to me by Dr. Dasent, and decided in the negative.

The descriptions of heathen temples occurring in the works of several early writers are collected, and the conclusion drawn, that they were of an entirely different character and construction from pillars of stone.

The superstitions of the Druids of Ireland and Scotland, so far as they can now be gleaned, are collected, and an opinion is expressed that these Druids, or Magi, as they are termed by the Irish writers, are rather to be regarded as magicians and soothsayers, than as members of a systematic fraternity like that in Gaul described by Cæsar.

A summary is given of heathen practices denounced in imperial capitularies and early ecclesiastical canons, none of which are connected with stone circles; while at the same time many of these superstitions bear evidence of their primitive origin.

The prevailing paganism seems to have combined a worship of the sun, moon, waters, trees, and stones, with a system of magic and divination. Among these customs a veneration of pillar-stones is one, and we find injunctions against the paying of vows at pillar-stones, where they are distinguished from the fanes, wells, and trees, where similar practices took place. We find also that bacchanalian meetings were held round pillar-stones, but the references to such monuments imply, in all

[1] Appendix to the Preface, p. xxii.

cases, that they were single pillars, and that they were regarded as *idols*, but not as temples.

The worship of the sun and moon, with a veneration of fountains, trees, and pillar-stones, as possessing magical virtues, prevailed among the Celtic tribes of Ireland. It is probable that similar superstitions were common to the Celtic people of Scotland, and vestiges of some of them can be traced among the northern Picts at the time of St. Columba's mission to them in the sixth century.

The occasional use of stone circles as places for holding courts in the middle ages, having been supposed by some late writers to throw light on their original design, this point is considered, and it is shown that in these times courts were held not only at standing-stones, but at cairns, hillocks, bridges, fords, trees, earth-fast stones, and other well-known objects, without any other motive or design than the suitability of such objects as trysting-places.

Early Pillars and Crosses.[1]—In this chapter will be found a description of various kinds of early pillars and crosses erected as monuments. The Irish pillar-stones are described, and especially the examples marked with rude inscriptions, which, in debased Roman characters, record that the pillar is THE STONE of the person commemorated. No pillars with similar inscriptions occur in Scotland, but it seems probable that the rude symbol-pillars of Pictland mark the same period of transition.

In some Scottish records, we find references to pillar-stones with names suggestive of early customs connected with them. A notice is given of several stones of this character. Among them is the "lecker stane" or "liggar stane," of which instances occur at Abernethy, at Lindores, and at Kirkness. In the latter case the term is applied to *a cairn*, which was one of the boundaries of the lands of Kirkness in a gift of them to the Culdees of Lochleven by Macbeth, King of the Scots, and Gruoch, his Queen.[2]

Instances are adduced of the use of crosses by St. Patrick, St. Columbanus, St. Kentigern, St. Columba, and St. Regulus, as well as by contemporary Saxon saints, and of the various motives which led to their use.

The Scotch Tonsure.[3]—The appearance on one of the crosses at St. Vigeans of ecclesiastics tonsured after the Roman fashion, is a fact bearing on the date of that monument and others of the same class, since we know that the Roman tonsure

[1] Appendix to the Preface, p. xliii.

[2] Another point in the boundary preserves the memory of the Queen. It ran, "a quoddam fonte qui dicitur in wigari, Growoky's Well."

[3] Appendix to the Preface, p. xlix.

was introduced into Pictland in the year 710, and was generally adopted in the year 718. In this chapter the facts connected with the tonsure are collected.

Celtic Judges.[1]—As I have come to think that the figures seated on chairs, which appear on several of the cross-slabs, are meant to represent the *judges* of the Celtic period, this chapter preserves notices of these officials, who were called "Brehons."

Hereditary Offices.[2]—In this chapter will be found some account of the patriarchal principle which pervaded the Celtic system as it was developed in Ireland, and which seems in the same way to have moulded the policy of the Celtic people of Scotland. Of this, one result was a system of hereditary succession in offices and occupations. I have inferred that a hereditary school of art was a natural part of such a polity, and that it flourished among the monastic bodies, who produced the illuminators of manuscripts, the workers in metals, and the sculptors of stones.

Instances are furnished of the way in which the principle manifested itself in both countries, in the transmitted reverence for the *founders* of their monasteries, and the veneration of bells, croziers, and relics, associated with them.

Primitive Chariots.[3]—The appearance of a car drawn by two horses on one of the sculptured stones at Meigle suggested an inquiry into the use of such vehicles in early times.

An account of the remains of chariots found in British graves is given, and some of the frequent notices in the lives of St. Patrick, St. Columba, and other early saints, of their use of chariots, are collected.

Early Modes of Burial.[4]—As I believe that the sculptured pillars and crosses of Scotland came in place of the earlier unsculptured pillar-stones, and that they were all sepulchral memorials, I have recorded in this chapter some facts relating to early modes of burial in Scotland.

The pillars and crosses having been found in connection with cists, examples of interments in short cists, long cists, and urns, are described, and some are noticed which appear to be of a transitional character.

As bearing on the position of the crosses on ecclesiastical sites, the early ideas of the Celtic races on the subject of burial are here illustrated.

[1] Appendix to the Preface, p. l. [2] *Idem*, p. lii. [3] *Idem*, p. lvi. [4] *Idem*, p. lix.

Early Sanctuaries.[1]—In this chapter I have given some account of crosses erected to mark the boundaries of these privileged sites. I have also investigated, at some length, the history of the monument known as "Cross-Mackduff," which, according to some of our early writers, was itself a sanctuary.

Illustrations of the Symbols.[2]—This chapter is devoted to the statistics of the symbols.

From the tables there given, it will be seen that the symbol of most frequent occurrence is the "crescent," which is divided between the pillar-stones and crosses in the proportion of 30 to the former and 23 to the latter.

The next in point of frequency is the "spectacle ornament," of which 23 are on pillar-stones and 19 on crosses.

The next is the "mirror," of which 23 are on the pillar-stones and 14 on the crosses.

The next is the "elephant," of which 13 occur on pillar-stones and 19 on crosses.

Then the comb, of which 13 are on pillar-stones and 8 on crosses.

In 18 cases, the mirror and comb are found on the same monument. Of these, 10 are pillar-stones and 8 are crosses.

Of 8 "mirror-cases," 6 are on pillar-stones and 2 on crosses.

Of 13 serpents, 4 are on pillar-stones and 9 on crosses. Of 11 fishes, 7 are on illar-stones, 4 on cross-slabs.

Of the "horse-shoe" figure, 10 are on pillar-stones, 1 on a cross-pillar.

Of 7 birds, 5 are on pillar-stones, 2 on crosses.

Of 8 "fibulæ," 5 are on pillar-stones, 4 on crosses.

Of 9 "oblong figures," 6 are on pillar-stones, 3 on crosses.

In the district between the rivers Forth and Dee the gross number of symbols is 88. The one which occurs most frequently is the "spectacles;"—the "crescent" and "elephant" occurring in equal numbers.

Between the Dee and the Spey there are 103 symbols.[3] The most numerously represented is the "crescent," next the "spectacles," and then the "mirror" and the "elephant."

In the country to the north of the Spey there are 70 symbols, of which the "crescent" is at the top, next the "mirror," and then the "spectacles."

Other points in the statistics of the stones with symbols, bearing on their history, may be mentioned.

Of the pillar-stones with symbols, 46 have been found on sites unconnected with churches, and 25 have been found in or near to churches of early foundation. Of the

[1] Appendix to the Preface, p. lxvi. [2] *Idem*, p. lxxiv. [3] The stones at Newbigging and Tillytarmont, both in the district between the Dee and the Spey, were not discovered when the tables in the illustrations of the symbols (p. lxxiv.) were printed, but the numbers in the text include the symbols on these two monuments.

former number, 7 were on cairns or mounds, 5 were associated with cists, and 4 were in connection with stone circles.

Of the cross-stones, with symbols, 14 were on sites unconnected with churches, and 29 in or near to churches. Two cross-stones with symbols, and 2 crosses without symbols, were found in connection with cists.

The occurrence of the same class of symbol-pillars on cairns, in connection with cists and stone circles, as well as in Christian sites, unites together the periods in which different burial usages prevailed, and permits us to infer, that if these pillar-stones were originally used as monuments of burial in mounds and cairns, they came at last to be so used in sites of Christian burial. Comparatively few crosses with symbols occur on sites unconnected with churches, but the few which have been found seem to indicate a period when burial in the Christian cemetery was not exclusively practised.

It will be remarked also, that 5 symbol-pillars and 3 symbol cross-stones have been found in the foundations of old churches—a circumstance which renders it probable that many more may yet be discovered in similar situations.

It appears that in the middle ages the sculptured monument of the *founder* of a church frequently came to be placed as a foundation-stone at one of the eastern angles of the building.[1] If we may be permitted to assume the existence of this symbolism at an earlier period, we may account for the occurrence of the symbol pillar-stones, as well as the crosses with symbols, in the foundations of early churches. In this way the pillar-stones found in the east end of the church at Kinellar, in the north-east foundation of the church at Tyrie,[2] in the foundations of the churches of Inveravon,[2] Kirriemuir, and Inverury,[2] may all have been the memorials of the chiefs who originally founded these churches; and in the same way the cross symbol-pillar which was found at the ruined abbey of Deer may have been the monument of Bede the mormaer of Buchan, who granted the lands on which Columcille and Drostan erected the first church at Deer, and been used as one of its foundation-stones.

It will be remarked, that in some cases the symbol-pillars occur in groups on sites which we may suppose to have been centres of importance and of population;[3] while, in like manner, clusters of the cross-pillars with symbols, are found on sites of early Christian importance.[4]

[1] Manual of Sepulchral Slabs and Crosses, by Cutts, p. 28, London 1849.

[2] Vol. i. Notices of the Plates, pp. 6, 7, 8, 14, 35.

[3] Such is the group at Rhynie in Aberdeenshire, at the base of the hill of Noath, on which is an ancient vitrified hill-fort; the group at Logic and Newton, in the same county, almost within the shadow of the hill of Benachie, with its stone fort; the groups at Inverury and Kintore, in the same district, in close relation—the first with the Doune or Bass of Inverury, and the next with the mound called the Castle-Hill of Kintore—and both at no great distance from the great fort or barmekyn on Dunecht.

[4] Such as Aberlemno, Meigle, Monifieth, Kirriemuir, and Kingoldrum. All these appear to have been Christian sites of high antiquity and great importance. At Monifieth there was a Culdee settlement.

In the plates of the symbols illustrative of this chapter, the figures are grouped so that the gradual development from simple outline to an elaborate character can be easily traced.

The Art of the Sculptured Stones.[1]—In this chapter I have traced the identity of style between the ornamentation of the sculptured crosses and that of early manuscripts of the Gospels, principally the work of Irish artists. The principles of the Celtic style are stated, and illustrated by examples from manuscripts, and relics of silver and bronze, while the peculiar features of the various monuments are distinguished.

The Outlines of the Sculptured Crosses.[2]—A considerable variety may be observed in the form of the crosses, and in this chapter I have given the details of the subject.

Cave Sculptures. —In this chapter I have collected such facts as tend to illustrate the early occupation of the Scotch caves.

The historical traditions which associate certain caves with names of some of the early Christian missionaries of Pictland, as places of their abode or occasional retreat, are in harmony with the ascertained contemporary usages of other parts of Christendom, and we have no historical suggestions of their having been turned to any other or different use in remote times.[4]

The frequent occurrence of crosses in the caves at Caiplie and Fifeness at once suggests the religious character of their early occupants ; while the appearance in others of the Fife caves of crosses, combined with the figures or symbols hitherto supposed to be peculiar to the sculptured pillars of Pictland, leads to the conclusion that another kind of symbolism was in use, for I see no reason to doubt that the sculptures of the crosses and symbols are of the same date.

The result would lead us to regard all the cave sculptures as the work of the early missionaries, just as I have supposed that the carvings on the crosses were probably the work of a school of artists, fostered in the numerous monasteries which sprang from the religious system of these missionaries.

[1] Appendix to the Preface, p. lxxxvi.

[2] *Ibid.* p. lxxxvi.

[3] *Ibid.* p. lxxxvii.

[4] The existing topography of some of these sites perpetuates the tradition of their early character. Thus, certain lands in Knapdale bear the name of "Kilconcoife," or Cove, from their connection with the neighbouring cave of St. Columba. From a cave or caves on the rocky coast of Kincardineshire, near the promontory of the Girdleness, the adjacent lands have received the title of the lands of "Halymanscave" or "Halymaniscoiff," and are thus distinguished in the investitures by which they are transmitted. A piece of land in the Rinns of Galloway is still called in the charters "The Cave Croft," from its connection with St Medan's Cave, in the neighbouring rocks.

The graffiti of the caves may, of course, have been executed without much of a definite purpose, for we have examples of artistic decoration in circumstances which lead to the conclusion that the artists who designed and sculptured the elaborate patterns of early Celtic art were in use to draw or cut these patterns with no other motive than for the sake of practice. The same thing occurred in the illuminations of early manuscripts, where we find many specimens of art on the margins and spare corners of the volumes, which can only be attributed to an irrepressible facility of execution.[1]

Thus, on fragments of the leg bones of sheep or deer from the Irish crannogs at Strokestown and Lagore,[2] have been found carvings of the intricate patterns used in the early manuscripts and works of art of the country. The following cuts represent these bones, with the details of the ornaments :—

In the same way, on a rib-bone in the British Museum, are cut similar patterns of interlacing work, some of them only sketched out, and others cut deep into the bone.

A comparison of the figures on the walls of the Fife caves with those on the sculptured stones, shows that while several of them are of the same family, yet there is no *identity* between them.

The "spectacle" ornaments in Jonathan's Cave (Nos. 5 and 25) are very like some of the plainer examples on the stones, while there is yet a difference, especially in the lines which connect the two circles.

In the same way the "elephants" in this cave (Nos. 16 and 18) have an unmis-

[1] See Plates from the Book of Deer, in "The Art of the Sculptured Stones," Appendix to the Preface.

[2] Catalogue of the Antiquities in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, by Sir W. R. Wilde, p. 345, Dublin 1861.

takeable resemblance to those sculptured on the stones, but there is a difference in the way in which the supposed trunk is carried. In the cave examples it is erect, while in the others it lies back on the neck.

In several cases the figures in the caves are like sketches only partially executed. In some of them there is a want of symmetry, the "spectacles" being almost angular instead of being circular, a result which may partly have arisen from the difficulty of cutting on a perpendicular face of rock.

The animals in the caves are unlike those on the stones, as, for instance, the bear-looking creature in Dovecot Cave (No. 22), and those in Jonathan's Cave (Nos. 21, 32, 43, and 45). The same may be said of the birds in this cave (Nos. 13 and 17), and in Dovecot Cave (Nos. 6 and 9).

The trident-looking figure, which occurs so often on this cave, is peculiar, as well as the figures resembling letters, which occur here and in Dovecot Cave.

Two of the latter resemble one of the characters in the inscription on the Newton Stone (vol. i. Plate I.), which has been identified by some with the *swastika* of the Pali or old Sanskrit alphabet, and with the symbol of the heathen god Odin, which occurs on Scandinavian coins and bracteates, and on ornaments of what is termed the early iron age.[1] The trident occurs among the graffiti at Pompeii, in a series of ciphers, supposed to be Oscan characters.[2] Some of the tridents in the caves are almost identical with the salmon leister on a tomb at Moulin, figured *antea* page 24.

The unfinished deer in Jonathan's Cave has no resemblance to the deer on the stone slabs, while it is like a deer in the King's Cave at Arran.

The "arch" which is seen in the Dovecot Cave and in Glass-house Cave is very like the "horse-shoe" figure on one or two of the stones; and the solitary fish which occurs in Jonathan's Cave is also like those on the stones.

There are several serpentine figures in Dovecot Cave, but none of them are so complete as to allow us to assert that they were meant for serpents.

The crosses in the caves are cut with a broader and less defined line than most of the other figures, but in some cases, as that of the "spectacle" ornament and other figures in Dovecot Cave (group vi.), the styles are the same.

The character of the cave sculptures is less artistic than that of the pillars, the lines being slightly and irregularly incised, while the figures on the pillars are deeply cut and sharply defined. In this respect they resemble the slight and scratchy runes on the walls of the chamber at Maeshow,[3] rather than the more formal

[1] Moore's Ancient Pillar-Stones of Scotland, pp. 20, 21, Edin. 1865; Engelhardt's Denmark in the Early Iron Age, p. 5, Lond. 1866.

[2] Garucci's Graffiti de Pompei, p. 12, Plate XXIX. Paris 1856.

[3] This is the general character of the inscriptions in the chambers of Maeshow and on the walls of St. Molios' Cave at Lamlash.

deeply-cut runic letters on the crosses of Denmark and the Isle of Man, and are more like the rude and careless graffiti of men and animals on the walls of Pompeii,[1] than the natural and graceful forms of both in the finished paintings of Roman artists on vases and in tombs.

A consideration of the sepulchral usages of early times led me to conclude that the symbol figures on the pillar-stones were intended for marks of personal distinction, and for denoting family descent or official dignity.

It may seem that the discovery of like figures on the walls of caves renders this conclusion less probable.[2] If, however, I am right in concluding that the figures on the stones commemorate the family descent and rank of individuals, it is possible that some of the figures, or groups of figures, in the caves, may be also the cognisances of individuals, and a mode of designating them, according to the suggestion of Boece, that the early people of Scotland made use of "sifaris and figuris of beistis maid in maner of letteris, sic as thair epithafis, and superscriptioun abone thair sepulturis schauis." It has to be noted also, that all the figures in question have been adopted as marks of individual designation in the later system of heraldry.

The "spectacle" symbol, with a dog's head attached, engraved on the silver ornament from Norries Law, form a group suggestive of its design as the cognisance of an *individual*.[3]

Among the groups of sculptures on the walls of the Dovecot Cave at Easter Wemyss (which is in the neighbourhood of Norries Law), is one, exactly the same as that on the silver-plate just described, which, in the same way, may indicate the name or rank of an individual.

The present volume has been prepared on the same plan, and with the same design, as its predecessor, and in both the main object has been to afford reliable materials on which future induction may be rested.

As it appears to me that the geographical distribution of the monuments is an important element in their history,[4] I have, in all cases, recorded their original site

[1] The graffiti on walls at Pompeii are principally scraps of poetry, figures of gladiators in combat, with lists of their names (Garucci, Graffiti de Pompei, Plates XII. XIII. XIV. XV.)

[2] If we should be guided by the analogy of modern sculptures found in similar situations, we should not expect any more important record than that of the names of individuals or specimens of ornament.

[3] On the point of individual designation, see "Objects Sculptured on the Stones," p. xxi.

[4] The same may be said of the other early remains throughout Scotland.

Some of these are found from one end of the country to the other, and we may perhaps infer a unity of race and condition at the time when they were erected. Such are stone monuments, both single and in circular groups, cairns covering chambers and cists, and hill-forts.

In the country lying to the north of the Forth, and perhaps especially in Aberdeenshire, underground dwellings of varying form are of frequent occurrence; while in the district on the south of the Forth they are very rare, and are not found in Galloway.

I have adverted in this work to the classification of the sculptured stones of Scotland, from which it appeared that the pillars with incised symbols may be said to be confined to the country lying on the north of the Forth,

where it could be ascertained. Of these sites I have furnished a historical account, with a description of such early remains as occur in their vicinity; and tables are also given which exhibit the distribution and comparative frequency of occurrence of the symbols in different districts.

It has been shown that in some parts of Scotland the form or style of art of the monuments is proper to these districts, and indicates peculiarities of influence resulting from various causes. The crosses in Galloway (which occur chiefly around Whithorn) are unlike those in other parts of Scotland. Those on the islands in the Clyde form a class by themselves. In Argyllshire and the Hebrides the early crosses are entirely different from those on the east coast of Scotland, and partake of the form and art of the Irish monuments; from which, and other facts already referred to, we conclude that the cross-slabs on the east coast were elaborated at an earlier period, and through an influence different from that which gave form to the Irish crosses.

The history of the countries on the opposite sides of the Firth of Forth may be clearly traced in their sculptured monuments. In the "Saxony"[1] of our early writers, beginning at Abercorn, on its northern extremity, there have been found, on ecclesiastical sites of Saxon foundation, a series of monuments displaying

as are also the caves in which the symbols have been found,—thus suggesting a *limitation* of race or influence. Mr. Skene has shown in the same way that the topography of Scotland admits of a classification suggestive of a variety of race or influence. Thus, there are terms in the names of places which are peculiar to the districts in the north-east of Scotland occupied by the Picts, and are not found in the topography of the country on the south of the Forth, while the others are found all over Scotland ("The Race and Language of the Picts," in Archæologia Cambrensis, vol. xi., 3d series).

The very remarkable circular towers called "burghs" or "brochs," and sometimes "Pictish castles," which are so numerous in Sutherland, Orkney, Shetland, part of Inverness-shire, and in some of the Hebrides, do not occur in the country on the south of these districts, unless we may view the circular structure on one of the Lammermoors, near Dunse, called "Edin's Hall," as an exception (*antea*, p. 4; and Proceedings of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club, vol. iii. p. 9, where an account and ground-plan of "Edin's Hall" occurs).

Indeed, the brochs, like the symbols, while they are confined to limited districts of Scotland, have not been found in any other country.

In the course of a recent inspection of the antiquities of Sutherlandshire I was greatly impressed by the *number* of these towers, of which several are occasionally found near to each other in one glen. The labour of constructing such buildings must have been enormous, and the plan of arrangement has been nearly uniform. The ground storey of the tower is formed of a wall from about 14 to 18 feet in thickness, containing chambers and flights of stairs, and above this the structure rose to the height of perhaps 20 or 30 feet, with cork-screw galleries and chambers in it. A remarkable fact bearing on the *age* of these structures has been recorded by Mr. George Petrie of Kirkwall. The "broch" of Birsay in Orkney, which presented the appearance of a ruined cairn, was recently opened. It was found that at some early period the "broch" had become ruinous by the falling in of the upper part of the walls, and that in course of time the stones had become covered with soil to the depth of several feet. The "broch" had then presented the appearance of a green mound, when it was selected as a place of interment by a people who buried their dead in short cists, and deposited bronze ornaments with them. In some of the many cists placed on the "broch," burned bones appeared, and in one a piece of a bronze fibula was found, with a fragment of some other bronze object.

Near this "broch" is a kitchen midden containing shells, and bones of animals; and I have observed such remains near some of the "brochs" in Sutherland.

[1] See *antea*, p. 3. In A.D. 716 the Abbot of Jarrow, in a letter to Pope Gregory, describes his abode as in "Saxonia" (Ven. Bedæ Hist. Min. p. 159—English Hist. Soc.)

features of design and form which mark them as the work of the same school of artists to whom we owe much of the ornamental work of our early Anglo-Saxon manuscripts.

On these crosses we observe, very prominently, running lines of foliage (frequently with birds in the branches), clusters of fruit, and ears of corn.[1]

In the country on the north side of the "Scotican Sea" the monuments differ greatly from those just described in form and design, and while some ornamental patterns are common to both, the features so prominent on the stones of Saxon origin are almost unknown on the Pictish slabs.[2]

The chapters in the Appendix to the Preface contain additional facts illustrating the subject of the sculptures, and the condition of the people by whom they appear to have been executed.

The conclusions to which I have been led on the import of the "symbols" will be found in the Preface and relative chapters in the Appendix. I do not anticipate that they will commend themselves to all, especially to those who assume the necessarily mysterious character of those figures; but as they are deduced from established facts, and recognised usages common to the history of many early races, I have thought it right to record them.

They must be taken for what they are worth, and rather as embodying the opinion to which the long consideration of an obscure subject has led me, than as claiming to settle the question. Although my conclusions should be regarded as unfounded, yet the facts on which they rest will be of service in all future study of the subject, and thus the main design of the present undertaking will be secured.

In the execution of a work extending over eight or nine years, and where so many sources of information have necessarily been investigated, I have depended on co-operation of various kinds. This has been acknowledged in detail in various parts of the work, and I can now only refer with gratitude to the ready response made in every quarter to my inquiries.

For bringing to my knowledge several of the sculptured stones, and the circumstances connected with them, I am especially indebted to Dr. Arthur Mitchell, Mr. Andrew Jervise, the Rev. J. C. Joass, and Mr. George Petrie.

[1] Besides the Saxon monuments at Ruthwell, Abercorn, Jedburgh, and Coldingham, within the Scotch part of old "Saxony" figured in these volumes, there has recently been found at Aberlady, in East Lothian, part of the shaft of a cross of pure Saxon work, greatly resembling that on some of the fragments at Hexham. It was rescued from a garden-wall at the manse of Aberlady by Mr. Robert Hutchison of Carlowrie, who brought it under my notice, along with a fragment of a sculptured pillar found in removing a wall at the manse of Abercorn. The latter had been hewn on two sides to adapt it for a window-sill, and otherwise injured; but from what remains it appears to have been the shaft of a Saxon cross.

[2] One exception occurs in the case of the slab at Hilton of Cadboll. (See "The Art of the Sculptured Stones," p. lxxxiv. See also, for another partial exception on a slab at St. Vigeans, "Notices of the Plates," p. 70.)

To Professor J. O. Westwood of Oxford, the author of the "Palæographia Sacra Pictoria," I owe the use of the drawings from which the illustrations of the Gospels of MacDurnan and the Book of Durrow have been executed.[1]

Dr. Daniel Wilson readily allowed me to introduce such woodcuts as I might choose from his "Prehistoric Annals of Scotland," a work which has done so much to create and diffuse a taste for our national antiquities; and I have to acknowledge a like favour from the Council of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, and that of the Royal Irish Academy.

The communications from Professor Sir J. Y. Simpson, Bart., and Dr. Dasent, which I have printed, will be readily appreciated; and I need hardly add that I am sincerely grateful for the kindness which prompted friends immersed in other duties to illustrate so fully the points on which I consulted them.

I have also to acknowledge the kindness of the Rev. William Reeves, D.D., the editor of Adamnan's Life of St. Columba—a work often referred to in this Preface and its Appendix—for reading the proofs of these chapters, and for many valuable suggestions during their preparation.

Dr. Reeves, in the work just referred to, has amply illustrated the fact, so long of being recognised by our early historical writers, that Ireland was the ancient Scotland, and home of the Scotch. "From this mother country," he tells us, "issued St. Columba and almost all the early saints of the Scottish calendar. Coming from Ireland, yet frequently visiting it, they maintained their old relation; so that their memory was equally cherished in either country, and a common day appropriated to the festival of each. One of these Irishmen, in particular, was styled a *Fer-da-Leithe*, or 'man of two portions,' from his divided service."

The valuable contributions to the early ecclesiastical history of the Scots both in Ireland and Alba, made by Dr. Reeves, have secured to him, in an eminent degree, the character of the "man of two portions" of our own day.

Occupying this enviable position, my friend has been able to pass over with equanimity the claim of priority of date which I have made for the sculptors of the cross-slabs of Pictland over those of the crosses of the Scottish people of Ireland; for even if we should regard grand monuments like those of Monasterboice and Kells as developments from these cross-slabs, we should little disturb the balance of weighty obligation which Alba owed to the country from which, with the knowledge of religion, she probably received the germs of that art which she was the first to elaborate on monuments of stone.

I have reserved to the last my acknowledgment of the services of my friend Mr. Gibb, the artist by whom the drawings from the stones have been made and

[1] The illuminations of these and other early Gospels, both Celtic and Saxon, will be fully exemplified in Professor Westwood's magnificent work on the Ornamentation of Early Palæography, now approaching completion.

lithographed, and to whose intelligent interest in the subject I have been greatly indebted in the arrangement of the volume. The beauty and artistic finish of the Plates assert their own excellence; but I desire to record my testimony to his care and patience in copying the weather-worn and faded monuments there represented, which have secured for Mr. Gibb's drawings the more valuable character of scrupulous accuracy in detail.

The present volume may be said to exhaust the discovered examples of the early pillars and crosses inscribed with symbols[1] up to the present time.[2] There is every reason, however, to believe that these monuments were at one time very numerous, and that, notwithstanding the destruction of some which we can trace, new examples for future illustration will yet be recovered.

With regard to the literal inscriptions on the monuments now engraved, I may state that one in oghams occurs on the cross-slab at Scoonie in Fife (Plate XII.; Notices of the Plates, p. 6), in addition to the four ogham inscriptions in the first volume. One in runes appears on a pillar at Knockando (Plate CV.; Notices of the Plates, p. 61). Of the inscriptions in Roman letters, those on the stones at Kirkmadrine and Whithorn (Plates LXXI. and LXXVII.; Notices of the Plates, pp. 35, 53) are the most remarkable. None of the same character occur elsewhere in Scotland, while they have much in common with many of the inscriptions in the catacombs and in Gaul (*idem*, p. 36). The unique inscription on the Newton stone (Vol. i. Plate 1) has of late received considerable attention from archæologists; but the readings which have been suggested (and are detailed in "The Early Races of Scotland," vol. ii. p. 383) are so numerous and discordant as to make us doubt whether much progress has been made towards a reliable result.

The crosses and slabs in Argyllshire and the Hebrides which have been introduced in this volume, are only *specimens* of a very large and interesting class; and I must express an earnest hope that some of those who are more immediately connected with the districts where they occur may be induced to combine for their publication in a shape worthy of the object.

As the style of the *early* monuments is peculiar and national, so is that of the

[1] As I have elsewhere stated, the early sculptured stones of Scotland seem to represent the continued idea of the *pillar-stone*, which among our Celtic people was a recognised form of a memorial of their departed, and to be coeval with that class of Irish pillars which in oghams, or in letters of a very early character, preserve the name of the persons of whom they are The Stones. Even when the cross comes to be introduced into the sculptures, the monument is in a reality *a pillar*, on the face of which the cross is engraved, thus retaining more of the first idea than that later class of sculptured crosses where the monument is fashioned into the shape of the cross.

In countries which had been thoroughly subjugated by the Romans, the early Christian monuments are wholly of Roman art and idea, as we may see in the collection of the Christian monuments of Gaul anterior to the eighth century, published by M. Blant (Inscriptions Chrétiennes de la Gaule antérieures au viii. siècle, par Edmond le Blant. Paris 1856-65).

[2] Mr. Jervise informs me that a fragment has been recently found at Baggerton, in the parish of Roscobie, on which part of a serpent with the "sceptre" may be traced.

beautiful crosses and slabs just referred to, which range in date from the end of the fifteenth to the middle of the sixteenth century. And as the former are peculiar to the east side of Scotland, so the latter are confined to the west, for the slabs in other parts of Scotland of the same period as the *late* Argyllshire crosses differ from them both in tone and design. In a few details there is a link of connection between the early monuments on the east and the later ones on the west coast, but the latter are generally covered with foliage of a graceful and somewhat unusual form, while the early Celtic sculptors rarely attempted foliage, and, when they did so, their attempts are stiff and conventional.

The early crosses from Saxon sites throughout Northumbria, which have been included in this volume, are in like manner only specimens of a numerous family, valuable for their delicate style of art as well as their historical associations; and I can hardly imagine an object more worthy of the attention of the many archæological societies in England than the collection and preservation of these memorials of early times. If the effort is not made now, every year will lessen their number, for I lament to notice that in many quarters these exquisite specimens of art are exposed to every kind of danger.

In conclusion, I must express my gratification that the work of illustrating the sculptured monuments of Scotland has been accomplished by the Spalding Club, a Society with which I have been so closely connected from its commencement, and that by the generosity of a body of the members, who contributed a fund for the purpose, I have been able to introduce, from early manuscripts and other sources, the numerous illustrations which adorn the present volume.

JOHN STUART.

General Register House, Edinburgh,
26th November 1866.

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APPENDIX TO THE PREFACE.

I. OBJECTS SCULPTURED ON THE STONES.

I HAVE stated in the Preface to the first Volume of the "Sculptured Stones of Scotland" that the peculiar symbols which occur on these monuments are unknown in other countries. Since the appearance of that volume in 1856 it has been brought under the notice of the most practised archæologists in the various countries of Europe, and of those who by their researches among the sculptured monuments of Egypt and Asia have become familiar with their varying design, but as yet no similar figures on the stone monuments of these countries have been found.[1]

The local history of the stones, and the grouping of the symbols, having been elsewhere discussed, this Note is devoted to a consideration of the subjects of the sculptures on the Scottish monuments.

These may be divided into two classes—(1) Symbols; and (2) Pictorial Representations. The symbols occur by themselves on the pillar-stones, while both symbols and pictures are found on the cross-slabs.

The symbols may be subdivided into objects of common use, such as the comb, mirror, and shears, and unfamiliar objects like the "serpent," the "elephant," the "crescent," the "spectacle ornament," and other figures of a like kind elsewhere specified. I do not here include animals, simply grotesque and monstrous, which occur in positions indicative of their merely ornamental purpose.

Before, however, proceeding to the consideration of these objects in detail, it may be well to remark on the general subject of symbolism *on tombs*, that it seems to have been familiar to most ancient people. "In fact," says M. Didron in his work on Christian Iconography,[2] "it is customary among all nations to represent upon the tomb of a deceased person the attributes of the trade he had followed during his life;" and after referring to the custom at various times and places, he adds, "It was just the same among the Romans; a fisherman had a boat upon his tomb; a shepherd a sheep; a gravedigger a mattock; a navigator an anchor or a trident; a vinedresser a cask; an architect the capital of a column or the instruments of his art;" "or perhaps we have a carpenter who wished his axe to be preserved; or a gravedigger of the catacombs with his pickaxe; or a sailor with his trident and boat re-entering a port lighted by a pharos; or a fisherman with his fish; an architect with the Corinthian capital which he loved; a fowler with a dove; a baker with a loaf; a shoemaker with soles or a last; one who sold by weight with scales and a steelyard; a labourer a flail to thrash the corn; one who cut wood or stone with a saw, and so on with others." "Formerly when an individual died he was interred together with the objects that he had loved during life—his horse, his clothes, his valuable things, even his wife—a custom which prevails even now in India. At the same time these objects were figured upon his tomb; and in later periods, even after the custom of burying them with the dead had been discontinued, they still continued to be so represented upon the tombs." "It is in this fact, at least according to my judgment, that we must seek an explanation of the greater number of objects represented on sarcophagi or the frescoes of the catacombs."[3]

Of the numerous vases found in Etruscan tombs Mr. Dennis says—"There can be little doubt, whatever purposes they originally served, that these vases were placed in the tomb by the ashes of the deceased, together with his armour and jewellery, as being among the articles which he most prized in life."[4]

To the same purpose Wormius writes of the Danish people—"Tumulis vero suis non solum cadavera aut cineres inferebant veteres, sed arma, hastas, equos, aurum, argentum, aliaque defunctis charissima κειμήλια."[5]

[1] My late friend, Mr. Patrick Chalmers, while residing at Rome shortly before his lamented death, thus writes—"I searched all the Christian monuments in the Vatican and *Collegio Romano* for symbols like those on the Scottish monuments, but they are quite unknown."—Letter to Mr. John A. Chalmers, 14th May 1854.

[2] Translated by Millington, London 1851, pp. 354-358.

[3] We are told by Sir Henry Rawlinson of the custom which prevails throughout Persia of representing symbolically upon the gravestone the sex, character, and occupation of the deceased, but nowhere so curiously and elaborately expressed as in the rude monuments of the Lurish tribes [among the mountains overhanging Babylonia]. "Thus, upon one tombstone I remarked the following designs, all very rudely engraven, but still sufficiently marked to denote their true signification:—*First*, A chief, attended by a few followers, shooting a lion that had fastened on the haunches of a deer; *secondly*, Hounds pursuing in full chase a herd of antelopes; *thirdly*, A falconer flying his hawk at a partridge; *fourthly*, A company of horsemen armed as if for a foray; *fifthly*, A band of women dancing the chupi; and the elegy of glyphs was closed by a ring, a rosary, and a comb toothed upon one side, such as is used by men in Persia—this last being the distinctive mark of the male sex, as the double toothed comb is of the female. There were a multitude of other devices among the tombstones, some of them very curious."—Notes on a March from Zoháb to Khúzistán, Journal of the Geographical Society, vol. ix. pp. 57, 58.

[4] Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria, vol. i. p. lxxxiv.

[5] Danicorum Monumentorum Libri sex, ab Olao Wormio, p. 15. Hafniæ 1643.

In the same way the mounds and ossuaries of the Red Indians are found to contain the objects of their highest estimation when alive.[1]

We learn from Caumont that the same practice was common among the Roman people in Gaul, as well as their Frankish successors.[2]

The first of our own writers who notices the figures on the standing-stones plainly took it for granted that they had been sculptured with a design not dissimilar from that which elsewhere led to the interment of various objects with the departed. Boece,[3] speaking of cairns and standing-stones as the sepulchres of famous men, adds of the latter—"Quibus aquatilium serpentum volatiliumque effigies insculptæ (his enim pro characteribus in arcanis scribendis ea utebatur ætas) ut qui fuerint, quid viventes egerint egregie, viatores admonerentur." He refers to the same subject when writing of the ancient manners of the people—"Disciplinis utebantur Egyptiis unde et oriundi erant; characteribus in rebus secretioribus non vulgaribus sed figuris animantium quod monumenta etiam dum ostendunt epitaphia depictorum animalium præ se ferentia. Ceterum ea ars nescio qua hominum negligentia intercidit."[4]

Olaus Wormius ascribes the same meaning to figures carved on ancient Danish monuments—"Hieroglyphicis insuper miris ex animalium figuris diversis, ductuumque perplexorum ambagibus concinnatis, inscriptiones decorarunt, quibus tacite vel res gestas vel officia administrata vel mores vel virtutes et vitia demortui notarunt et adumbrant. Lupo tyrannum, Agno tranquillum et mitem: Porco sordidum: Equo generosum: Leone regem: Aquila fortem exprimentes cujus generis infinita passim occurrunt."[5]

There can be no doubt that the ancient people of this country were also at one time accustomed to bury with their dead all such objects as are here said to be found in Scandinavian tombs, because specimens have been found in cairns and cists in many parts of Scotland, while the same objects are in other cases sculptured on pillar-stones and cross-slabs.

"The usage of depositing a chalice and paten with the corpse of a priest appears to have been very generally observed; and although no established regulation may be found which prescribed the observance of this custom, it is in accordance with ancient evidences cited by Martene in his Treatise on Rites observed at the obsequies of Ecclesiastics. Occasionally not only the sacred vessels, but a portion of the Eucharist, was placed upon the breast of the deceased, as on the occasion of the interment of St. Cuthbert, according to the relation of Bede. . . . Numerous instances of the discovery of a chalice and paten in the grave of an ecclesiastic have been noticed; they have usually been formed of tin or pewter, but occasionally a chalice of more precious metal was deposited with the corpse."[6] In an ancient tomb in the cathedral at Kirkwall were found with a crozier a chalice and paten of wax,[7] and a chalice

[1] Schoolcraft's Ethnological Researches respecting the Red Man of America, part i. pp. 103, 104.

[2] La Normandie Souterenne, chap. ii.

[3] Scotor. Hist. fol. xx. Paris 1526.

[4] *Ibid.* fol. xix.

[5] Danicorum Monumentorum Libri sex, ab Olao Wormio, p. 92. Hafniæ 1643.

The custom of expressing meanings by symbols was remarkably developed among the ancient Ditmarshers, the inhabitants of a tract between the mouths of the Elbe and Weiser, on the western coast of the province of Schleswig. It is said to have arisen out of the system of apportioning lands in the common fields annually by lot, and of the necessity of marking the portions which fell to each person. "A late writer on this subject informs us that the mode of division by lot in the north of Europe was as follows:—Runes were cut on small pieces of wood, each owner of a hide of land choosing his own. These were put into an apron, 'the lap' or hag, and drawn in succession, and after the drawing a corresponding *signum* or mark was cut on a small piece of wood about six inches long, and driven into one of the divisions of the ground, symbolising the possession by the *hasta*. A similar mode was used in England for the common meadows, except that the mark was cut out on the turf itself. Professor Michelsen traces these marks to a prehistoric period. In southern Ditmarsh a stone slab of the sepulchral chamber in one of the hunengrähe, or gigantic tumuli of the stone period, has been found rudely engraved with a mark of a type which is still popular. Weapons of stone and of metal are also found thus marked." They were used to mark horses, sheep, eider-ducks, harpoons, etc. They were not to be assumed arbitrarily, but the owner's intention was to be announced before five neighbours, and also at the spring *Thing*. The Danish laws made it obligatory upon those who could not write to affix their housemark. The similarity of most of our English marks with those of Ditmarsh, and more particularly with the old Welsh stick books, is apparent on comparison. It may be permitted to point to the circumstance that many of our English landmarks, as well as the private marks of our yeomen, are also to be found in the Etruscan, Greek, and some Eastern alphabets. The names given to the English landmarks have been different at different times and in different counties. They evidently expressed the idea that was uppermost in the minds of our yeomen. For example, the mark formerly called in Oxfordshire the *peel*, was latterly called the frying-pan, and in Sussex the doter, where it is represented by a short stick with a wooden knob. The word *peel* or *poel* in Ditmarsh signified the band of gilt leather which adorned a maiden's head; and it should be remembered that the mark of two concentric circles was called the *priest*. The rune is called *ethel*, and in Slavonian *father*, and there is a northern rune *björk*, which is the symbol of woman. In Ditmarsh and Denmark the owner's mark was cut in stone over the principal door of the house; it designated not only his land and cattle, but his stall in the church and his grave when he was no more. The marks called the peel, the duck's nest, and the mare's tail, are Greek letters; the first two are Etruscan also, as well as symbols of the sun and moon; the oven is one of the earliest known pictorial letters, and looks very Celtic."—On the Lands of Ditmarsh and the Mark Confederation, by Benjamin Williamson, Esq., Archæologia, vol. xxxvii. p. 371.

[6] Arch. Journal, vol. iii. p. 136.

[7] Wilson's Prehistoric Annals, vol. ii. p. 480.

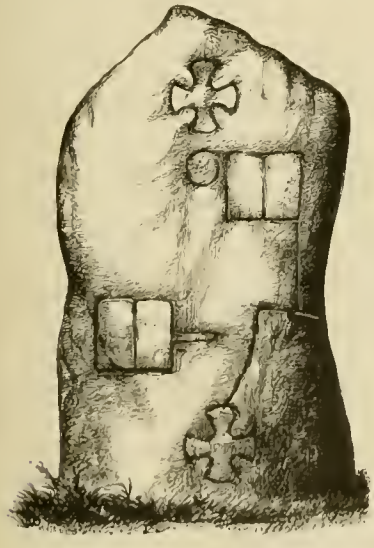
was found in the tomb of St. Cuthbert. At other times the chalice, or the chalice and paten, are sculptured on the monuments of ecclesiastics. Occasionally the host accompanies the paten, and not unfrequently the chalice is incorporated in the stem of the cross with the paten above it. In some cases a hand is extended over the chalice in benediction. In others a book is combined with the chalice.[1]

A symbolical picture of this character occurs on the cross-slab at Nigg in Ross-shire, which is one of the most elaborately ornamented in Scotland (vol. i. Plate XXVIII.) On one side of this monument is a cross filled with the most intricate tracery, above which is a triangular space like a tympanum, containing a scene which seems to represent the consecration of the Eucharist. A descending dove holds in its mouth the wafer above what may be a portable altar. On either side is a human figure in the act of adoration. They appear to be ecclesiastics, and carry books in their hands, and below them are two animals in an attitude of eager watching.

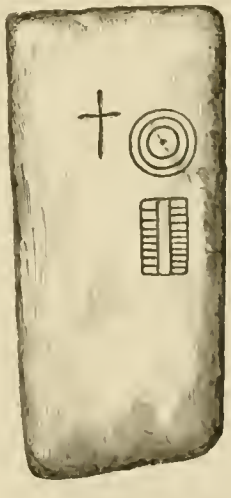
In a panel on the east side of the monument in the street of Kells is portrayed a similar scene. The descending dove carries the wafer; below is a small altar; on each side an ecclesiastic stands holding in his hand a *bacul* by the middle. The baculs are crossed, the points resting on the edge of the altar.[2]

Sometimes a book was buried in the tomb of an ecclesiastic, as in case of St. Killian, whose Book of the Gospels, now at Wurtzburg, was found in his tomb A.D. 752, and is annually exhibited on the altar of the cathedral on the anniversary of his martyrdom, and in that of St. Cuthbert, whose Gospels were also found on his breast in his tomb.[3] When the tomb of Charlemagne was opened in the year 997 the Book of the Gospel was found on his knee. In other cases a book is represented on stone monuments, either by itself or carried in the hands of an ecclesiastic. Of the former class a very early example occurs at Arbirlot in Forfarshire, on a rude pillar which was discovered in the foundation of the old church.

On the upper part, as will be seen from the cut of it here given, is sculptured a small cross pattée with an open book, and the host or a paten. Below this is another open book with its clasp, and lower still another similar cross, from which we may perhaps gather that it is the memorial of two ecclesiastics.



AT ARBIRLOT.



AT DAILLY (DEBGYSHIRE)

The church was an early ecclesiastical site, dedicated to St. Ninian, and from the occurrence of its "Abbe" among the witnesses to royal charters in the beginning of the thirteenth century, it seems probable that he was the lay representative of a race of abbots of an earlier Celtic monastery here. Many of the ecclesiastics on our Scotch crosses are represented with books on their breasts; and of Kentigern it is recorded that when alive he always carried a book in his hand.[4]

In the same way the sword of the hero was at times buried with his remains, while at others it is sculptured on his monument. Occasionally deposits of stone celts and bronze battle-axes are found among sepulchral remains.[5]

[1] Manual of Sepulchral Slabs and Crosses, p. 36. Arch. Journ. vol. v. p. 254.

[2] O'Neill's Irish Crosses, Plate XXXIV.

[3] Westwood's Celtic Ornament in Owen Jones' Grammar of Ornament. Raine's St. Cuthbert, p. 78.

[4] Vita Kentigerni apud Pinkerton's Vitæ Sanctorum, p. 225.

[5] Some years ago seven bronze battle-axes were found in an urn laid in the ground on the farm of Collessard, near Banff. There was no cist nor appearance of bones, but the urn was protected by stones placed around it. Near Dunbar similar objects were found in urns accompanied by burnt bones (Arch. Scot. vol. iii. p. 44). Many celts have been found in the stone chambers at Carnac, while on one of the covering slabs of the cromlech at Locmariaker, known as *Table des Marchands*, a celt with its haft is sculptured (Trans. of Royal Irish Academy, vol. xxii. p. 153).

In Etruria the shield of the warrior was at times hung up in his tomb, while at others it was only sculptured or painted on the walls.[1]

The comb likewise is a very common deposit in graves, Roman, Frankish, Saxon, and Celtic;[2] while it is sculptured on Roman tombs, and is of frequent occurrence on the sculptured slabs of Scotland.

The comb occurs on the small slab figured on last page, found in the ancient church of Darley-in-the-Dale in Derbyshire, and now in Mr. Bateman's collection at Lomberdale.[3]

The mirror in the same way is found in ancient Etruscan, Roman, and Frankish tombs. It is also sculptured on Roman tombs, and is of frequent occurrence on our Scottish pillars and cross-slabs. The shears are also a common deposit in early graves, and they occur on one of the early pillars of Scotland, and more frequently on later monuments.

If therefore we should accept the statement of M. Didron regarding the practice among early races of burying with a person the objects which had been highest in his affections while alive, and at the same time representing them on his tomb, and of the continuance of the latter custom after the first had disappeared, we might hold that the occurrence of such objects among the sculptures of our Scotch stones marked the same sepulchral idea as had led to their interment with the departed.

This would hold especially in the case of recognised objects—such as the chalice, hook, sword, comb, and mirror—which are figured on the stones, and of which specimens of like shape have been found in early sepulchral deposits.

But it will hardly solve the difficulty when we meet with the forms of elephants and serpents, and geometrical figures of various outline, unless we could be sure that they also represent objects of similar use or affection.

But there was another custom among some early races to which I may here refer—viz., that of painting on their skins figures of various kinds. We learn from Cæsar[4] and Mela[5] that it was a custom of the Britons to stain their bodies before the Roman settlement. Herodian says of the Britons—"They puncture their bodies with pictured forms of every sort of animals;" and Solinus says—"Regionem partim tenent barbari, quibus per artifices plagarum figuras jam inde a pueris variæ animalium effigies incorporantur, inscriptisque visceribus hominis pigmenti notæ crescunt."[6] Thomas Innes[7] supposes that those of them in the south under the Roman sway having given up the custom, the term "Picti"—the painted—came to be applied to those in the north who continued the practice, towards the end of the third century. He says that the Roman name was continued by the Welsh, Saxons, and Irish, in their different forms—the last using the word Cruithneach, from Cruith, which signifies forms or figures such as the Picts used to paint or mark on themselves.

Isidore, a Spanish bishop of the seventh century, attributes the name of Picts to the same custom—"Nec absit genti Pictorum nomen a corpore quod minutissimis opifex acus punctis et expressus nativi graminis succus illudit, ut bus ad sui specimen cicatrices ferat, pictis artubus maculosa nobilitas" (lib. xix.)

In an earlier chapter Isidore says—"*Scoti* propria lingua nomen habent a picto corpore eo quod aculeis ferreis cum atramento variarum figurarum stigmata annotantur" (lib. ix.); but it would seem that this, as well as the later passage, is meant to apply to the same people who got their names "a pictis corporibus."[8] The same idea is expressed in the Pictish Chronicle—"Picti propria lingua nomen habent a picto corpore."[9]

The thirtieth canon of the Council of Cloveshone, held in A.D. 787, provides—"Ut reliquias paganorum rituum quisque abjiciat;" and with especial reference to the custom of marking the skin—"Deus enim formavit hominem pulchrum in decore et specie; pagani vero diabolico instructu cicatrices deterrimas superinduxerunt dicente Prudentio.

"*Tinxit et innocuum maculis sordentibus Adam*
Dominus enim videtur facere injuriam qui creaturam fœdat et deturpat."[10]

Mr. Hawkins also tells us, in describing an ornament of silver found in the mass of treasure at Cuerdale in Lancashire[11]—"In this figure, and other similar fragments, will be observed forms which we immediately recognise as resembling those on the ancient pillars and crosses which abound in various northern countries. All nations in the earliest stage of their existence seem to have delighted in decorating their persons with natural objects or imitations

[1] Dennis' Etruria, vol. ii. p. 64.

[2] Notices of combs found in the Roman graves at Lillebonne, in the Merovingian Cemetery at Londinières, and at Selzen, near Mayence, are given by Cochet (Normandie Souterraine, pp. 108, 208, 218). A comb of bronze was found in an urn under a cairn in the parish of East Kilbride in Lanarkshire. Under this cairn a chamber was found containing twenty-five urns full of earth and human bones, in one of which the comb was discovered.—Ure's Hist. of Kilbride, p. 218.

[3] My friend Dr. Barnard Davis, who made a rubbing for me of this slab, reports that a small portion has been broken off from the bottom, and that its present length is 1 foot 11 inches by $10\frac{3}{4}$ inches in width at the top, and $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches at the lower end.

[4] Lib. 5.

[5] C. 6.

[6] Mon. Hist. Brit. pp. x. lxiv.

[7] Critical Essay, pp. 39, 60.

[8] Isidori Hispal. Episcop. Originum, lib. ix. and xix. pp. 293, 603. Lipsiæ 1833.

[9] Pinkerton's Enquiry, vol. i. p. 490.

[10] Wilkins' Concilia, vol. i. p. 150.

[11] Arch. Journ. vol. iv. pp. 196, 197. This hoard contained many ingots, some armlets and ornaments, all of silver, and weighing upwards of 1000 ounces, exclusive of about 6000 or 7000 coins of Anglo-Saxon and Frankish mints, and some, attributed to the piratical northern chiefs who obtained power at different times.

of them, and to have indulged themselves in making images of animals and human beings either for ornament or worship; probably objects originally intended only for ornament degenerated into objects of superstitious worship. Such was probably the position of the northern nations when their intercourse with the Romans commenced: after that period they imitated the forms of their more cultivated visitors, and their coins and other works of art bear evident marks of the influence of Greece and Rome. Such influence was indeed feeble and ineffective. Still, however, it existed; and as the religion they professed did not, in their estimation, prohibit the representation of human or animal forms, they employed them in decoration as nature had prompted and Rome had instructed them. The ornaments, therefore, under notice may safely be considered as the production of those northern districts in which they are generally found."

The description of Cæsar refers to the staining of the whole body of one uniform colour with woad, and to the *early* history of the British tribes. If we should be led to believe that the custom of *painting* the body with forms of animals and other objects was developed from the earlier custom, and was of prolonged use among the Picts, we may the more readily believe in their aptitude to represent such objects on their sculptured monuments.[1]

Among the objects of known use on the Scotch pillar-stones the comb is of frequent occurrence, and is of a shape corresponding to that of the combs found in cists in Scotland, and in cists and crannogs in Ireland.

That the mirror and comb were objects of regard in early times we can have little doubt. Pope Boniface sent to Ethelburga, wife of Edwin, king of the Northumbrians, a letter in the year 625 which thus concludes—"Præterea benedictionem protectoris vestri beati Petri apostolorum principis vobis direximus, id est, speculum argenteum, et pectinem eborcum inauratum; quod petimus, ut eo benignitatis animo gloria vestra suscipiat, quo a nobis noscitur destinatum."[2]

There is still preserved in the Treasury at the Basilica of St. John Baptist at Monza, as one of the many precious gifts of the foundress, Theodelinda, Queen of the Lombards (Circ. A.D. 590), an ivory comb ornamented with filagree and jewels.[3]

Among the relics preserved in the Cathedral Church of Glasgow was—"Una bursa preciosa cum pectinibus Sanctorum Kentigerni et Thomæ Cantuarensis.[4]

The ivory comb of St. Cuthbert, which is minutely described by Reginald, was found in his coffin when it was opened in 1104; and again in 1827, when it was re-opened, it was found on the breast of the saint, and is now in the library of the Dean and Chapter at Durham.[5]

In the list of relics which the monk of Durham, Richard de Segbrok, found hanging round St. Cuthbert's shrine when he was appointed its keeper A.D. 1383, are noticed the comb of Malachias the archbishop, and friend of St. Bernard; also the comb of St. Boysil the priest. The ivory comb of St. Dunstan was also there.[6]

At a visitation of the Treasury in Canterbury Cathedral A.D. 1315 were found "Pecten unus aureus Henrici regis III. gemmis ornatus cum nigro camau et garnettis quadratis. Pecten eburneus cum lamine argenteo et deaurato cum gemmis ex utraque parte. VI. pectines eburnei."[7] St. Neot's comb is thus described by Leland:—"Pecten S. Neoti ex ossiculo duos digitos lato insertis piscium denticulis instar maxillæ lupi lluviatilis."[8]

These combs of saints were probably used by them in certain parts of divine service. At all events we are informed by Dr. Rock that "amid the appliances once needed at solemn high mass, more especially when sung by a bishop, there was ever seen a comb, usually of ivory, sometimes quite plain, but at others adorned with elaborate carving, and even gemmed with precious stones."[9]

Dr. Rock elsewhere states that one of the rubrics in the pontifical written out by Ratold, Abbot of Corby before the year 986, directs "Deinde ministretur ei (episcopo) aqua ad manus, et pecten ad caput," after putting on the episcopal tunic. Durand writes—"Caligis et sandaliis impositis pontifex et sacerdos caput pectinat."[10] The comb of St. Loup, a bishop of the early part of the seventh century, is preserved in the Cathedral of Sens. Of

[1] Of the custom of painting the body we find traces among the Irish monks of early times. Of them it is recorded—"The Irish monks seldom travelled otherwise than in companies. They were provided with long walking-sticks, and also with leather wallets and flasks. They wore long flowing hair, and they coloured [tattoed] some parts of the body, especially the eyelids. It is also stated that they used waxed writing-tables. They were expert in catching fish, like their successors, and—as appears from the biography of St. Gallus—betook themselves to this for their sustenance when necessity demanded." MSS. of Abbey of St Gall, in Ulster Journal of Archæology, vol. viii. p. 217.

[2] Bede Hist. Eccl. Lib. ii. cap. xi.

[3] Arch. Journal, vol. xiv. p. 8.

[4] Regist. Glasg. vol. ii. p. 330. Edin. 1843.

[5] De Admir. S. Cuth. virtut. p. 89. [illegible] in Raine's S. Cuthbert, Pl. VII.

[6] Raine's St. Cuthbert, pp. 125-127.

[7] Dart's Canterbury, App. p. xv.

[8] Collect. t. iii. p. 13.

[9] The Church of our Fathers, by Daniel Rock, D.D., vol. iii. p. 122. Lond. 1849.

[10] Rationale, lib. iv. cap. xli. n. 1. Rock, vol. iii. p. 203.

it the Abbé Coche says—"On ajoute que le vénérable pontife s'en servait dans les ordinations, lorsqu'il consacrait à Dieu quelqu'un de cette race chevelue."[1]

The tombstone of Adeodatus (Lap. Gall.), among other objects, is sculptured with the comb. Dr. Maitland, who supposes the objects to represent the implements of a wool-comber, thus describes them :—"They consist of a pair of shears, a comb, and a plate of metal with a rounded handle. The speculum often used to indicate the same trade is here omitted." It occurs on the monument of Veneria, found by Dr. Maitland in the wall of a passage in the catacombs, with the inscription—'To Veneria in peace.'"[2]

Another writer on this subject says—"On early slabs in the catacombs we find the pointed shears not unlike these mediæval ones in shape, and the comb and speculum, or magnifying glass, which was then and still is used for examining the quality of cloth, and an instrument like a cleaver, probably a scraper of some kind. These were undoubtedly symbols of the cloth or wool merchant. Yet it is almost certain that the shears were sometimes used as the symbol of a female. We find them in double cross-slabs, placed beside the dexter cross, which we suppose to belong to the wife ; we find them in two instances on slabs which have inscriptions to females. We cannot doubt, then, that sometimes those implements of housewifery were used as a female symbol."[3]

We learn from Mr. Rawlinson[4] that a double-toothed comb occurs in the pictorial writing of the Chaldæans as expressing "a woman," or more generally the "feminine gender." Sir Henry Rawlinson tells us that among the Lurish tribes of the mountains overhanging Babylonia the single-toothed comb is the distinctive mark of the male sex, as the double-toothed comb is of the female.[5]

It would appear that no such invariable rule had been followed in the arrangement of the combs on the Scotch stones as would entitle us to assume the juxtaposition of a double-toothed comb with the mirror to indicate the monument of a female. In the greater number of instances no doubt the double-toothed comb is found on slabs where the mirror also occurs.[6] In some cases, however, the single-toothed comb occurs with the mirror,[7] and in others the mirror appears without the comb,[8] and the comb without the mirror,[9] and in most cases other symbols occur with these. In late examples, such as the slab of the Prioress Anna at Iona,[10] the double-toothed comb and mirror occur ; and on the slab at Keils[11] are a double-toothed comb, mirror, and shears, with a two-handed sword in the centre. The shears appear as the female symbol on a slab to a man and his wife at Kilkerran,[12] while on a slab at St. Andrews[13] the shears and comb rather appear to indicate the trade of the deceased.

Among the American Indians a comb or scissors is used as the symbol of a female.[14]

Dr. Charlton says[15] "that he has often found the book combined with other emblems certainly not of an ecclesiastical character. He has found the emblem of the shears on 35 gravestones out of 120 or 130 of which he has rubbings." "It is not often that any other symbols occur upon the same stone. The shears appear generally, but not always, on the right hand of the cross. The emblem found most frequently with the shears is undoubtedly the key." He never found the shears associated with an emblem unsuited to the female character, as with the sword, bugle-horn, or with any undoubted emblems of a trade.[16] In different localities in Northumberland and Durham are large slabs with two or more crosses. The slab at East Shaftoe is double. The shears accompany the left hand cross, and the sword and shield with three crosses moline are associated with the plainer cross on the right hand.[17]

At Darlington, on a gravestone, are two crosses, the right exhibiting the sword, the left the shears and two keys, while between these is a smaller and plainer cross, near to which is a shield now defaced. A stone at Hexham has the shears with the inscription—"Hic jacet Matilda uxor Philippi mercenarii."[17]

These remarks apply to late mediæval examples erected amid different circumstances from those which we may suppose to have prevailed in ancient Scotland.

[1] La Normandie Souterraine, p. 218.

[2] The Church in the Catacombs, p. 182. Lond. 1846.

[3] Cutt's Manual of Slabs and Crosses, p. 41.

[4] The Five Great Monarchies of the Ancient Eastern World, vol. i. p. 82.

[5] Journal of the Geographical Society, vol. ix. pp. 57, 58 ; and see *antea*, p. i. *note*.

[6] As on Maiden Stone, vol. i. Pl. II. ; Drimmies, Pl. IX. ; Park, Pl. XII. ; Inveravon, Pl. XV. ; Manbean, Pl. XVII. ; Hilton of Cadboll, Pl. XXV. ; in the Don, Pl. XXXVII. ; at Kirriemuir, Pl. XLIII. ; St. Vigeans, Pl. LXIX. ; Meigle, Pl. LXXIII. ; Kingoldrum, Pl. LXXXIX. ; Dunnichen, Pl. XCII. ; Dunrobin, Pl. CXII.

[7] As at Daviot, vol i. Pl. IV. ; Dunrobin, Pl. XXXIII., where the comb resembles some of the Irish examples figured in Wilde's Catalogue ; Aberlemno, Pl. LXXI.

[8] As at Dunrobin, No. II., Pl. XXXIII. ; St. Vigeans, Pl. LXXI. ; Rosemarkie, Pl. CV. CVI.

[9] As at Dunrobin, Pl. XXXII.

[10] Vol. ii. Pl. LXI.

[11] Vol. ii. Pl. LVII.

[12] Vol. ii. Pl. LIV.

[13] Vol. ii. Pl. IX.

[14] Ethnological Researches respecting the Red Men of America, by Schoolcraft, part ii. p. 57.

[15] Arch. Journal, vol. v. pp. 254, 255.

[16] A pair of scissors of silver was found in St. Cuthbert's coffin in 1104.—Raine, p. 216.

[17] Arch. Journ. vol. v. pp. 256, 257.

It has been suggested that the occurrence of the mirror and comb on the stone at Hilton of Cadboll (vol. i. Plate XXV.), where a female on horseback is also represented, may be held to support the view just referred to. The scene in which these figures occur is that of a hunt where mounted horsemen also are figured, so that it seems difficult to restrict the application of the symbols to the female figures; while the mirror and comb are found on the stone at St. Vigeans (*ib.* Plate LXXI.), where any reference to a female seems excluded. The shears occur on the stone at Migvie, while a mounted horseman is on both sides of the pillar (Plate LXXVIII. vol. ii.

In the Roman graves discovered at Lillebonne in 1853 were found a bronze vase containing burned bones, with several bronze lamps; also "une plaque de miroir de métal poli, un chandelier en bronze une fibule en bronze, une agrafe en bronze émaillé en forme de serpent, un bracelet . . . . un peigne et six petits anneaux de bronze . . . un manche de patère ou de miroir en bronze . . . une boucle de ceinturon en bronze," etc. etc.[1]

We learn also from Cochet that in the Merovingian cemeteries of Londinières and Envermeu combs were found resembling those found at Bel-Air and described by M. Troyon, and that they were in the girdles of the dead. But the combs found at Selzen, near Mayence, by M. Lindenschmit, were variously disposed. One was found at the feet of a warrior in a vase of bronze; another was placed by the legs of a skeleton which might have been that of a woman; while in other cases, where the skeletons were those of men, the comb occurred with the buckle and knife.[2]

Speaking of the comb of St. Loup, and of the saint's practice of using it at the ordinations of those whom he consecrated to God of the hairy race among whom he laboured, the Abbé Cochet remarks:—"Tout le monde sait qu'alors le signe de l'entrée dans l'eglise était la déposition de la chevelure: 'Comaque capitis deposita monachus factus est' est il dit de Gamardus, seigneur de Villy—sur Yére, qui, au VII^e^ siecle, se plaça sous la conduite de Saint Wandrille dans son monastère de Fontenelle. Une chose bien remarquable c'est que chez les sauvages de l'Amerique et de l'Occanie un des signes de conversion au Christianisme consiste encore a se couper la barbe et la criniere."[3]

The comb might thus in some cases come to symbolise the fact of conversion to Christianity, from its use at a rite which marked the renunciation of the older system.

Among nations who regarded long hair as the symbol of freedom and nobility we might find other reasons for their regard towards the comb, and it is possible that the comb may in some cases have come to denote a possessor of flowing locks. On this subject a recent writer has said[4]—"When reading and writing are unknown everything must be expressed by symbols; and those symbols are naturally selected which are most easily noticed and generally understood. It was for this reason that the Anglo-Saxons chose certain modes of wearing the hair as the outward signs of particular stations in society, and as the expression of a right to important privileges. Long and flowing hair was *at first* evidence that the wearer was a noble, and *always* that he possessed unforfeited and unimpeached all the rights of an Anglo-Saxon freeman. It conferred dignity on the wearer, and the highest and most illustrious were proud of it. It was the distinction in which the Merovingian kings of France most gloried; and Harold Fair-hair and Cnut the Great considered that the length and beauty of their hair added to their lawful claims to popular admiration."

"In the earliest periods beards and moustachios were worn of an immense size, and were particularly esteemed by such of the population as were of British descent. The want of them was considered by the laity as a mark of weakness and vulgarity, and by the clergy as evidence of effeminacy and dissolute life." The Anglo-Saxon priesthood persisted in wearing them in defiance of canonical prohibition, till Dunstan compelled them to shave in an orthodox manner.[5]

"A child's hair was never cut or dressed until he came of age, except as an insult or practical joke. His coming of age was marked by a ceremonious shortening and dressing of his hair by his father, or if his father was dead, or thought fit to entrust the operation to other hands, it was done by some one who was willing to adopt him and become his nominal father. Sometimes the operation was performed on young princes by archbishops, or even by the Pope himself, whereby the operator became the spiritual father of the youth, and was supposed to be bound to him by parental ties nearly equal to those of a real father. And as public dressing and arranging of the hair was part of the established form of parental recognition and adoption, so the cutting it off in public

[1] Cochet, La Normandie Souterraine, p. 108. Notices of other mirrors found in sepulchral urns are given by Cochet (*Ibid.* pp. 94, 209). A notice of a comb found in a tomb, with a knife, scissors, a bracelet, a cup, and many other ornaments, occurs in Cochet (*Ibid.* p. 208).

[2] *Ibid.* p. 218. The mirrors found in Etruscan tombs are round or pear-shaped plates of bronze, generally with a handle, although a few have been found without a handle. For a long time these mirrors were regarded by antiquaries as *patera*, but their real character is now established, "that they were instruments of personal rather than of sacred use, and served no other mysteries than those of the bath and toilet."—Dennis' Etruria, vol. i. p. lxxv.

[3] La Normandie Souterraine, p. 218.

[4] Thrupp's Anglo-Saxon Home, p. 173, Lond. 1862, quoting Turner's Anglo-Sax. iii. p. 43; Anglo Sax. Ch. i. p. 251. Theod. Penit. viii. 3, iv. 68.

[5] Canons under King Edgar, c. 47; Law of the Northumbrian Priests, in Thorpe's Ancient Laws, vol. ii. pp. 34, 40.

was the formal rite by which a parent disowned a son, whom he immediately afterwards beat and turned out of his house."

"No slave was allowed to wear long hair. He was compelled to keep it always close-cropped." "When he was manumitted he received a cap of liberty that he might conceal the insignia of his previous servile position until nature provided him with external evidence of freedom."

"If the right of wearing long hair was important to men, it was doubly so to women; for with them it was not only a mark of rank but of chastity. Every young freewoman, while unmarried, was said 'to be in her hair,' which she wore long and loose; and when she married she was required to dress it in a different manner. If she misconducted herself it was cut off altogether."[1]

Simeon of Durham refers to the plaited hair of the Scots,[2] and on the curious sarcophagus at St. Andrews two prominent figures of men are represented with flowing ringlets and moustachios, while on the head of another man of less importance the hair is short and scrubby.

The figures on the stone at Forteviot are also represented as having long moustachios.[3]

We learn from Giraldus Cambrensis that the Irish ecclesiasties of the twelfth century "viri qui ecclesiastica gaudent immunitate et quos viros ecclesiastieos vocant quanquam laici et uxorati," were distinguished also for the length of their hair, "comis quoque prælongis trans humerum diffusis."[4] On one of the crosses at Monasterboice the figures of ecclesiasties and warriors are both represented as wearing moustachios; and on one of those at Clonmacnois, of two ecclesiasties one has a plaited beard and another a flowing beard, while both wear moustachios.[5]

The shears do not occur frequently on the Scotch stones. They are found, however, on an early cross-pillar at Migvie, associated with the "speetacles" and horse-shoe figure. Of *late* examples of the shears we have instances, although not apparently very numerous in Scotland. In addition to the examples at Keils and Kilkerran already noticed, I may refer to the stones recently dug up in the ruined church "of the rock" at St. Andrews, on one of which were a sword and shears, and on another (Plate IX. vol. ii.) a comb and shears. These monuments were probably of the fifteenth century.

It would thus appear that the sculpturing of such objects as the comb, mirror, and shears may have been done by different people and at various times, with dissimilar objects; yet, as we can be sure that the figures are really meant to represent these objects, it may suggest to us that, at all events, some of the other figures are likewise intended to portray articles of ornament or personal use, and to represent actual objects, rather than abstract ideas having an occult or mystical signification.

It seems therefore to me that the figure called the "spectacles," and an oblong figure which appears on the Maiden Stone (Plate II. vol. i.; Arndilly, Plate XV.), and with slight variations on other stones, may probably be meant to represent an ornament of the nature of a clasp or buckle; while, if the "crescent" is not of this description, or for being fastened on the dress, it may have been meant for an ornament like the golden tiaras of which numerous specimens have been found in Ireland and some in Scotland.

The "broken sceptre" which crosses the crescent both in the outline form on the pillar-stones and the decorated form on the cross-slabs, is occasionally filled up in the angles with something, as if to render the object compact.[6] At times the "sceptre" passes under the line which forms the rim of the crescent.[7] In some cases the appearance of the object is strongly suggestive of a surface of metal, the lower angle being strengthened as in the ruder examples, and the rest of the surface filled in with ornamental patterns.[8]

On some of the rude pillars the crescent is twice represented,[9] and on one of the cross-slabs it appears three times.[10] On two stones there is a double crescent.[11] The convex side of the crescent is always uppermost, except on one stone, where the crescent is inverted.[12]

On the shoulders of the figures on the stone at Invergowrie may be observed two circular ornaments probably fastened by a connecting tongue piercing the plaid-like dress in which the figures are dressed.[13]

On the Irish crosses the figures of ecclesiasties are frequently represented with large brooches fastening their

[1] Thrupp *ut supra*, quoting Paul Diacon. de gestis Longobard, lib. iv. c. 53; Gregor. Turon. lib. vi. c. 24; Spelman's Gloss. *v. Capillati;* Ancient Laws and Institutes, *v.* Homola; Baronii Annales Ecclesias. t. xii. p. 71.

[2] Of Uchtred the Northumbrian earl we are told that in A.D. 969 he gathered a considerable army of Northumbrians and men of Yorkshire, and almost destroyed an army of invading Scots—"Interfectorum vero capita elegantiora, crinibus sicut tunc temporis mos erat perplexis, fecit Dunelmum transportari."—Sim. Dunel. Hist. ap. Twysden Scriptores Decem, p. 80. Lond. 1652.

[3] Sculptured Stones, vol. ii. Plate CIII.

[4] Topog. Hibern. dist. iii. cap. xxvi.

[5] O'Neill's Irish Crosses, Plates XIV. and XXII. Lond. 1857.

[6] St. Madoes, Pl. LV. vol. i., and Rosemarkie, Pl. CV. CVI.; South Ronaldshay, Pl. XCVI. vol. i.; Lindores, Pl. CII. vol. i.

[7] Pl. XVI., at Elgin.

[8] Pl. XXV. vol. i., at Hilton of Cadboll.

[9] As at Daviot, Pl. IV. vol. i.; at Knockando, vol. ii. Pl. CV.

[10] At Rosemarkie, Pls. CV. CVI. vol. i.

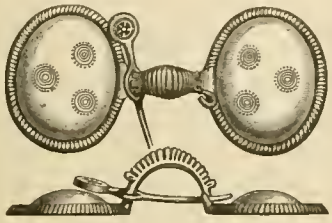
[11] At Ulbster, vol. i. Pl. XL.; at Kintore, Pl. CXI.

[12] At Old Deer, Pl. XI. vol. i.

[13] "Look at the circular ornaments which two of the figures on the Invergowrie stone wear round their necks. I sent the drawing of this to the Lincoln meeting of the Archæological Institute. By

dresses at the shoulder.[1] Martin describes the brooches with which the women of the Western Islands fastened their plaids on the breast. One of silver was "of an hundred marks value; it was broad as any ordinary pewter plate, the whole curiously engraven with various animals," etc.[2] Fibulæ have frequently been found on the breasts of the bodies in Saxon graves. In one case Mr. Melville found three fibulæ on the right breast of a skeleton, one of which was chased and gilt, besides a pair of bronze clasps and an iron buckle.[3]

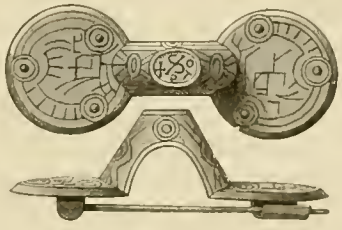
Many of the brooches found in Scandinavian and German tombs have the appearance of two ornamental discs connected by a cross-bar, on which a long tongue plays. Good examples occur in Estorff's "Heathen Antiquities" (Plate XI.),[4] from which I engrave the two following specimens.



In some cases these figures of the spectacles and crescent seem to represent enamelled surfaces after the fashion of many bronze objects in Mr. Kemble's "Horæ Ferales," where they are classed as "late Celtic." Cochet has figured some ancient clasps and buckles found in tombs, and tells us that the designs are generally "des ronds, des ovales, des losanges, des entrelacs, des dents de scie, des enroulments, des croix, des brisures, des chevrons, des frettes et des zigzags."

A gold bracelet found in a loch in Galloway, and described by Sir John Clerk as consisting of two circles very artificially folding or twisting into one another, may have been of this description.[5]

In Blant's "Collection of Gaulish Inscriptions" he has figured (Plate XXII.) a brooch, the front view of which might well pass for the spectacle ornament.[6] I give a cut of it from Blant's Plate.



I can scarcely doubt that the figure which occasionally resembles a horse-shoe is intended to represent a brooch or torque, which, with the bracelet, was a prominent article in use by many different people. With some the golden *fibula* was the symbol of royal descent. In the First Book of the Maccabees, chap. x. verse 89, it is said that Alexander, the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, wishing to add to the glory of Jonathan—"Misit ei fibulam auream sicut consuetude est dari cognatis regum;" and again that Antiochus sent to Jonathan golden vessels, and gave him power "habere fibulam auream" (chap. xi. v. 58).

The torques of the Irish are spoken of in the most ancient Irish MSS. under the name of *mun-torc*, and *muinche* or *moinche*. Thus, in a description of the person of Cormac MacArt in the book of Ballymote it is stated that he had a fine purple garment about him, a golden brooch on his breast, a *muntorc* or collar of gold around his neck, etc.

And again, in another MS. in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, reference is made to two apples or balls of gold on the two forks of his *moinche*, each the size of a man's fist.[7]

accident it was placed in a case next to a gold ornament found in Ireland, the use of which was unknown: the one illustrated the other. This led me to think that our spectacle ornament on the stones might be intended for the same thing—a morse. Though *morsus* is explained by *fibula*, I doubt if it was strictly a *fibula*, but it answered the same purpose in perhaps a different manner. In Dugdale's Monasticon, vol. viii. p. 1205, you will see mention of a morse of gold, etc., weighing 7 lbs. 2 oz., and of some weighing two or three pounds.—Letter from the late Patrick Chalmers of Aldbar to me, dated 8th June 1853.

[1] O'Neill's Irish Crosses. See those at Monasterboice, Plate XIV.; Clonmacnoise, Plates XXII and XXIV; and Kells, Plate XXIV.

[2] Western Islands, p. 208.

[3] Arch. Journ. vol. xi. p. 97.

[4] Heidnisch Alterthümer der Gegend von Uelzen im ehemaligen Bardengaue, by C. O. Carl von Estorff. Hanover 1846. Similar examples will be found in other recent works.

[5] Wilson's Prehistoric Annals, vol. i. p. 161.

[6] Inscriptions Chrétiennes de la Gaule. Antérieures au viii Siècle. Paris 1854.

[7] Petrie, Antiquities of Tara, p. 159.

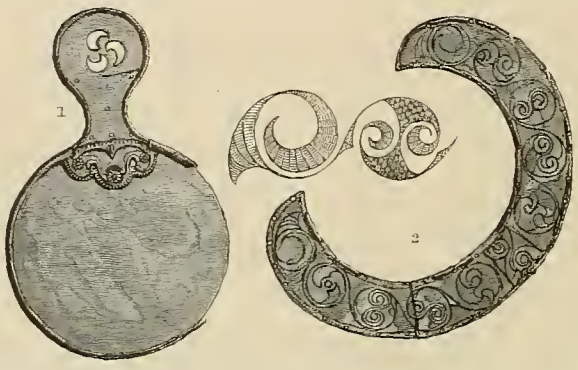
Of the Saxon king Edmund we read that on his northward march against the Scotch "obtulit duas armillas de brachio suo extractas, S. Cuthberto."[1]

In the testament of Brichtric and Ælffuitha his wife the former leaves to his natural lord the king—"armillam auream que habebat octoginta mancas auri, et unum handseax tantundem auri habentem, et quatuor equos, duos ex eis optime faleratos, et duos gladios optime adornatos, et duos accipitres et omnes canes suos venaticos, et domine sue regine armillam unam, que habebat triginta mancas auri." The queen gave to the church of St. Andrew at Rochester certain lands, and with "XXX. mancas auri et unam torquem auream de XL. mancis auri, et unam cupam argenteam et dimidiam vittam capitis auream." To the church of Canterbury she leaves certain bequests—"Et unam torquem auream que habebat octoginta mancas auri."[2]

The torques and armilla are seen on some of the gold Gaulish coins, imitations of the Philips of Macedon, struck at different intervals from Brennus' invasion of Northern Greece, B.C. 278, till the age of Augustus.

On an anonymous third brass coin or medallet, struck about the time of Domitian, appears on the obverse a laurel branch with IO IO TRIUMP[E], the cry in the triumphal procession; and on the reverse a *torques* and two bracelets (*armillæ*) to indicate the people, probably the Germans, conquered by Domitian.[3]

These last greatly resemble some of the "horse-shoe" figures on the sculptured stones.



The bronze mirror lately found at Balmaclellan, with a bronze plate of crescent shape, and other fragments of bronze plates, bears a marked resemblance in style and shape to some of the mirrors figured on the stones, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that the "crescent" and "spectacles" may have been also of a similar nature. It is certain that the spiral ornamentation with which the more advanced specimens on the stones are filled is of the same character as that which appears on the bronze mirror and plate just described, which are here represented along with an enlargement of the spiral ornamentation of the plate.

It is difficult to draw any conclusion as to the *size* of the symbols from the examples on the stones. A comb is figured on the second plate (vol. i.) which measures a foot in length. The adjoining mirror is about 18 inches, while the elephant in the panel above is about 3 feet. The bronze mirror from Balmaclellan measures with its handle about 13 inches in length; the greatest diameter of the plate is 13 inches.

On the stone at Daviot the comb is about five inches as compared with the mirror, which is about eleven inches, and with the crescent, which is about a foot in length.

On the stone at Kingoldrum (Plate LXXXIX.) the comb, which is here a double-toothed one, is longer than the mirror. At Glenferness (Plate XXIV.) the "spectacles" are more than double the size of the "crescent," while of the two elephants one is about half the size of the other. On one of the stones at Meigle (Plate LXXIII.) the elephant is not larger than the comb, and is less than the mirror.

It is plain, however, from various instances that the symbols are represented without any relative proportion to the other objects. Thus at Elgin the crescent and spectacles occupy more room than the men and horses below them (Plate XVI.)

It is possible that at least some of the crosses on the stones may be magnified copies of the personal crosses used by the person commemorated. On the slab near Aberlemno (vol. i. Plate LXXXI.) a cross with precious stones is figured, and another near Meigle (Plate LXXV.) seems to be of the same kind; as also the cross of St. John at Iona (vol. ii. Plate XLV.)

The fish was a recognised Christian symbol from the earliest times. The figure of what looks like a salmon occurs on several of the rude pillar-stones along with the symbols in their outline form. It is found also on those cross-slabs where the symbols occur in their ornamented state. In the cross at Hamilton two fishes are introduced apparently as ornaments for filling up space (vol. i. Plate CXVIII.)

[1] Jo. Leland, Collect. vol. i. pp. 374, 375.

[2] Dugdale's Monasticon Anglicanum, vol. i. p. 171.

[3] Dr. Birch, in Arch. Journ. vol. ii. p. 373.

The serpent occurs on both classes of monuments. Sometimes it appears as impaled by the "broken sceptre," and at other times without the sceptre.[1] On the cross-slabs the serpents are mixed up with other figures, such as the comb and mirror, hunting scenes, and the like; on the rude pillars they are found along with the spectacle ornament, comb, and mirror.[2] They thus are associated in some cases with familiar scenes and objects which we can recognise.

It appears to me that, like the spectacles and crescents, the serpents may have been used for badges and ornaments,[3] and that the sceptre which occasionally occurs may have been a distinguishing mark, and if the object was an ornament, perhaps the means of attaching it to a dress. The "broken sceptre," as in the cases where it occurs with the other objects, is not a simple broken line, as might have been expected in the expression of an abstract symbol, but has the appearance of a contrivance in the angles for rendering it compact, as if copied from an actual object.

In many cases the angles of the "sceptre" are filled up with something as if for the purpose of strengthening them, as at Insch, vol. i. Plate VI.; Rhynie, Plate VII.; Dyce, Plate IX.; Tyrie, Plate XIII.; Brodie, Plate XXII.; Glenferness, Plate XXIV.; Newton, Plate XXXVII; Aberlemno, Plate LXXI., and elsewhere. At times it appears as if the lines which connect the circles of the "spectacles" passed *through* the "sceptre" so as to unite them as one object,[4] and sometimes a piece of mechanism may be seen like a joint, as if to allow means of play in the sceptre.[5] If the latter could be supposed to be a contrivance for fastening these objects to the dress in the one case, it might be so in the others. If, again, the figures in question represent objects made of thin bronze plates, it is possible that they may have been otherwise attached to the dress, or to some surface as ornaments, perhaps by being sewed to it, for which purpose some have thought they could detect holes for the attaching membrane.

It must be remarked also that the "sceptre" never occurs as part of the mirrors or combs, but always as connected with the "crescents," "spectacles," "serpents," "horse-shoe," and "oblong ornaments," which I have supposed might have been used as badges, ornaments, or brooches.

In some cases the serpent seems to be used merely in a pictorial way, as in the panel of the stone at Strathmartin and on a slab at the manse of Kinnell.[6] Two serpents are figured on the cross slab at Farnell, where the Temptation is represented.[7]

Serpents enter much into the *ornamental* work of the cross-slabs, as at St. Andrews[8] and Nigg.[9] They are found also in the elaborate work of Irish crosses, shrines, and early MSS.

Mr. Dennis[10] says of the serpent that it "was an object of divination among the Romans, and probably also among the Etruscans, as it still continues to be among certain people of Asia and Africa. Serpents were worshipped by the Egyptians, and cherished in their temples, and the Greeks kept representations of them in the temples of Bacchus. It is also a well-known emblem of Apollo, of his son Æsculapius, and of Minerva in her character of Hygeia. The serpent seems to have been used by the Romans as a mark of sacredness. They were wont to paint it on walls for the same purpose that the modern Italians paint crosses or souls in purgatory. Serpents were regarded by the ancients as genii of the place where they were found or as ministers of the dead. Gerhard thinks the serpent was introduced on the painted vases often as a simple expression of fear; but is it not enough that it was a funereal emblem, the vases being sepulchral furniture?"

Whether we are to regard the serpent as a mere symbolical representation or as the copy of a real object, it is easy to understand its use as "a funereal emblem," or as one of the distinguishing ensigns or badges of the individual.

Cochet informs us that serpents, as well as dragons, chimeras, griffins, and fabulous animals like those in the early manuscripts of the French and Anglo-Saxons, are used in the ornamentation of clasps and buckles,[11] and elsewhere he describes an enamelled clasp of bronze in the form of a serpent.[12]

In the treatises devoted to the hieroglyphics of animals we are told that the serpent was a symbol of sovereignty, and various qualities are said to be indicated according to the position of the animal. Thus, a serpent turned round and biting its tail is said to represent a very good king, and a serpent with its eyes open, raising itself up, to mark a vigilant prince. Three serpents on medals are said to represent Asia, while the ibis was the symbol of Egypt, the elephant of Africa, the rabbit of Spain, and the horse of Italy. It would appear to have been assumed as an ensign in war by many ancient peoples.

The knowledge of the elephant was brought into Europe by the Greeks after the Indian expeditions of Alexander the Great. They were introduced into Italy by Pyrrhus, and were generally used in warfare after that time

[1] At Insch, vol. i. Plate VI.; at Newton, vol. i. Plate XXXVII., Ballintheron, vol. i. Plate LXVII.; Aberlemno, vol. i. Plate LXXI.; Strathmartin, vol. i. Plate LXXVII.; Inverury, vol. i. Plate CXIII.

[2] Mortlach, vol. i. Plate XIV.; Golspie, vol. i. Plate XXXIV.; St. Vigeans, and near the church of Aberlemno, vol. i. Plate LXXI.; Meigle, vol. i. Plate LXXIII.; Cask, vol. i. Plate CIII.

[3] The serpent occurs also on British coins.—Evans' Ancient British Coins, pp. 204-207.

[4] Elgin, Pl. XVI. [5] St. Vigeans, Pl. LXIX.

[6] Vol. i. Plate LXXVII., and vol. ii. Plate CII.

[7] Vol. i. Plate LXXXVI.

[8] Vol. i. Plate LXII. [9] Ibid. Plate XXVIII.

[10] Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria, vol. i. pp. 221, 222.

[11] La Normandie Souterraine, p. 215. [12] Ibid. p. 108.

The elephant occurs on Greek and Roman coins, and after the African war Cæsar is said to have given the fifth legion an elephant for an ensign.

We learn from Polyænus, a writer of the second century, that Cæsar, attempting to pass a large river in Britain, was resisted by Cassolaulus, king of the Britons, with many horsemen and chariots. Cæsar had in his train a very large elephant, an animal hitherto unseen by the Britons. Having armed him with scales of iron, and put a large tower upon him, and placed therein archers and slingers, he ordered them to enter the stream, on which the Britons in consternation fled with their horses and chariots.[1] Our ignorance of the amount of intercourse between people of different countries in early times hinders us from tracing the source from which the idea of an elephant might naturally have been introduced into Pictland.

There was an old belief, which was long prevalent, that the elephant had no joints. It was noticed by Dicuil, the Irish commentator of the ninth century, who had an opportunity of seeing the elephant which Haroun Alraschid sent as a present to Charlemagne in the year 802. He corrects the error, and attributes the perpetuation of it to the circumstance that the joints in the elephant's leg are not very apparent except when he lies down.

In the numerous mediæval treatises on natural history known under the title of Bestiaries this delusion regarding the elephant is often repeated, where he is said to symbolise certain abstract qualities, as munificence, strength, temperance, and justice.[2]

The Bestiaries of the middle ages so frequently found in conventual libraries must, however, have diffused a knowledge of uncommon animals. A treatise of this nature is mentioned by Bede entitled "De naturis bestiarum;" and among the books given by Bishop Ethelwold to the restored monastery of Peterborough, about the middle of the tenth century, is one entitled "Liber Bestiarum."[3]

The elephant also occurs on many Roman coins, which, being diffused in most parts of the world, would make the form of the animal familiar.

The elephant of the Scotch stones cannot, however, be regarded as a likeness, but rather as a conventional representation of the animal, and the unvarying adherence to one form would suggest that the sculptors were unacquainted with the original, and were not working from a traditional description, in which case we might have expected to find the same varying degeneracy as in the case of the Gaulish and British coins already referred to, but rather were copying a figure with defined form, like the "spectacles" and "crescent."

It would seem that where a living animal was to be represented the sculptor's skill enabled him to give an unmistakable likeness, not merely of horses, deer, and the like, but of a creature like the camel. Thus, on the cross in the remote island of Canna (vol. ii. Plate LI.) is a spirited picture of a camel, and on the cross-slab at Meigle (vol. i. Plate LXXIII.) the camel is represented as kneeling on its fore-legs; and that camels were to be seen in Scotland in early times we may gather from an occurrence thus recorded in the Annals of Innisfallen under the year A.D. 1105 :—"In this year a camel, which is an animal of wonderful size, was presented by the King of Alban to Mucertae O'Brien" (Collect. de. Reb. Alban. p. 279).

The outline of the elephant continues the same even when the body becomes covered with ornament; and it seems to me to be worthy of remark, that while these ornamental scrolls and patterns which come to be used on the elephant, the crescent, and occasionally on the mirror, are like those used in illuminated Irish MSS. and in the filling up of the *crosses*, these ornaments are not found on any of the *living* creatures in the accompanying pictures on the cross-slabs, from which we may perhaps be justified in concluding that the elephant represents an ornament or badge rather than a living creature, and that it may be classed with the crescent, spectacles, and mirror. Thus, while we can discover an attempt to represent wool on sheep (St. Andrews and Nigg, vol. i. Plates XXIX. and LXI.), and feathers on the birds on the same stones, and scales on the monsters at Brodie (vol. i. Plate XXII.), the surface of the elephant has the interlaced knot-work at Brodie and Glenferness (vol. i. Plates XXII. and XXIV.), the diagonal pattern at Shandwick (vol. i. Plate XXVI.), just as the crescent is filled up with lattice-like ornament (Fowlis-Wester, vol. i. Plate LX.), or with a spiral ornament as at Dunrobin (vol. i. Plate XXXII.), at Brodie (Plate XXII.), at Inverury (Plate CIII.), at St. Vigeans (Plate LXXIX.), and on the monument at Rosemarkie, thrice repeated—once with open knot-work, once with a series of bosses, and once with the diagonal pattern. The mirrors at Inveravon, Aradilly, and Inverury are filled up with varying ornamental patterns (vol. i. Plates XV. and CXIII.), and the spectacles have sometimes a spiral design, as if representing an enamelled surface (Brodie, vol. i. Plate XXII.; Fordun, Plate LXVII.; St. Vigeans, Plate LXXIX.; Dunnichen, Plate XCII.; and at St. Madoes, Plate LV., where the design suggests an object formed of spiral wires, like brooches found in Hanover, and figured on a previous page).

A close resemblance to *a type* seems also to pervade the representations of the crescent and spectacles as well as the elephant. A traditional style of pictorial representation was not uncommon in other countries. On this subject Sir James Tennent remarks :—"Like the priesthood of Egypt, those of Ceylon regulated the mode of delineating the

[1] Monum. Historica Britannica, p. li.

[2] Les Hieroglyphiques de Jan-Pierre Valerian, pp. 19, 20. Lyons 1645.

[3] Arch. Journal, vol. xx. p. 361.

effigies of their divine teacher by a rigid formulary, with which they combined corresponding directions for the drawing of the human figure in connection with sacred subjects. In the relics of Egyptian family painting and sculpture we find that the same formal outline, the same attitudes and postures of the body, the same conventional modes of representing the different parts, were adhered to at the latest as at the earliest periods. No improvements were admitted; no attempts to copy nature or to give proper action to the limbs. Certain rules and certain models had been established by law, and the faulty conceptions of early times were copied and perpetuated by every succeeding artist."[1]

In contrast to this supposed adherence to an original type, as accounting for the uniformity of outline in the elephant, and in the crescent and spectacles, I may refer to the Gaulish and British coins.

The Gaulish coins seem to be principally moulded on those of Philip of Macedon, through intercourse with the Phocean colony of Massilia. The British coins are of the same type, and are probably imitations of those of Gaul. "The imitation appears to have depended on memory, for though there is a general resemblance to the original type, it is evidently not executed with the ancient coin before the eye of the artist. The coin is clearly not a coarse copy of a fine original, but is itself the original work of an artist who retains no more than a very general idea of the device he is to execute. . . . . There is gradual degeneracy till the more frequent intercourse with the Romans improved the skill of the native artists."[2]

Besides the objects which are figured on the rude pillar-stones and have been classed as *symbols*—such as the mirror, comb, spectacles, horse-shoe figure, fish, elephant, and serpent—there are on the cross-slabs many representations, of which some may perhaps be held to be of the nature of personal symbols (such as the dog's head on the silver ornament from Norrie's Law, vol. i. Plate CXXXIII.; the plant or flower on the stones at Dunnichen, vol. i. Plate XCII.; and Dunrobin, vol. i. Plate XXXII.), though the greater number assume the character of pictorial ornamentation.

Of the pictorial scenes, again, some are no doubt descriptive of actual events, while in many cases they are the fruit of the artist's imagination. The scenes represented on the same stone are at times of an incongruous nature. Thus, the beautiful slab at Nigg (vol. i. Plates XXVIII. XXIX.) has on one side an elaborate cross surmounted by a representation of the consecration of the host, while on the other is a scene composed of a dog in pursuit of a stag, a mounted horseman, a man playing with cymbals, a harp, a sheep, a man armed with a shield and spear, an eagle, besides other indistinct figures of men and animals, without any apparent connection.[3]

The scenes most common are those of the chase, while, as has been said, there are processions of ecclesiastics and warriors. There can be little doubt that such pictures as these may be regarded as real representations, but it is not so clear that they can be held to characterise *the individual* on whose monument they occur, as in the case of the "symbols."

On the walls of the painted tombs of Etruria, and on the vases contained in them, we find boar-hunts, combats, and feasts pourtrayed. There are also figures of hippocampi, centaurs, dolphins, lions, sphinxes, and the like. Some of the scenes are no doubt drawn from the mythic fables of Greece, but in many cases they seem to be entirely fanciful. Of these Mr. Dennis has said—"It may be doubted whether such scenes [the feasts] are emblematic of the bliss of the departed or representations of the actual feasts held in their honour: in either case there can be no doubt that they are truthful delineations of Etruscan costumes and manners. I am inclined to a descriptive interpretation, admitting, at same time, the symbolical character of certain objects, some of which were probably introduced on that account at the actual feasts. It seems to me indeed quite superfluous to regard all the pictorial furniture of these tombs as symbolical, as some have done. In this case, for instance, the trees which alternate with the dancers are most probably introduced merely to indicate that the festivities are held in the open air; and the animals seem for the most part mere ornamental accessories or whims of the artist" (vol. i. p. 296).

In the same way, of the combats on these urns Mr. Dennis says that "they sometimes represent a well-known event in classic mythology; sometimes an ordinary contest between warriors, without any individual reference, or illustrative of some unknown native tradition" (vol. ii. p. 344).

Mrs. H. Gray gives the drawing of a lady's tomb on which appears the representation of a combat, obviously as a picture, and not as characterising the person commemorated.[4]

[1] Ceylon, vol. i. p. 172, quoting Sir Gardiner Wilkinson's Ancient Egyptians, vol. iii. c. x. pp. 87, 264.

[2] Mr. Hawkins, in Numismatic Chronicle, vol. i. p. 25.

[3] The scenes represented on the walls of Etruscan tombs in like manner seem to have little of the sepulchral character. Of these Dennis says:—"Can these scenes of feasting and merriment, this dancing, this piping, this sporting, appertain to a tomb? There, on the inner wall, and occupying the principal row, is a banqueting scene; figures richly broidered garlands recline on couches, feasting to the sound of the lyre and pipes; attendants stand around, some replenishing the goblets from the wine jars on a sideboard hard by; a train of dancers, male and female, beat time with lively steps to the notes of the instruments, on which some of them are also performing; while on the lower row are depicted field sports, a boar hunt being the most conspicuous"—Dennis' Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria, vol. i. p. 282.

[4] Sepulchres of Ancient Etruria, p. 102.

It seems to me that *in the main* the scenes and animals which occur on the cross-slabs are introduced for pictorial effect and to cover the surface The Irish scribes introduced many of the same ornaments and grotesque animals as are found on the Scotch slabs simply for ornament ; as in the Book of Kells "there are throughout coloured representations of animals—birds, horses, dogs, wolves, placed without any reference to the text, but simply to fill up the vacant spaces;"[1] and the Irish crosses are covered with representations of Scriptural scenes, which, from the variety on the same monument, can have no individual application to the person for whom the cross was erected.

The centaur occurs both on Scotch and Irish monuments. It is seen on a cross-slab at Meigle carrying branches ;[2] and again at Glammis, on a like slab, brandishing battle-axes ;[3] and at Aberlemno with branches and a club.[4] On the pedestal of a cross in the street of Kells are two centaurs. The one bears goats' horns, and carries a trident. The other carries a bow, from which he is discharging an arrow. A bird appears to attack him from behind. In front of the other is a bird with a fish in its claws, and another which has fixed on a lamb. The opposite side of the pedestal has a spirited combat, in which two men armed with spears and round shields are fighting with three who are armed with swords and shields. The other sides have hunting scenes.[5]

Centaurs occur on British coins, such as those of Tasciovanus and Cunobeline. Mr. Evans informs us that "among earlier coins centaurs appear as drawing a chariot on a denarius of the Aurelia family, but in that case holding olive branches," as in the case at Meigle just referred to.[6]

The centaur was adopted into the subsequent system of heraldry as one of the chimerical charges, and I am not sure that it would be safe to attribute much more meaning to it on our cross-slabs than to such other figures in the pictures as are mere copies from some external source, or the suggestion of fancy, and not pictures of actual objects. The Pegasus occurs on British coins, as also the head of Medusa. The eagle is also a favourite device on British as well as Gaulish coins. It is seen on a coin of Tasciovanus, with a griffin on the reverse. Another coin of this prince has Pegasus on the obverse, and a winged griffin on the reverse. Mr. Evans points out the occurrence of the griffin on other British as well as Gaulish coins, and supposes them to be of classical origin. He conjectures that their appearance on the British coins is due to the employment of foreign artists, or to some acquaintance with the classical mythology, which made this animal sacred to Apollo (p. 243).

Among the devices on British coins may be noticed circles, crescents, and wheels (Evans, Plate IV. No. 9 ; Plate V. No. 5 ; Plate V. No. 12). Among animals figured on British coins are the boar, goat, hippocampus, serpent, and possibly the elephant (pp. 120, 264, 258, 204, 122).

When the Celtic artists were not copying objects or animals, they showed their skill in the invention of grotesque and unnatural animal forms, which are generally introduced as mere ornament, and often shaped to fill up a certain space.[7]

Some of these grotesques may, however, be the embodiment of the popular belief in actual monsters, of which notices are found in the early Celtic annals. In A.D. 887 it is recorded that "a mermaid was cast ashore by the sea in the country of Alba. One hundred and ninety-five feet was her length, eighteen feet was the length of her hair, seven feet was the length of the fingers of her hand, seven feet also was the length of her nose ; she was whiter than the swan all over."[8]

In the reign of King Donald, A.D. 860, we are told, among other marvels, that "in Galloway ane huge multitude of serpentis fell out of the aire, and suddenly war resolvit in corruption, to the gret mortalitie of men and beistis."[9]

Adamnan[10] records the burial of a man who had been killed by the bite of a sea-monster in the Ness, and Dr. Reeves adds that "the belief that certain rivers and lakes were haunted by serpents of a demoniacal and terrible character was current among the Irish at a very remote period, and still prevails in many parts of Ireland, of which he cites instances from the lives of St. Mochua of Balla and St. Colman of Dromore.

In the Life of St. Serf we are told that at Dunning he slew a dragon which consumed men and beasts, "baculi sui cuspide pungens ;" and in the early part of the sixteenth century the place continued to be called "vallis

[1] Notes on Ornamentation, in "The Cromlech on Howth," p. 29.

[2] Meigle, Plate LXXV.

[3] Glammis, Plate LXXXIV.

[4] Aberlemno, Plate LXXX.

[5] O'Neill, Plate XXXIX.

[6] The Coins of the Ancient Britons, by John Evans, pp. 256, 257.

[7] The grotesque animals on the stones frequently occur amid rich border ornaments, in the same way as they are found in the manuscripts of the early Middle Age period. Of this M. Langlois writes ;—"On voit, d'après ce qui précède, que le luxe pittoresque des manuscrits ne consistait pas simplement dans les sujets historiés qui se rattachaient intimement aux matières du texte ; ce luxe dépendait essentiellement encore de la richesse des bordures et de la singularité des figures de caprice qui s'y trouvaient comprises ainsi que dans les ornaments des lettres capitales. Des dragons, des monstres en tout genre en furent les objets les plus frappants pendant une si longue durée de siècles, que nous ne pouvons, malgré la brièveté de ces remarques, garder, à cet égard, un silence absolu ; au reste, il faudrait sans doute remonter bien haut dans le passé pour débrouiller l'origine de la plupart de ces figures monstreuses que nous avaient transmises les anciens eux-mêmes, après les avoir sérieusement annexées au domaine de l'histoire naturelle" (p. 69).

[8] Annals of the Four Masters, vol. i. p. 541.

[9] Boece, Croniklis of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 172.

[10] Reeves' Adamnan, p. 140, *note*.

draconis."[1] The cross-slab at Strathmartine is held by tradition to mark the place where a dragon which had devoured nine maidens was at last killed by a person called Martin. A farm here is still called Baldragon.[2]

In a country where the boar was common it is not surprising to find figures of this animal on the sculptured stones. We find it singly and in groups.[3] Sometimes he is attacking a man, and at others he is being shot at with the bow and arrow. A ferocious wild boar is commemorated in the legend of St. Machar. The animal was committing ravages on the people and their crops when, on being struck by St. Machar's *bacul*, he was turned into a stone, which, according to the legend in the Scottish Breviary, was still to be seen in the beginning of the sixteenth century.[4]

The early history of many of our old families is made to hinge on the slaughter of some monster. William de Somerville is said to have got the lands of Linton in Roxburghshire as a reward for killing a monstrous serpent which infested the neighbourhood. The den of the animal is still pointed out as the Worm's-hole, and the field in which it is, is called Wormington. A sculptured stone in the old church of Linton, on which a man on horseback is piercing a monster (which also enters into the heraldic insignia of the family), is believed to commemorate the event.[5]

The sculptors of the stones may thus record old beliefs in monsters and wonders of various sorts. A belief in such monstrous creatures continued till late times. Thus, one of our chroniclers records that in 1500 one of the Lovat family, hunting in Glenconie among very rank heather, shot with an arrow a creature which burned everything around it. "It wes mair nor tua elis of lenth, as greit as the coist of ane man, without feet, haifand ane meikill fin on ilk syde, with ane taill and ane terribill heid, his greit deir doggis wald not eum neir it. It had greit speid; they callit it ane dragon."[6]

On this subject of the representations of monstrous animals on early works of art M. Langlois, in his "Essai sur la Calligraphie des Manuscrits du Moyen-Age,"[7] writes:—"Plusieurs écrivains, entre autres Malte-Brun et M. le docteur Vallot, de Dijon, ont donné quelques explications de ces monstruosités, qu'ils ne regardent pas, pour la plupart au moins, comme des figures purement fictives, mais bien comme se rattachant à des êtres réels, mais mal observé et inexactement décrits par les voyageurs de l'antiquité et du moyen-age" (p. 71). Authors, he goes on to say, who have treated of monsters, give the testimony of those who saw these prodigies, attest the existence of giants and pigmies, and describe in detail the figure and habitudes of the dragon, the basilisk, the griffin, the phœnix, and a thousand monsters with which they have peopled India and Africa (p. 73). And again:—"Un des monuments le plus curieux de cette longue et poétique période a fait naître les remarques suivantes que nous empruntons textuellement a M. Berger de Xivrey, dans se *Traditions tératologiques*" (p. 539). "M. Achille Allier, dans son grand ouvrage intitulé: *L'Ancien Bourbonnais*, a donné, parmi les planches qui ornent cette magnifique publication, le développement d'une colonne de l'ancienne église de Souvigny, ou se trouvent représentés, avec plusieurs mois et plusieurs signes du zodiaque, divers êtres mixtes et animaux monstrueux qui rentrent tout-a-fait dans nos traditions tératologiques. Au dessus d'une de ces figures est écrit le mot MANICORA. Mais il est très-probable que c'est une corruption de *Martichora*. La tête humaine de ce monstre, sa queue nouée et hérissée se rapportent bien à la description de Ctesias, *Indic.* c. viii. Les autres figures sont le griffon, l'unicorne, l'elephant, la sirène, le satyre, l'Ethiopien, dont les noms se lisent distinctement, et dont la représéntation est bien d'accord avec nos descriptions."

Lions occur at St. Andrews and Drainie. In both cases a man in a plaided dress is forcing open their jaws, and these may represent David slaying the lion. At St. Andrews we find apes[8] and leopards so formed as to be recognisable.

It was a favourite idea of the mediæval architects to introduce into churches grotesque figures of animals and men. The subjects of these sculptures seem in many cases to preclude the idea of any symbolical meaning having been intended by them. In an address from St. Bernard to William, abbot of Thierry, in the twelfth century, he denounces specifically many of these monstrous sculptures, and includes several of the figures which are to be found on our Scotch cross-slabs, "unclean apes," "fierce lions," "monstrous centaurs," "creatures half men." Writing in Normandy, and having in his eye "le chapitaux du prieuré de Graville, de la basilique de Saint-Georges-de-Boscherville," and other churches of the province,[9] he thus inveighed against the ornamental sculptures in them:—"Ceterum in claustris coram legentibus fratribus quid facit illa ridicula monstruositas, mira quædam deformis formositas ac formosa deformitas? quid ibi immundæ simiæ? quid feri leones? quid monstruosi centauri? quid semihomines? quid maculosæ tigrides? quid milites pugnantes? quid venatores tubicinantes? Videas sub uno capite multa corpora, et rursus in uno corpore capita multa. Cernitur hinc in quadrupede cauda serpentis; illinc in pisce

[1] Breviar. Aberd. Pars. hyemal, fol. xvi.

[2] Old Stat. Acc. vol. xiii. p. 99.

[3] As at Shandwick, vol. i. Plate XXVI.; Knocknagael, Plate XXXVIII.; Mugdrum, Plate LII.; St. Vigeans, Pl. LXIX.; Meigle, Plate LXXIII.; Meigle, Plate LXXVI.; Gask, Plate VIII.; Keillor, Plate CXII.

[4] Breviar. Aberd. pars. Estiv. fol. clvi.

[5] New Stat. Acc. of Roxburghshire, p. 150.

[6] Extr. ex Cronicis Scotie, p. 250.

[7] Rouen 1841.

[8] In the Preface to vol. i. p. viii. it is stated that apes also occur on some of the Irish crosses; but on further examination I think there is a mistake, and I cannot satisfy myself that the creatures referred to are meant for monkeys.

[9] Langlois, Essai, p. 74.

caput quadrupedis. Ibi bestia præfert equum, capram trahens retro dimidiam. Hic cornutum animal equum gestat posterius. Tam multa denique, tamque mira diversarum formarum ubique varietas apparet, ut magis legere libeat in marmoribus quam in codicibus, totumque diem occupare singula ista mirando, quam in lege Dei meditando. Proh Deo! si non pudet ineptiarum, cur vel non piget expensarum?"[1]

On later sepulchral crosses the introduction of grotesque animals is continued. Thus, we find the mermaid, with other chimerical animals, on the monument erected to commemorate two ecclesiastics at Campbelton towards the end of the fifteenth century (vol. ii. Plates XXIX. XXX.)

The sarcophagus at Govan (vol. i. Plate CXXXV.), of which all the ornamental patterns correspond with those on the cross-slabs, has several specimens of grotesque animals and a stag-hunt; while that at St. Andrews (vol. i. Plate LXI.), of the same early period, has one of the panels filled with a picture of hunting and hawking, with groups of wild and grotesque creatures, the whole so varied as to preclude individual symbolisation.[2]

On the crosses at Ilkley in Yorkshire the symbols of the evangelists occur on one side. On another is the figure of our Lord, with figures of grotesque animals underneath. On a tomb at Coningsborough in Yorkshire, probably of the beginning of the twelfth century, are sculptures of varying character. The temptation of our first parents in Paradise occurs on one side, and a combat between two mounted knights on the other. A winged dragon, with a human being in his claws, is attacked by a knight armed with a sword and kite-shaped shield; in other compartments a centaur with a bow and a bishop with his crozier appear.[3]

On a curious coffin-stone of early date at Heysham, Lancashire, the ornaments comprise two men at each end with elevated arms, and between the groups a stag and several animals, apparently hogs. On the other side we have one man in the centre, with elevated arms, and holding a cup in his right hand, standing beside a tree, and surrounded by animals.[4]

In all these sepulchral monuments there appears a mixture of real representation and mere ornament, generally of a grotesque character, just as I have supposed to be the case in the earlier pictorial cross-slabs of Scotland.

With regard to the symbols on the Scotch monuments it will be remarked that the figure of the elephant is found both on the rude pillar-stones and the cross-slabs, and in all parts of the country from Fife to Caithness.

If we cannot regard the elephant as the picture of a living creature (see *antea*, p. xii.), we may be led to regard it as a representative ensign or badge.

The occurrence of the spectacle symbol on a silver ornament and pin is a remarkable fact in the history of the symbols, and if we could be sure that these relics were found in a sepulchral cist, it would suggest the use of this figure as a personal badge.

If we should accept of this idea regarding the spectacles as a *personal* ornament, whether a clasp or not, we might extend it to the other symbols—such as the mirror and comb—which we can recognise, and may believe to have been articles of personal use, and to the crescent and horse-shoe figure,[5] which we only guess to have been of the like character by supposing that they may all have been used as marks of family descent or official dignity.

When we recollect the peculiarity of Celtic polity which led the clan or tribe to pay such regard to the memory of their original founder, so that they were known simply as his descendants, while the same peculiarity ran equally through their ecclesiastical polity, we can fancy that any tradition, although little more palpable than a myth, which connected the head of a race with the figure of the elephant, would be a reason for its continuance by his descendants, or by certain classes of them, as one of their distinguishing insignia.

It would make no difference in this point of view even if we should not be inclined to regard the animal represented as an elephant, but some other creature, if we accept it as a traditional picture of an animal unknown to the artist, the figure of which he perpetuated (like the monastic artists of Mount Athos, who, according to Didron, continued to reproduce on their pictures of the eighteenth century the costume, colour, and form of the fifth, sixth, and tenth centuries)—or, which seems more probable, which he copied from some original object. In the same way we are told of the representations on the mythological urns of Etruscan tombs, that "from the numerous repetitions of certain subjects sometimes precisely similar, more frequently with slight variations, it is evident that there was often one original type of the scene, probably the work of some celebrated artist."[6]

[1] S. Bernardi Apolog. ad Gul. S. Theodorici abb. Oper. (ap. Migne) tom. i. col. 915. On the east side of the base of the cross in the street of Kells are sculptured two centaurs, one armed with a trident and having goat's horns, the other bearing a bow and arrow (O'Neill's Ancient Irish Crosses, Plate XXXIV.) Among the sculptures of monstrous figures in the ancient church of Souvigny in the Bourbonnais was the elephant.

[2] If we admit the introduction of a foreign element into the native art of Pictland, the symbolical intention of the groups of figures would be equally excluded, as we could easily regard them as the pictorial representations of the artist, either descriptive or chimerical.

[3] Arch. Jour. vol. i. p. 354.

[4] Manual of Sepulchral Slabs and Crosses, by Cutts, p. 75. Lond. 1849.

[5] Among the bronze articles recently discovered in Kent's Cavern, near Torquay, was "an object resembling a horse-shoe in form, but not more than an inch long."—Report to the British Association, September 1865.

[6] Dennis' Etruria, vol. ii. p. 173.

It was this feeling which conferred upon the lia-fail, or stone on which the chiefs of the Scottish race had been inaugurated from the earliest time of their history, such a hallowed character in the estimation of that people. The feeling was so mixed up with their national existence that their politic conqueror Edward deemed it necessary to carry off to Westminster this palladium of national independence.

But we detect the existence of this feeling among the Picts themselves in the reverence with which they regarded a banner called the Brecbannoch, from its association with St. Columba, their spiritual father. At the dawn of our record period we find that the keeper of this sacred relic had lands assigned to him for its custody, and for leading it into battle with the king's troops; and it seems important to bear in mind the use of an ensign at so early a period,[1] and its association with the much earlier time of St. Columba.

The adoption of distinguishing badges by nations, cities, districts, tribes, and individuals, may be traced to the earliest times.

We are informed in the Book of Numbers that the children of Israel were commanded to pitch their tents in four companies of three tribes each, every man "by his own standard, with the ensign of their father's house" (c. ii. v. 2).

The nations and cities of antiquity frequently had some animal as their distinguishing ensign. The favourite symbol of the Athenians was an owl, that of Corinth a winged horse. The cities of Greece were each distinguished by the symbol of an animal or object, which was borne by the colonies which sprung from them, with some mark of difference.

Pliny describes five military ensigns among the Romans on which were the figures of the eagle, the wolf, the minotaur, the horse, and the boar. After a time the four quadrupeds were laid aside as ensigns, the eagle being alone retained. Under the later emperors the eagle was carried, as it had been for many centuries, with the legion, a legion being on that account sometimes called *aequila*, and at the same time a cohort had for its own ensign the serpent or dragon. The minor divisions of a cohort, called centuries, had also each an ensign inscribed with the number both of the cohort and of the century. A golden eagle, with expanded wings, was the royal standard of Persia. The military ensigns of the Egyptians were very various.

After the African war Cæsar gave the fifth legion an elephant for their ensign.

The consular families of Rome used distinguishing badges on their coins, which often consisted of animals.

The *torques* was always retained as the badge of the Manlia family, from the circumstance of T. Manlius having taken a gold torques from the neck of a Gaul whom he killed in single combat, and we discover it on the coins of this family.[2]

The white horse was the emblem of the Saxons. A golden dragon was the ensign of the west Saxons, and a flying raven was a favourite emblem on the mystic banners of the Northmen.

The boar is said to have been held in veneration by all the Celtic nations. It is of frequent occurrence on the Gaulish coins, and on many British coins, especially those of the Iceni. Tacitus says of the Estonians that they bore as an ensign the form of boars.[3]

In addition to what we learn from classical writers as to the custom among some people of painting the skin with various figures of animals, it may be stated that their shields were frequently charged with distinguishing figures. Thus the Gauls used "a shield proportioned to the height of a man garnished with their own ensigns;" and again, "Some carry the shapes of beasts in brass, artificially wrought, as well for defence as ornament."[4] Upon their heads they wear helmets of brass, with large pieces of work raised upon them for ostentation sake, to be admired by the beholders; for they have either horns of the same metal joined to them, or the shapes of birds and beasts carved upon them. On many of the shields represented on the Antonine column are figures of crescents and lozenges (see Plates XX. XLVII. and XLIX. "Columna Antoniniana"). Many of the oblong and oval shields on the column of Trajan are also ornamented with figures of crescents and circles, which are sometimes concentric (see Bartoli's "Colonna Trainna," Plates XVIII. XXIII. XLVI. XLVII. and XLIX.)

A people divided into clans and septs must have been driven at a very early period to adopt marks for distinguishing the many bodies into which their polity divided them. The land of the Picts was divided into seven provinces, reigned over by seven kings, having under them mormaors and toshachs. It is reasonable to believe that they also adopted symbols for distinguishing their various ranks and clans. The fierce cry of *Albanach* which rose from the hordes of Alba, united under David I. at the battle of the Standard, was a sufficient rallying-cry for uniting them against a common foe; but in those internal wars which they so frequently carried on against each other they must have had many distinguishing marks for tribes and families.

If such distinctions were symbolised by the figures of animals, such as the elephant and serpent, or of buckles

[1] After King Oswald's translation, "vexillum ejus super tumulum auro et purpura compositum adposuerunt."—Bede, iii. 2

[2] Dr. Birch in Arch. Journ. vol. ii. p. 371.

[3] Diodorus Siculus, book v. chap. ii.—translation by Booth, vol. i. p. 315.

[4] De Mor. Germ. cap. xlv.; Evan's British Coins, p. 121

and clasps, the mirror and comb, the crescent, dog's head, or forms of flowers, it would be natural to expect some trace of this system on monuments erected to perpetuate the memory of persons of rank or office.

I have already noted the frequent cases in which the early history of families is connected with the killing of monsters, and in which animals of various kinds have been thus adopted as the distinguishing heraldic insignia of such families on their tombs, shields, and seals. I may add that there is hardly a figure on the early sculptured stones which has not been adopted for a like purpose into the system of heraldry of later times.

The tribes of Indians in North America have been found to use a system of distinctive marks of a like character.

The division of the tribe into clans and families is marked by the adoption of some animal as the badge or cognisance of such subdivision.

This animal is a symbol of the name of the progenitor, and stands as the surname of the family.

By the system of names imposed upon the men composing the Algonquin, Iroquois, Cherokee, and other nations, a fox, a crocodile, a bird, a deer, a bear, a turtle, etc., is fixed on as a badge or stem, from which the descendants may trace their parentage. To do this the figure of the animal is employed as an heraldic sign or surname, and it is said that rank is marked in the same way.

A tribe could leave no more permanent trace of an honoured individual than by the erection of a mound shaped into the form of the animal adopted as the tribal ensign.

It has been observed that by this device affinities were denoted and kept up long after tradition had failed in its testimony. The distinction is indeed marked with much of the certainty of heraldic bearings, as known in the feudal system, and has been found to mark the arms, the lodge, and the trophies of the North American chief and warrior. It was likewise employed to give identity to the clan of which he was a member on his grave-post. By the introduction of other figures the most prominent incidents of life and death were also in some cases recorded, and the marks are confidently appealed to as the test of blood affinity, however remote. No one could change his family mark.

In some instances the figures of animals, birds, and other devices are found on the rude coffins or wrappings of the dead, as they are also found on their arms, war-clubs, canoes, and other pieces of moveable property. The family mark is always used upon the tombs or grave-posts which mark their places of burial.

In other cases a fabulous animal, such as the copper-tailed bear, has been noticed as the cognisance of a hunter. In burying their dead the most costly dress, arms, ornaments, and implements are deposited in the grave.[1]

Among the scenes pictured on the cross-slabs we find men on horseback, sometimes armed with spears and round shields ;[2] in conflict ;[3] at others with spears and an oblong shield ;[4] men fighting with axes ;[5] men with books ;[6] the men are sometimes handling a short sword with a sharp point ; at other times the sword is broad at the point.[7] At times they are engaged in the chase of deer[8] or in a boar-hunt.[9] The horses are generally drawn with much spirit. We can see the ornaments of the bridles and reins, and the peaked saddlecloth, on which the rider sits without stirrups.[10] The horses are represented sometimes with flowing and at others with docked tails.[11] Oxen are seen in procession ;[12] ecclesiastics are in procession ;[12] and again tonsured ecclesiastics with a candle and staff.[13] We see a bird preying on a fish ; a deer suckled by its young ; an unicorn ;[14] men seated in chairs—at times the chair is carved, and its occupant has on one side the mirror and comb, and on the other something like a sword ; at another two figures are seated with a cross between them, and one of the men seems to have a rod in his hand ;[15] a man slaying an ox ;[16] grotesque monsters devouring men and each other ;[17] a man attacking with a flail ;[18] a man shooting at a bear with bow and arrow ;[19] a smith's anvil—the anvil with a hammer, and again with hammer and tongs ;[20] men with plaided

[1] Ethnological Researches respecting the Red Men of America, by Schoolcraft, part i. pp. 52, 268, 335, 337, 352, 420 ; part ii. p. 49 ; part iv. p. 128.

[2] Vol. i.—Hilton of Cadboll, Plate XXV. ; Kirriemuir, Plate XLIII. ; Inchbrayock, Plate LXVIII. ; Invergowrie, Plate LXXXIX. ; Meigle, Plate XCIII. ; Benvie, Plate CXXVI.

[3] Vol i.—Shandwick, Plate XXVI. ; Aberlemno, Plate LXXIX.

[4] Vol. i.—Nigg, Plate XXIX. ; St. Andrews, Plate LXI. ; Eassie, Plate XCI.

[5] Glammis, vol. i. Plate LXXXIV.

[6] Vol. i.—Elgin, Plate XVI. ; Kirriemuir, Plate XLIII. ; Aldbar, Plate LXXXII. ; Camuston, Plate LXXXVII. ; Invergowrie, Plate LXXXVIII.

[7] Vol. i.—Shandwick, Plate XXVI. ; St. Andrews, Plate LXI. ; Kirriemuir, Plate XLVI.

[8] Vol. i.—Kirriemuir, Plate XLVI. ; Shandwick, Plate XXVI.

[9] Mugdrum, vol. i. Plate LII.

[10] Vol. i.—Cadboll, Plate XXV. ; Kirriemuir, Plate XLVI. ; St. Madoes, Plate LV. ; Meigle, Plates LXXXVI. XCIII.

[11] Vol. i.—St. Madoes, Plate LV. ; Fowlis, Plate LX. ; Ballintheron, Plate LXVII. ; Aberlemno, Plate LXXIX.

[12] Eassie, vol. i. Plate XC.

[13] St. Vigeans, vol. i. Plate LXX.

[14] St. Vigeans, vol. i. Plate LXIX.

[15] Vol. i.—Kirriemuir, Plate XLIII. ; Dunfallandy, Plate XLVII. ; Kingoldrum, Plate XLIX. ; Crail, Plate LXIV. ; St. Vigeans, Plate LXX. ; Aldbar, Plate LXXXII.

[16] St. Vigeans, vol. i. Plate LXX.

[17] Vol. i.—Shandwick, Plate XXVI. ; Dunfallandy, Plate XLVIII. ; Fowlis Wester, Plate LX. ; St. Andrews, Plate LXI. ; Meigle, Plate LXXIV. ; Abbotsford, Plate XCIX. ; Gask, Plate CIII.

[18] Menmuir, vol. i. Plate XCII.

[19] Vol. i.—Shandwick, Plate XXVI. ; St. Vigeans, Plate LXIX. ; Meigle, Plate LXXXVI.

[20] Vol. i.—Dunfallandy, Plate XLVII. ; Abernethy, Plate XLIX. ; Invergowrie, Plate LXXXIX.

dresses, which at times seem to be fastened by brooches ;[1] men playing the harp[2]—in one case the harper is seated on a well-shaped chair ;[2] the harp alone ;[3] the temptation ;[4] men in a boat ;[5] men blowing on trumpets resembling the Irish bronze trumpets described by Dr. Wilde ;[6] a chariot drawn by two horses with plaited tails like those on Assyrian sculptures, driven by a man in front, and with two figures in the chariot ;[7] a man fondled or attacked by four lions ;[8] dogs resembling greyhounds ;[9] dogs with collars on their necks ;[10] men engaged in hawking ;[11] men tearing open the jaws of lions ;[12] a man bound with ropes.[13] Angels are occasionally introduced into compartments in cross-slabs.[14] At Shandwick two compartments are filled with figures resembling St. Andrew on his cross ;[15] birds of various sorts,[16] frequently the eagle ;[17] apes ;[18] a man leads an ox followed by other men in procession ;[19] men standing in file, armed with round shields, and dressed in rich bordered tunics ;[20] fish ;[21] scenes representing a procession of men, a man beheaded, and a man surrounded by different animals ; on the other side of the slab are twelve figures, probably of ecclesiastics, and a confused collection of men's heads ;[22] a fish with the head of a horse ;[23] scenes of warfare and slaughter ;[24] a bull ;[24] a boar ;[25] men with birds' heads ;[26] men with beasts' heads ;[27] a figure, apparently of a female, on horseback, with plaided dress ; near her are the mirror and comb.[28]

Besides the figures in border ornaments which may be classed as monstrosities and introduced for ornament,[29] there occur on the faces of some slabs figures of centaurs bearing axes and branches,[30] a figure like a mermaid,[31] nondescripts with an animal's head, which at times is prolonged into a fish-like body covered with scales.[32]

Many of these pictures seem to pourtray actual occurrences. It seems plain, for instance, that the picture on a stone at Meigle of a boar in the act of devouring a prostrate human figure, and of the chariot on the same slab, is a representation of a real event known to the artist, while the pictures of hunting-scenes and kindred subjects probably represent some remarkable passing incident of sport, or at all events scenes which were going on around him ; but it is not so easy to understand that a picture combining scenes of diverse character can be held to indicate the character and habits *of an individual*, and in many cases it seems likely, as I have already suggested, that the scenes on the slabs are combinations of subjects of real occurrences and of others introduced for the sake of ornament.

If we attempt to discover a symbolical meaning in these pictorial representations, we shall find even greater uncertainty than when dealing with such objects as the mirror and comb. Thus, on a stone near the manse of Glammis (vol. i. Plate LXXXIV.) there appears a vessel with two inverted human figures in it. Of this my late friend Mr. Patrick Chalmers of Aldbar on one occasion wrote to me—"Do you remember a bason, with four legs sticking out of it on one of the stones at Glammis? I took it for a font and baptism, but have ascertained that it is a symbol of hell. It appears as such in a fresco of the Day of Judgment in one of the oldest of Christian Greek churches."

It seems to me, however, that this figure may represent an actual occurrence, such as the tradition of later times assures us was enacted in the same district, when some barons of the Mearns boiled their sheriff in a pot on the Kaim of Mathers.[33]

It has been suggested that the symbols represent the recondite mysteries of Buddhism and other Eastern systems, and while I have been hitherto unable to discover any real ground for this conclusion, I am thankful that

[1] Vol. i.—Nigg, Plate XXIX. ; Invergowrie, Plate LXXXVIII.

[2] Dupplin, vol. i. Plate LVIII. ; Monifieth, vol. ii. Plate LXXX.

[3] Aldbar, vol. i. Plate LXXXII.

[4] Farnell, vol. i. Plate LXXXVI.

[5] Cossins, vol. i. Plate LXXXV.

[6] Aberlemno, vol. i. Plate LXXX.

[7] Meigle, vol. i. Plate LXXXVI.

[8] Meigle, vol. i. Plate LXXIV.

[9] Vol. i.—Elgin, Plate XVI. ; Cadboll, Plate XXV. ; Nigg, Plate XXIX. ; St. Andrews, Plate LXI. ; Fowlis-Wester, Plate LX. ; Meigle, Plate LXXIV.

[10] Dull, vol. ii. Plate XVI.

[11] Vol. i.—Elgin, Plate XVI. ; St. Andrews, Plate LXI.

[12] Vol. i.—St. Andrews, Plate LXI. ; Drainie, Plate CXXX.

[13] Meigle, vol. i. Plate LXXXII.

[14] Vol. i.—Nigg, Plate XXVIII. ; Dunfallandy, Plate XLVIII. ; Aberlemno, Plate LXXXI. ; Glammis, Plate LXXXIII. ; Eassie, Plate XCI. ; Benvie, Plate CXXVI.

[15] Shandwick, vol. i. Plate XXVI.

[16] Vol. i.—Tyrie, Plate XIII. ; Mortlach, Plate XIV. ; Inveravon, Plate XV. ; Birnie, Plate XVII. ; Dingwall, Plate CVIII.

[17] The eagle, besides appearing in all the Irish manuscripts as the symbol of St. John, would seem to be the type chosen for conventional treatment in their ornamentation. In fact, no bird occurs in the Book of Kells without the eagle's beak and talons.—Notes on Ornamentation in The Cromlech on Howth, p. 28.

[18] St. Andrews, vol. i. Plates LXI. LXIII.

[19] Fowlis-Wester, vol. i. Plate LX.

[20] Dupplin, vol. i. Plate LXVII. ; Dull, vol. ii. Plate XVI.

[21] Vol. i.—Golspie, Plate XXXIV. ; in the Don, Plate XXXVII., Ulbster, Plate XL. ; Meigle, Plate LXXIII. ; Glammis, Plate LXXXIV. ; Kintore, Plate CIX. ; Dunrobin, Plate CXII.

[22] Dunkeld, vol. i. Plates L. LI. On the Etruscan urns we find processions, "funeral, triumphal, and judicial."—Dennis' Etruria, vol. ii. p. 187.

[23] Maulbeam, vol. i. Plate XVII.

[24] Vol. i.—Forres, Plate XVIII. ; at Inverness, Plate XXXVIII.

[25] Inverness, vol. i. Plate XXXVIII.

[26] Kirriemuir, vol. i. Plate XLIII. ; Inchbrayock, vol. ii. Plate II. ; Kettins, vol. ii. Plate VIII.

[27] Vol. i.—Dupplin, Plate LVIII. ; Hamilton, Plate CXVIII

[28] Cadboll, vol. i. Plate XXV.

[29] Vol. i.—St. Vigeans, Plate LXIX. ; Meigle, Plates LXXII. LXXIII. LXXVII. ; Aberlemno, Plate LXXVIII. ; Abbotsford, Plate XCIX.

[30] Vol. i.—Aberlemno, Plate LXXX. ; Glammis, Plate LXXXIV.

[31] Inchbrayock, vol. i. Plate LXXVIII.

[32] Vol. i.—Brodie, Plate XXII. ; Ulbster, Plate XL. ; Meigle, Plate LXXIII. ; Glammis, Plate LXXXIV.

[33] See Letter of Replegiation to the Law of Allan Macduff in favour of Hugh Arbuthnot and others, "for the deid of quhilkone Johne the Malaville, Laird of Glenbervy," dated in 1401 (Analecta Scotica, vol. ii. p. 30).

this view of a doubtful subject will receive full and adequate discussion from friends who have bestowed so much thought on it as Colonel Jonathan Forbes Leslie, the author of "Eleven Years in Ceylon," Dr. George Moore of Hastings, and Dr. T. A. Wise.[1]

I here record a fanciful speculation of the late Mr. Algernon Herbert on this subject. Mr. Herbert believed the sculptured monuments to be "Pictish—*i.e.* belonging to the period following the conversion of the Picts to Christianity," and while wishing "to guard against the error of fancying all the sculptors design to have a recondite meaning, when mere ornament often suggests the figures of men and animals without any ulterior purpose," yet conceived that "a few things here have meaning and perhaps some lurking mischief in them," as he thus went on to explain: "The most remarkable and recurring type," he says, writing of the Sculptured Monuments of Angus, "is a system of two short parallel lines, connected by a diagonal, and sometimes having a serpent entwined, sometimes traversed by another and very peculiar form. I think that system of lines is the capital Latin Z, and stands for Zodiacus, while the serpent twisted round it is the sun in his abrax period, or ecliptic. In Montfaucon, an Egyptian symbol of the Roman era symbolises the zodiac by a serpent with twelve stars on his back, in four triads (three visible in the front of the figure, the other only seen in the reverse), and twined round a lighted torch. There the stars are the determinants which explain the symbol; but here, in their absence, the letter Z determines it.[2] In No. IV. the diagonal of the Zeta is bent so as to form a sigma, S, which may either be referred to the low Latin word Signifer, which was used as a synonym for Zodiacus, or may more properly be regarded a licentious and fanciful way of working out a type far too well established to be mistaken under any disguise." "The serpent on the zodiac occurs four times. The other form, of which there are eight instances, represents the initial Z traversed by a band which connects two orbs or circles. That is to say, at the opposite diametrical points of the zodiac are represented the two tropical suns of midsummer and mid-winter, it being the office of the zodiac to conduct him to those extreme points respectively; and I think the orb, repeated in opposition to itself, forms a good determinant of the serpent's meaning." "I feel the greater tendency towards a conviction on this subject from observing in Plates V. and XV. the double orb traversing the letter Z, while above it *the moon* is engraved traversing the Latin capital L. That I think almost a proof, and as the moon there might be a boat or coracle, the L is its determinant. In Plate XX. the moon and the Z stand side by side." "I have long been convinced that the religion of Britain and Ireland from the quarto-deciman schism (as nearly as possible synchronising with the separation of the former island from the Western Empire), the reconciliation of those islands with the Latin church, was gnostical and mithraical, having a double doctrine, more or less veiled (according to the humour and discretion of different individuals and of different epochs) under jargons of language and other symbolic disguises. Even Dr. Todd owned to me that he thought *there was something not right*, or words to that effect. But those who will not hear of all this may resort to the 'sun of all righteousness with healing on his wings,' and make the best they can out of Malachi. In the Irish Archæological Miscellany, vol. i. p. 6, you will find the apostle of the Picts openly invoking the sun—'O king, sun of prosperous path'—where the translator has put—'O royal sun of,' etc.—and has subjoined an apologetic note, of which the assertions, unsupported by quotations, do not weigh with me. This language, though truly represented as having a reference to Christ, refers to him in a gnostico-mithraical way, and not in any such way as Christian fathers sometimes adopted the image of Malachi. By this token (among other strong reasons), that the prosperous path of the kingdom mentioned by Columbkille, if the poem be his genuine work, is none other than the Z. But take it as you will, either for a gnostical mystery or for a Catholic metaphor, I equally urge upon you (in either case) the presence of the solar Z and lunar L in this class of monuments."[3]

If it be held that the sculptured "symbols" on the early slabs are to be regarded as representations of actual objects used by the people as the distinguishing insignia of family descent, badges of office, or the like, it is not difficult to understand the continuance of the same figures on the Christian slabs for a time.

If, on the other hand, we should be led to believe with some that the figures in question were symbols of a heathen worship, it is not conceivable that they should be found on the Christian memorials of a later date.

In some things the early missionaries were directed to symbolise with the customs of the heathen, in the hope of leading to an entire change in their object; but the use of their temples and rites of worship was proscribed from the first, and no symbol of their faith would have been sculptured by Christian hands in juxtaposition with the great symbol of the religion of Christ.

The transfixed serpent has by some been supposed to represent the destruction of the pagan principle, but it will be found on the early pillar-stones which are without any Christian symbol, as well as on the cross-slabs. When, however, it is borne in mind how universally the serpent occurs in Celtic ornamental art, it would not be surprising if we should find a serpent used as a device or distinctive mark by some. On the stone in the churchyard of Meigle the

[1] A work on the Early Races of Scotland, by Colonel Forbes Leslie, is in the press, in which this question will be considered. A treatise by Dr. George Moore "On the Ancient Pillar-Stones of Scotland" is announced; and Dr. Wise has treated the Symbols in a paper read to the Royal Society of Edinburgh, and printed in their Transactions, vol. xxi. part ii.

[2] Montf. Suppl. i. Pl. II.

[3] Letter, Mr. Algernon Herbert to Mr. Cosmo Innes, 18th February 1849.

transfixed serpent occurs in the immediate neighbourhood of such every-day implements as the comb and mirror, while below these are several horsemen, and a kneeling camel. The TRIQUETRA which occurs on this stone is not found on any of the other early slabs. It is of frequent occurrence in early Irish ornamentation, and during the ninth and tenth centuries appears as an ornament on the inscribed tombstones at Clonmacnoise and elsewhere. Dr. Petrie has not, however, discovered an example of it on such monuments at a later period.[1]

And if the "symbols" are held to be the expression of abstract ideas or doctrines, it would seem to be hopeless to attempt their elucidation, inasmuch as every inquirer will feel at liberty to assign the meaning to them which he prefers, without reference to any standard.

It is obvious that the frequent repetition of the same symbols on so many monuments is a difficulty in the way of any interpretation, which assumes that they are meant to represent different ideas and circumstances; but it may be remarked, that although the same symbols are found throughout the monuments, yet the same arrangement is almost never repeated, so that as a family shield is assumed by those descended from the main house, "with a difference" sufficient to denote their cadency, so these monuments may have represented degrees in tribal rank and official dignity, by differences of adjustment, slight indeed, but quite intelligible in the time when they were erected.

Thus, on the stone at Dunfallandy (Plate XLVII. vol. i.), where two groups occur, there is represented beside one of the seated figures, the elephant, and beside the other figure, the plain "spectacles," and "crescent" with sceptre. In the lower panel the elephant and crescent are repeated, but are differently disposed from the upper examples, while the symbols in both instances look as if they were meant to apply to the *individuals* near whom they are placed. This may be remarked in other cases, where a single symbol is placed beside one of the human figures in a picture, as at Kirriemuir (Plate XLVI. vol. i.), at Abbotsford (Plate XCVIII.), at Gask (Plate CIII.), and at Monifieth (vol. ii. Plate LXXXI.)[2]

[1] Round Towers of Ireland, p. 325.

[2] In only three cases have I observed that the symbols are exactly repeated with the same arrangements, on different monuments. Thus, on the pillar at Logie (Plate IV. vol. i.) the elephant is placed above the crescent with sceptre, and on that at Crichie (Plate X. vol. i.) these figures occur with the same arrangement. Again, on "the Bruceton Stone" at Alyth in Perthshire (Plate CXI. vol. i.), the horse-shoe object is figured above the elephant; while on that at Congash, on Speyside (vol. ii.), the same arrangement is found. The stone at Tyrie in Buchan (Plate XIII. vol. i. represents a bird above an oblong figure, and the pillar in the churchyard of Birnie in Morayshire (Plate XVII. vol. i.) is a repetition of this. That the relative position of the figures on the stone was a subject of study we may infer from the pillar at Logie (Plate III. vol. i.), where the spectacle ornament had been at first incised annlrg yil nathe centre, and afterwards erased to make way for the crescent with sceptre, while the spectacles are placed in base and in a horizontal position.

II. STONE CIRCLES.

In the first volume of "The Sculptured Stones of Scotland" I recorded the result of various systematic excavations of "standing-stones," both single and in groups. These went to establish that, in almost every case, the stone circles, which have for a time received the unfortunate name of "Druidical temples," were really places of sepulture.

Thus, in one remarkable circle at Crichie, near Kintore in Aberdeenshire, surrounded by a ditch, with entrances carried through it to the circle, there appeared a central cist surmounted by a pillar, and near the base of every pillar in the circle was found some deposit of urns, bones, a stone celt, etc.[1]

At another circle at Tnack, in the neighbourhood of Crichie, urns with deposits of burnt bones were found aronnd the base of a central pillar, and near the base of most of the other pillars forming the circle. Besides the deposits in pits, two urns were found which contained burnt bones, and in one of them fragments of bronze, very brittle, apparently from the action of fire.

Fresh facts have been established by recent excavations in other circles which strengthen the evidence of their sepulchral use. In this chapter I propose to draw attention to the results thus attained, and to offer some observations on the snbject, as a contribution towards the elucidation of the real character of the "standing-stones."

A very remarkable monument at Moyness in Nairnshire was excavated in the autumn of 1856 in presence of Mr. Stables, Cawdor Castle, Mr. Cosmo Innes, and myself. When complete it consisted of three concentric circles, of which the innermost (about 24 feet in diameter) was paved with small stones. Diggings were made around several of the pillars without any result. A trench was then cut in a line through the whole circles. In the centre of the innermost circle, which was slightly hollowed, a clay urn of rude manufacture was found, but no other deposit.

The frequent occurrence of pavement within stone circles is worthy of notice. Mr. Kemble has remarked of certain boundaries which occur in the Anglo-Saxon charters, that they seem to have been "old burning places,"[2] and that there is sufficient reason for believing that the body was generally burned in, or upon, a stone structure. It does not seem unlikely that the paved spots in stone circles may have been connected in some way with this use. Paved causeways are also occasionally found in connection with circles.[3]

In September 1856 Mr. Morrison of Bognie made excavations in a large double-circle at Wardend, on his estate of Bognie in Aberdeenshire, which led to the discovery of an urn in the centre of the smallest circle, with traces of pavement, under which was a deep layer of bones and burnt matter.

Sir James Matheson, after having removed a growth of peat, of from five to six feet in depth, which had overgrown the great stone circle at Callernish in the Lewis, discovered a rough causewayed basement, in which the pillars forming the circle were imbedded, and from the appearance of some of the fallen stones on the clay with the whole growth of peat above them, it would appear that the circle had been erected before the commencement of the growth of peat.

On digging near the base of a great pillar in the centre of the circle, two rude stone chambers were found, approached by a narrow passage of the same character as those found in chambered cairns.[4] In these chambers were found fragments of incinerated human bones, imbedded in an unctuous substance apparently composed of peaty and animal matter.

This great circle at Callernish is one of four on the island of Lewis which are all placed in the same neighbourhood, on the west coast of the island, at the head of Loch Roag. In one of these other circles, which was also covered with peat, about a mile from the great one, small holes were discovered containing charcoal of wood.[5]

A remarkable group of stone circles on Mauchrie Moor, Tormore, on the west coast of the island of Arran, has been carefully examined by Dr. Bryce of Glasgow, who has recorded the results in the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.[6] In the centre of each circle, and at other points of it, were found short cists, one of which contained unburned human remains, while in most of them rude urns, with flint implements and flakes, a fragment of a pin of bronze, and portions of deers' horns, were found.

Mr. Thomson of Banchory in 1858 examined a group of four circles, of which two were formed of three con-

[1] App. to Preface, p. xx.
[2] Arch. Journ. vol. xiv. p. 136.
[3] Wilson's Prehistoric Annals, vol. i. p. 160.
[4] Proceedings of the Antiquaries of Scotland, vol. iii. p. 112.
[5] *Ibid.* p. 213.
[6] Vol. iv. p. 499.

centric rows of pillars, in the southern part of the parish of Banchory-Devenick, Kincardineshire.[1] The diggings brought to light inciuerated bones, bits of charcoal, portions of urns, and a black unctuous earth in different spots.[2]

Mr. Simpson, the vicar of Kirby-Stephen, has recorded the occurrence of sepulchral deposits in several stone circles in Westmoreland, excavated by him.[3]

The great circle at Little Salkeld in that county, known as "Long Meg and her Daughters," was visited by Camden in the year 1599. At that time two cairns of stones were within the circle, and were believed to cover the remains of the dead.[4] When Stukely visited this circle in the early part of the eighteenth century the cairns had been removed; but the round spots on which they had been piled were of a different colour from the adjoining surface, "and were stony and barren." Stukely at once jumped to the conclusion that they were "the immediate places of burning the sacrifices or the like."[5]

Stukely noticed a peculiar arrangement in this circle—viz. that in the part of it next to "Long Meg" "are two stones standing beyond the circle a little, and another fallen, which I believe were a sort of sacellum, perhaps for the pontifex to officiate in; and westward is another stone or two, perhaps of a like work."[6] Pennant describes a circle near Keswick which has "a rectangular reap on the east side"[7] and within the circle. Stukely says—"At the east end of the circle is a grave made of such stones as those of the circle, about ten in number."[8] In both cases the stones described seem to have been cromlechs. It is thus hazardous to draw any hasty inference from the present appearance of the circles, for we should never have known of the cairns formerly placed within the circle at Salkeld but for Camden's description. In the same way the intrenched circle at Mayburgh, near Penrith, where there is now only a solitary pillar on the west side to be seen, is said by Stukely to have formerly had two circles of stones on its area. He states that four stones of the inner circle, which was fifty feet in diameter, stood till within a year or two before his visit, and that one stone of the outer circle still stood, "and some more lie at the entrance within and others without, and fragments all about." Pennant believed that the stone in the middle was one of four which formed a square, in which case it would be a ruined cromlech. He adds, that on the other side of the Eimot is a tumulus surrounded with a circle of stones, and on the fields beyond Lowther are many burial-places marked with stones. One of these, about 100 feet long—not a raised tumulus, but of a pyramidal form, designed by two sides of stones like an avenue—is called an "arch-Druid's tomb" by Stukely. The curious intrenched circular platform called Arthur's Seat, on the opposite side of the stream from Mayburgh, resembles in plan the much smaller one at Crichie, near Kintore, on which a circle was placed. In the centre of Arthur's Seat there is a circular spot slightly raised above the surface. I can hardly doubt that here, as at Mayburgh, there had been one or more stone circles, and that these monuments indicate some of the important burial-places of the early races.

Within the area of one of the stone circles at Stennis in Orkney a ruined cromlech is yet to be seen. It consisted of four upright stones which supported a flat slab.[9]

At Lagmore, in the neighbourhood of Ballindalloch in Banffshire, is a concentric circle of pillar-stones. A cromlech still remains on the south side, immediately within the circumference of the inner circle. It is formed of a large covering slab resting on four supporting pillars. From the point where this circle stands four others are to be seen.[10]

The great circles of Wiltshire have never been systematically excavated. So far as Stonehenge has been examined, the results show the occurrence of deposits of a similar character to those found in the surrounding barrows and other early sepulchral sites—viz. portions of urns, some pieces of armour much decayed, horns of stags, and bones said to be of oxen and other animals.[11]

Dr. Petrie describes a very remarkable collection of stone circles, cairns, etc., at Carrowmore, about two miles from the town of Sligo. They are of the class popularly called "Druidical temples," and have in every instance one or more cromlechs or kistvaens within them. In some instances the circle consists of a single range of stones, in others of two concentric ranges, and in a few instances of three such ranges, and nearly the whole are clustered together in

[1] Proceedings of the Soc. of Antiqs. of Scotland, vol. v. p. 130.

[2] It was in this neighbourhood that a discovery of urns was made in the time of Boece the historian, who then resided at Old Aberdeen, and probably saw the remains, of which (in Bellenden's translation) he thus speaks:—"In the yeir of God 1521 yeris in Fyndoure [Fyndon] ane toun of the Mernis v miles fra Aberdene wes found ane ancient sepulture in quhilk wer ii lame piggis craftely maid ["duo urnæ inusitatæ artis" *in orig.*] with letteris ingravit full of brint powder; quhilkis some eftir that they wer handillit fel in dros" (Hist. and Chron. of Scotland, vol. i. p. 107). This district is full of memorials of early times—stone circles, cairns, and hut circles. Fyndon, which may be composed of the ancient Pictish prefix Fothin and dun, was probably the site of one of the early raths or cathers, like others whose names occur along this coast, as Din-a-cair [Dun-a-Cathir?], Dunotyr, rath of Cather-lin, Kair, and the like. In the fourteenth century the barony of Fyndon was in the possession of the Crown, which conferred an annuity of £10, payable from its rents, on John Crab, a Flemish engineer, distinguished for his skill at the siege of Berwick in 1319 (Robertson's Book of Bon-Accord, p. 272).

[3] Proceedings of the Soc. of Antiqs. of Scotland, vol. iv. p. 113.

[4] Gough's Camden's Britannia, vol. iii. p. 426.

[5] Itinerarium Curiosum, Centur. ii. p. 47. Lond. 1776.

[6] Itin. Curios. Cent. ii. pp. 14, 18.

[7] Pennant's Tour, vol. iii. p. 38. Chester 1774.

[8] *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 256.

[9] Capt. Thomas' Celtic Antiquities of Orkney, in "Archæologia," vol. xxxiv. p. 109.

[10] Note by Dr. Arthur Mitchell.

[11] Hoare's Ancient Wiltshire, p. 150.

an irregularly circular manner around a great cairn or conical heap of stones, which forms the centre of the group. The circles vary much in diameter, number, and height of stones, and other particulars, and the cromlechs also are of various sizes and forms. Many of these monuments are greatly dilapidated, but there are still existing vestiges of about sixty circles with cromlechs; and as it is known that a vast number has been totally destroyed by the peasantry, there is reason to believe that the collection could not have been originally much less than double that number. In all the circles which have been either wholly or in part destroyed, human bones, earthen urns, etc., have been invariably found, and one circular enclosure, outside the group and of far greater extent than any of the others, but evidently of contemporaneous construction, is filled with bones of men and animals. Dr. Petrie concludes that the circles are wholly of sepulchral origin, and were erected as monuments to men of various degrees of rank slain in a battle, the great central cairn being the sepulchre of the chief, and the great enclosure outside the group, the burial-place of the inferior class. He adds that such monuments are found on all the battle-fields recorded in Irish history as the scenes of contest between the Belgian or Firvolg and the Tuatha de Danann colonies, and concludes with an opinion, that as monuments of this class are found not only in most countries of Europe, but also in the East, their investigation will form an important accessory to the history of the Indo-European race, and probably destroy the popular theories of their having been temples and altars of the Druids.

This sagacious conclusion of one of the most profound antiquaries of Ireland is, so far as I am aware, one of the first attempts to deduce from *the remains found in them* the real character of the stone circles, and to overthrow the comparatively modern popular delusion which assumes them to have been "Druid temples."[1]

The stone monuments of Brittany are not generally in the form of circles, but of long lines of pillars, as at Carnac. These are divisible into four or more groups, distinct from one another, not merely by the intervening empty spaces, but by the arrangement of the stones, and these groups are found to be in connection with cromlechs, or mounds containing stone chambers. The great tumulus of St. Michael's Mount is in connection with the groups at Carnac. It has recently been opened, and found to contain a stone chamber, containing portions of incinerated human bones, many stone celts (some of them broken across), with beads of bone. A second but much smaller chamber was also found, filled with earth containing charcoal and burned bones.[2]

The monument at Shap in Westmoreland, when complete, consisted of a long avenue of pillars apparently connected with circles and barrows. Stukely describes the avenue as seventy feet broad, and "apparently closed at the south end, which is on an eminence, and near it a long flattish barrow with stone marks upon it. It makes a curve in its progress northwards, and passes a brook. By the brook is a little round sacellum of twelve stones, but lesser ones, set by one great one of the avenue. I guess there must have been two hundred stones on each side. Near them in several places are remains of circles to be seen of stones set on end, but there are no quantity of barrows about the place, which I wonder at."[3]

The mounds containing "stone houses" and "giants' graves" in Scandinavia, with the grave mounds of more recent date, are surrounded by upright pillars. Some of the latter have another circle of pillars on the slope of the mound, with a single one on the top.

Olaus Wormius gives an account of groups of stones, some of which surround tumuli. Some of these stones have runic inscriptions containing the names of the persons commemorated, as well as of those by whom they were erected. One group of eight stones, forming a sort of circle, appears to have been a family tomb. Two of the stones bear inscriptions in runes, the one later in date than the other, inasmuch as the person by whom the first stone bears to have been erected is herself commemorated on the second. Of the remaining stones of the group, three are sculptured with figures of a bear, a knight, and a wolf formed of intricate knots; three are without figures, and two are fallen.[4]

The early tombs of the Etruscans consisted of great round mounds or cairns covering a sepulchral chamber, and they also were frequently surrounded by a line of erect pillars.[5]

The great sepulchral cairns at New Grange and Dowth on the Boyne were also surrounded by circles of pillars. The circle enclosing the former is described as the most remarkable in Ireland, from the size of the blocks, and the extent of space which they enclose.[6]

The use of the circle of pillars to enclose and protect the sepulchral cairn or mound is carried to a period of great antiquity. Mr. Anderson tells us that in the district around Inverness there are many cairns. In his opinion the true cairn is surrounded by a ring or circle of upright stones. Sometimes this circle is repeated at the top, and the summit flattened or hollowed out. In a few instances a large circle encompasses the whole, the stones of which are placed several yards distant from the base of the cairn.[7]

A circle of stones was also used as a monument to encircle an urn or a cist. If we should regard this as an

[1] Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, 1837-38, vol. i. p. 140.

[2] Arch. Cambr. Jan. 1864, pp. 49-53.

[3] Iter. Boreal. Centur. ii. pp. 42, 43.

[4] Danicor. Monumentor. Libri sex, pp. 146, 187.

[5] Ferguson's Handbook of Architecture, p. 290. Lond. 1855.

[6] Wilde's Catalogue of Museum of Royal Irish Academy, p. 129.

[7] Arch. Scot. vol. iii. p. 219.

adaptation from the circles used to surround early *cairns*, we might account for the double, and sometimes triple, concentric circles of pillars, round *urns* and *cists*, as derived from the like number of lines of pillars which crowned some of the ancient *barrows*.

It may be remarked, as an instance somewhat analogous, that the stone chamber or cist which was erected to contain the unburnt body, was used under different circumstances—viz. where the body was burned, and where the sole deposit in the cists, so far as appears, was a small urn of four or five inches in height.

The interesting cemetery at Clava, on the banks of the Nairn, presents us with examples of chambered cairns surrounded by upright pillars, and of single standing-stones.[1]

On the whole, these facts regarding stone circles entitle us to infer that they were erected, as they certainly were used, for sepulchral purposes.

Some writers, while they admit that the smaller stone circles may have been sepulchres, are not disposed to believe that the larger and more complicated structures, like Stonehenge and Avebury in England, or Stennis and Classernish in Scotland, could have been designed for such a purpose.

But if there be no reason, except the great size and importance of these circles, for supposing them to have been of a different character, the objection does not appear of much weight.

If we were to judge of our sepulchral cairns on this principle, we might well hesitate to believe that the little heap of stones which covers the grave of some comparatively humble person was designed for the same purpose as the magnificent chambered cairns, which often, however, contain only one little central chamber, did we not know the fact from examination.

In Egypt there were myriads of interments in little chambers built in the sand, some of which have been examined and described by my late friend Mr. A. H. Rhind of Sibster,[2] while the great pyramids erected over a central vault, approached by narrow galleries, as in our chambered cairns, were reserved for the monarchs of Memphis, but both were the depositories of the dead.

The royal mausoleum of our own day differs more in character from the humble headstone, and the great mounds at Kerteh from a common grave, than does Stonehenge from the circle at Crichie, although all have a common design.

In like manner, if we must recognise the smaller stone circles to be ancient sepulchres, I think it is reasonable that we should regard the larger examples as of the same kind, but of greater importance. Such structures as Stonehenge and Stennis may have resulted from some great national effort to commemorate mighty chiefs. The remains of most ancient people yet attest that greater and more enduring labour and art have been expended on the construction of tombs for the dead than on the abodes of the living; indeed, that ancient tombs cut in the rock, as in Etruria, were reproductions of the more fragile wooden abodes of the living.

The winding alleys of stones at Avebury would, in this view, be merely parts of one great monument, enhancing its grandeur, and perhaps indicating something of the rank of him to whom it was erected.

The circle at Callernish is approached by an avenue; that at Shap, which when complete must have been a remarkable monument, had a similar arrangement. The structure at New Grange consists of a long passage formed of upright pillars, leading to a circular chamber formed of similar stones, from which three recesses branch off, also formed of pillars. If the cairn were removed, the pillars would form another Callernish.

It is worthy of observation that in all countries it has been reserved for later times to invent uses for early monuments whose history is lost, and that writers seem to become more familiar with their original design the farther they are separated from the time of their erection.

The earliest reference to Stonehenge is in the work attributed to Nennius, who after recording the particulars of the murder of 460 British nobles at a conference between King Vortigern and Hengist, in the latter part of the fifth century, at or near the spot on which Stonehenge is situated, attributes its erection to the surviving Britons as a monument of the slain.

Geoffrey of Monmouth, who wrote in the twelfth century, gives a similar account of its origin, with some additions.

Henry of Huntingdon, writing in the same century, calls Stonehenge one of the four wonders of England, describing it as formed of stones "mirae magnitudinis, in modum portarum elevati, ita ut portæ portis superpositæ videantur, nec potest aliquis excogitare qua arte tanti lapides adeo in altum elevati sunt, vel quare ibi constructi sunt."[3]

This is very like the idea which suggested the name of the monument to the Saxons without any theory of its meaning—"Stanehenges."

It was reserved for John Aubrey, writing soon after the Restoration, to suggest that Stonehenge and Abury were temples of the Druids. He did not indeed pretend that he had cleared up this point, yet he adds—"I can

[1] Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, vol. iii. p. 46.
[2] *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 274.
[3] Mon. Hist. Brit. p. 694.

affirm that I have brought it from an utter darkness to a thin mist, and have gonne farther than any one before me."[1]

He was followed by the Reverend William Stukely, who, writing about 1740, described the full meaning both of Stonehenge and Abury. The title of his work on the former indicates his theory—"Stonehenge, a temple restored to the British Druids." Of Abury he says that "the whole figure represented a snake transmitted through a circle; this is an hieroglyphic or symbol of highest note and antiquity." It was erected, according to him, in the year of the death of Sarah, Abraham's wife, 1859 B.C., and showed that the ancient Druids were not idolaters, but in effect Christians. "This I verily believe to have been a truly patriarchal temple, as the rest likewise which we have here described, and where the worship of the true God was performed." "The plan on which Abury is built is that sacred hierogram of the Egyptians and other ancient nations, the circle, snake, and wings. By this they meant to picture out as well as they could the nature of the divinity. The circle meant the supreme fountain of all being, the Father; the serpent that divine emanation from him which was called the Son; the wings imputed that other divine emanation from them which was called the Spirit, the anima mundi."[2]

The expressions applied in our early records to stones in circular groups, or standing singly, imply no knowledge of their use, but are merely descriptive of their appearance. They are simply "stantes lapides."

The Great Register of the Priory of St. Andrews, which has been lost sight of for nearly two centuries, contained a bounding description of the lands of Keig and Monymusk in Aberdeenshire, conferred on the see of St. Andrews by King Malcolm, (probably) Canmore. One of the lines of march ran "usque ad Stantes Petras juxta Albaclauenauch quod Latine sonat campus dulcis lactis."[3]

Mr. Low, the minister of the parish of Keig, informs me that one stone only now remains of several "Druidical circles," which, however, he remembers to have seen complete at a spot behind Towmill farm. These circles Mr. Low believes to have been the "standing stones" of King Malcolm's boundary.

In cases where tradition has attached some history to the monuments the stones have received names indicative of their supposed use, such as the Cat Stane,[4] the Wad Stane,[5] the Hare Stane, the Conveth Stone, and the like.

Since the time of Stukely the stone circles formerly known in our early records as "standing-stones"—and with some occasional hints in later writers that they had been used as heathen places of worship—have come to be known as "Druidical circles or temples," with gradual additions, and details of their supposed meaning.

The allignments at Carnac have been called a "Dracontium" by the imaginative Breton, *Penhouet*. This was a conclusion arrived at after he had in the first place decided that the stones represented an army in battle array and commemorated a victory; and secondly, that they were to be regarded as a military trophy in honour of Hercules;[6] and it was only after he had become acquainted with the serpentine theory of Sir Richard Colt Hoare in regard to the avenues at Avebury that he discovered the similar character of the monument at Carnac.

Mr. Worsaae mentions to refute the idea, "which regarded stone utensils as sacrificial instruments, and also transformed cromlechs, and the hills on which they were constructed, into places of judgment, altars of sacrifice, and sacred abodes of the gods."[7]

Of the monuments of Sweden and Norway, and different forms of stone enclosures around barrows, the same author writes:—"Yet there are also circular and quadrangular enclosures of stone which do not surround heaps of stone mixed with earth, but merely a level surface. These have been named places of justice (Tingsteder), or of sacrifice and worship (Offersteder), or of contest (Kampkredse). That they also, at least in general, are graves, is evident from the circumstance that they are met with in great numbers, and contain urns of clay, with burnt bones, ashes, and other antiquities."[8]

It has been observed that neither the Saxons, who gave the name of Stonehenge to the great circle on Salisbury Plain, nor the Norwegians, who called the site of Stennis the Stanes-nes, were aware of any character by which to call these structures, except their appearance, as *the Stanes*, or *the Hanging Stanes*.

Mr. Kemble has pointed out a reference to the monument at Avebury in a charter of King Athelstan dated in 939, which contains no reference to its supposed original character. It occurs in a bounding description of Overton in Wiltshire, where, among other lines of march, are those, "then by Coltas barrow as far as the broad road to Hackpen," "thence northward up along the stone row, thence to the burial-places." Of these Mr. Kemble says—"*The stone row* here is no doubt the great avenue. Hackpen or Haca's pen, enclosure, etc., is the well-known stone ring." "I think you will agree with me that these structures, which excite our archæological interest so warmly, were looked upon as very commonplace things by the makers of this boundary, as far at least as their language allows us to judge. The avenue, you see, which my friends the Ophites consider so mysterious, was only a common stone row, and the

[1] Abury Illustrated, by William Long, Esq., p. 6. Devizes 1858.
[2] Stukely's Abury, pp. 53-55.
[3] Antiquities of the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff, vol. i. p. 172 (Spalding Club).
[4] Charters of Holyrood, pp. 210, 211.
[5] Chart. of Dunferm. p. 223.
[6] Archæologia, vol. xxii. p. 196.
[7] Primeval Ant. p. 84.
[8] *Ibid.* p. 107.

"temple" itself of the snake, the sun, the Helio-Arkite cult, the mystic zodiac, and a number of other very fine things—so fine that one cannot understand them—is very probably, in the eyes of this dull dog of a surveyor, a burial-place. As for the stone ring, it was only Haca's pen or enclosure, though I daresay Haca himself was some mythical personage whom I have not been able to identify here, any more than I have in Devonshire (Cod. Dip. 373), and whose Pundfald or Pound, something very like a pen, existed also in Hampshire (Cod. Dip. 1235); while his brook, Hacan bróc in Berkshire, is named (Cod. Dip. 1069, 1151, 1258). The Anglo-Saxon did not know that Hac in Hebrew meant a *serpent*, and Pen in Welsh a *head*, and would hardly have been ingenious enough to fancy that one word could be made up of two parts derived from two different languages. Though he raved about snakes, he does not seem to have raised his mind to the contemplation of *Dracontia*, and he was quite right. Would that some of his successors had been as little led away by fancy!"[1]

By other authors our stone circles have been attributed to the Danes; but Worsaae, one of the most scientific archæologists of Scandinavia, while telling us that Stennis, "after Stonehenge, must be regarded as amongst the largest stone circles in the British islands,"[2] goes on to say that they are remarkable evidences both of the strength and of the religious enthusiasm of the old *Celtic* inhabitants." He comes to the same conclusion regarding the circular towers or "brochs" which occur in Orkney, and which he ascribes to a Pictish or Celtic origin, although the Norwegians made use of them after their conquests and settlements in these districts.[3]

It is well known, in the same way, that the Northmen made use of the stone circles in their own country as places for their Things or judicial meetings; but it has been shown from various circumstances that these stone enclosures, although they may have been thus used, could not have been originally designed for such a purpose.[4]

Indeed, it would appear that the stone graves and stone circles in the north are the work of a people different from those who are known to have used the circles for judicial purposes, and that their erection must be ascribed to a much earlier period than that of such use.

As has been remarked, popular opinion has, since the time of Stukely, conferred on the stone circles the character of "temples of the Druids." Of these Druids the little which is certainly known is to be gathered from some of the classical writers, and our information as to the Druids in Gaul, which probably may be held as applicable to those in Britain, amounts to this—they were the priests presiding at the sacrifices, instructors of the young, judges in all matters of controversy. They took no part in war, nor were they liable to pay taxes. They made use of Greek letters in writing. They taught the immortality of the soul, and the transmigration into different bodies. They taught their youths also astronomy, and much about the nature of things and the immortal gods. Their chief deity was Mercury, of whom they have many images. They also worshipped Apollo, and Mars, and Jupiter, and Minerva. They hold a meeting at a certain time of the year, in a consecrated spot in the country of the Carnutes, which country is considered to be in the centre of all Gaul. They used rites of augury from the slaughter of a human victim, and dwelt in dense groves in remote places; they taught in a cave or in hidden forests, and they burned or buried with the dead what was most prized by them when living. According to Strabo, they were one of three classes much venerated among the Gauls, the Bards, Druids, and Soothsayers. After a battle they slay all living creatures among the spoil; the other things are gathered into one spot, and in many states heaps raised of these things in consecrated places may be seen.[5]

There is nothing in this description which would lead us to connect the Druids with a system of worship in stone circles. People who could make use of Greek letters in writing, and form images of their god Mercury, were surely beyond the use of such rude temples for their rites, which it would seem were performed in groves and forests.

Arnoldus Montanus, in a note to his edition of Cæsar's Commentaries, preserves an account of some ancient images of stone which he ascribes to the Gaulish Druids, with the same facility which Stukely showed in describing the works of their brethren in Britain—"Hæc Joannes Theophilus in sex lapideis imaginibus expressa vidit, in vetustissimo saxo ad fores templi parieti insertis." "Erant" ait "septem pedum singulæ, nudis pedibus, capita intecta, Græcanico pallio et cucullato, perulaque, et barba ad inguina usque promissa, et circa naris fistulas bifurcata, in manibus liber, et baculus Diogenicus, severa fronte, et tristi supercilio, obstipo capite, figentes lumina terris. Hi quondam apud Gallos (sive interpretandæ religionis, sive solitudinis gratia, quo expeditiores inquirendis rerum causis essent) in nemoribus et saltibus consedere, multitudinemque vulgi ad se pollexere."

We know also that groups of stone pillars as sepulchral monuments occur in most parts of the world[6] while

[1] In Arch. Journal, vol. xiv. p. 134.

[2] The Danes and Northmen, p. 220. Lond. 1852.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 233.

[4] Primeval Antiq. pp. 84, 85.

[5] Ex scriptoribus Græcis atque Latinis, Excerpta de Britannia, in Monumenta Histor. Britann. pp. xxxiii. ciii.

[6] "Thus in Algeria MM. H. Christy and L. Ferand have recently examined a large number of cromlechs, stone circles, and other ancient remains, very closely resembling those which in Northern Europe we have been in the habit of ascribing to the Druids." "It is a very remarkable fact that even to the present day some of the hill tribes in India continue to erect cromlechs and other combinations of gigantic stones, sometimes in rows, sometimes in circles; in either case very closely resembling those found

the Druids of history were of local influence. Nor can I discover in the classical authorities to which I have referred any statement which would make it probable that the Druids of Gaul and South Britain extended into North Britain and Ireland, where stone circles abound.

There are writers who admit that the smaller circles were sepulchral, yet claim a different character and purpose for the larger structures, such as Stonehenge, Avebury, Stennis, and Callernish ; but while they cannot bring any fact to support such a view, they yet suggest that as the Druids or priests of the ancient Celtic people of Gaul are recorded to have held an annual meeting at a place (in loco consecrato) in the bounds of the Carnuti, which is reckoned the central region of Gaul, such a consecrated place must have been a stone circle. It is then concluded that the great circles of Britain were probably places of a similar sacred character.

It has to be remarked that this annual meeting of the Druids, so far as we can gather, was merely for judicial purposes. For it is added that to this place "omnes undique qui controversias habent, conveniunt ; eorumque judiciis decretisque parent" (Monumenta Hist. Britann. p. xxxiii.)

If we might conclude from what we know of the places of judgment among the pagan Celts of Ireland and Scotland, we should rather believe this consecrated place to have been *a hill*, as we know that the Britons administered their laws on green eminences.[1]

When St. Patrick came into contact with the Irish Druids they were about to hold a festival on the hill of Tara, the seat of the Irish kings, "where they held their solemn festivals and public assemblies at stated times, of which frequent mention is made in the annals of Ireland."[2]

Cnoc-na-Dala (Hill of the Meeting) is near to Rathcrogan, which O'Donovan calls a town of raths, the seat of the kings of Connaught.[3]

Within one of the raths at Tailtean, another royal seat in Meath, a great annual fair was held, which included the celebration of a sort of Olympic games, such as wrestling, running, horse and chariot races ;[4] and chariot races took place of old at the Curragh of Kildare.[5]

The Hill of Uisneach, in Westmeath, was also said to be consecrated, "as well from the national convention of which it was frequently the scene, as because upon its summit the limits of the five provinces touched ; and in like manner, as the field of Enna was called "the Navel of Sicily," and the site of the temple of Delphi "the Navel of the Earth," so the stone which marked this common boundary of the five provinces into which the island was then divided was termed "the Navel of Ireland."[6]

When St. Patrick met St. Kieran in Italy he ordered him to proceed to Ireland to a well "*in medio* Hiberniæ, in confinio australium et Aquilonalium Hiberniensium, qui vocatur Fuaran."[7]

The belief of the spot being the centre of the country no doubt entered into the reason of consecration in both cases, for as Moore proceeds (p. 41)—"In the peculiar sacredness attached to the hill of Usneach as the common limit of the five provinces we recognise that early form of idolatry which arose out of the natural respect paid to boundaries and frontiers, and which may be traced throughout the ancient superstitions of most countries." "Hence mountains, those natural barriers between contiguous nations, first came to be regarded with reverence, and it has been shown (Dulaure, Des Cultes anterieurs a l'Idolatrie, chap. viii.) that the holy mountains of the ancient Greeks,

in Western Europe. Among the Khasias the funeral ceremonies are the only ones of any importance, and are often conducted with barbaric pomp and expense ; and rude stones of gigantic proportions are erected as monuments, singly or in rows, circles or supporting one another, like those of Stonehenge, which they rival in dimensions and appearance."—Lubbock's Prehistoric Times, pp. 58, 59, quoting Dr. Hooker's Himalayan Journal, vol. ii. p. 276.

[1] Harris' Ware, vol. ii. p. 70. We are told that even in the sixteenth century "the English laws were not observed eight days, whereas the laws passed by the Irish *in their hills* they kept firm and stable, without breaking them for any fee or reward" (Moore, vol. i. p. 43, quoting Baron Finglas, Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench, temp. Henry VIII.) One of the raths on the Hill of Tara is called the Ruins of the Forradh, a word which is explained as signifying a place of public meeting, like the Tings of the Orkneys and of the Isle of Man (Petrie's Hist. and Antiq. of Tara Hill, p. 134). Another is called the Rath of the Synods. Of these ecclesiastical assemblies three are mentioned in the ancient poem printed by Petrie—first, the Synod of Patrick, when he attempted to convert King Laoghaire and the Irish chiefs ; second, the Synod of Ruadhan and Brendan, when King Dermot was cursed by Ruadhan in 565, after which Tara was deserted. But synods and assemblies were still occasionally held here, as the Synod of Adamnan (probably in 697), and an assembly recorded in the annals of Ulster A.D. 779 (Petrie, pp. 147-150). It is probable that the pagan meetings were first held in the places subsequently consecrated to Christian synods. The celebrated Council of Drumceat in Ulster, which was attended by Aidan, king of the Scotch Dalriads, and St. Columba in A.D. 574, was held on a long mound in Roe Park called *the Mullagh*, and sometimes *Daisy Hill*. It was situated on the patrimonial property of the Irish monarch (Dr. Reeves' Adamnan, p. 36, *note*). In the year 910 a council was held on the Moothill of Scone, near the royal residence, at which the king and the bishop of the Scots were present (Innes' Crit. Essay, p. 785).

[2] Ware, Hist. of Ireland, vol. ii. p. 67.

[3] Annals, vol. iii. p. 221, *note*.

[4] Beauties of the Boyne and Blackwater, p. 150.

[5] O'Donovan's Four Masters, vol. i. p. 512.

[6] Moore, Hist. of Ireland, vol. i. p. 40.

[7] In quinque portiones æquales inter se diviserunt, quarum capita in lapide quodam conveniunt apud mediam, juxta castrum de Kyllari, qui lapis et umbilicus Hiberniæ dicitur : quasi in medio et meditullio terræ positus. (Girald. Cambr. Topograph. Hib. Dist. iii. c. 4). Of Uisneach, Colgan says, it is "in domesticis Historiis longe celebris, propter multos regni conuentus publicos in eo celebratos." (Trias. Thaum. p. 300, in Annals of Four Masters, vol. ii. p. 991).

Asiatics, and Egyptians, were all of them situated upon marches or frontier-grounds. When artificial limits or *termini* came to be introduced, the adoration that had long been paid to the mountain was extended also to the stone detached from its mass, which performed conventionally the same important function. From this reverence attached to boundaries the place chosen by the Gaulish Druids for their meetings derived likewise its claim to sacredness, being on the confines of that tribe of Celts called the Carnutes."[1]

It does not appear, therefore, that the idea of the greater stone circles having been used as places of meetings by the Celtic people derives any countenance from the little that is known of their usages in Ireland or Scotland. It may be added that the remote insular situation of the circles at Callernish and Stennis renders the supposition even more improbable, for in the case of the Irish Druids and people we find that their meetings, both sacred and secular, were held at the royal seats, in the centres of population.

We do not read of such assemblies being held at New Grange or other of the great pagan cemeteries in Ireland, or that the Gauls used the great monuments of Carnac for that purpose.

But we can detect, in their regard for the trees under which the meetings for the inauguration of their chiefs were held, a feeling which entered into the mythology of the Celts and of many early nations.

"Religious feelings, no less than motives of convenience, seem to have been the cause that the popular meetings were frequently called beneath the shade of ancient trees, the objects both of worship and veneration. The oak of Guernica, yet flourishing in verdant age, saw the states of Biscay assemble under its branches for more than a thousand years; . . . . and very many of the trysting-places of the English courts were marked in like manner by the oak, the beech, or the elm, the living monuments of nature surviving through many a generation of the human race. Natural hills or artificial tumuli, upon whose summit the judges might debate, visible to the surrounding multitude, yet separated from the throng, were also appropriated to the popular assemblies. Such was the Mons Placiti or Moothill of Scone . . . . and such is still the Tinwald Hill of Man."[2]

Mr. Kemble has directed special attention to Cuckamslow Hill, as probably the most commanding barrow in England; "and we know that in the eleventh century it was the seat of a shire-court, one of whose extremely important acts is on record."[3]

Gildas, in speaking of the Britons, refers to "montes aut fontes, vel colles aut fluvios, olim exitiabiles, nunc vero humanis usibus utiles, quibus divinus honor a cæco tunc populo cumulabatur."[4]

We may therefore class trees, pillars, hills, and fountains, as objects of primitive and long-continued veneration, and as places of meeting; but we have no evidence to show that circular structures of pillars were objects of similar use. It is deserving of remark also, that stone circles are not numerous in France, where the Druids flourished; while in Brittany, where the ancient rites probably lingered longer than in other parts of Gaul, and where stone pillars occur in great numbers, the circle is almost unknown.

But while there is no early authority for connecting stone circles with Druid temples, there is much in the earliest notices of pagan rites and superstitions on the Continent, and in Britain and Ireland, which would lead us to believe that heathen temples were of an entirely different nature.

We know what a temple of the Northmen was in a late period of the history of that people, when they colonised Iceland towards the end of the ninth century. It has been thus described by one who, of all others among us, can speak with authority:—"But besides these domestic buildings, the great chiefs, who were the first settlers, invariably built another. This was the hof, or temple for the gods, and this it is not hard to restore. These buildings consisted of two parts, a nave and a shrine, which last is expressly compared to the choir or chancel of Christian churches. This shrine was the true sanctuary. It was built round and arched. In it, in a half-circle, stood the images of the gods, and before them, in the middle of the half-circle, was the altar (stalli)."[5]

It has indeed been suggested, that "in the North, as is thought by the most judicious antiquaries, the oldest places of worship, the hörgr of the Sagas, consisted of stone circles which are still found in many parts of Scandinavia."[6]

Dr. Dasent has been so good as investigate this point for me, and to compare the passages on which some of the earlier Northern archæologists, such as Finn Magnusson, have grounded their opinion, as well as the passages in the Poetical and Prose Edda, and the historical Sagas, where the words Hof and Hörgr constantly occur in juxta-

[1] The spots where roads or boundaries met have been regarded as remarkable in many countries. In ancient Rome a festival was celebrated once a year in honour of the "lares compitales," to whom sacrifices were offered at the places where two or more ways met (Smith's Dict. of Greek and Roman Antiquities, *voce* Compitalia), and an annual festival was celebrated in honour of the god Terminus, who presided over boundaries, at a spot which marked the original extent of the Roman boundaries in that direction (*Ibid.* *voce* Terminalia).

[2] Palgrave's Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth, vol. i. p. 139. This author adds an opinion that "the Druidical circles, as they are called, have an equal claim to be considered both as temples and as places of judicial conventions," but gives no instances of this use.

[3] Notices of Heathen Interments, in the "Codex Diplomaticus," Arch. Journal, vol. xiv. p. 131.

[4] Hist. Gildæ, sec. 4. Lond. 1838.

[5] The Njal's Saga, vol. i. p. xxxvii. Edin. 1861.

[6] Dr. Thurnam, Cran. Brit. decade iv. p. 122

position; and the conclusion to which he arrived is, that "'hörgr' does certainly not mean a stone circle erected for sacrificial worship, but a building raised of stones and roofed, which could be set fire to and burned, and which in all probability was erected on a hill."

The letter in which Dr. Dasent communicated to me this result is so valuable that I print it at length, by the writer's obliging consent:—

6 Broad Sanctuary, *March* 3, 1865.

My Dear Sir,—Your last letter has led me to look more closely into *Hof* and *Hörgr*, or *Haurgr*, for that is only another way of spelling the word.

The earlier northern archæologists have got it into their heads that *Hörgr*, as opposed to *Hof*, means a temple or offering-place under the open sky, surrounded by stones set round in a circle. This was Finn Magnússon's opinion, and I see Egilsson, in his Poetic Dictionary, says that "Finno Magnusenio *hörgar* (pl. nom.) sunt partim aræ vel idola lapidea, partem delubra numinum borealium non tecta sed ingentibus lapidibus columnarum iustar circumdata, et altaribus plerumque ornata, quæ nostris etiam diebus in Scandinaviâ et Magnâ Britanniâ haud raro conspiciuntur." But when one goes to the oldest authorities, the songs of the elder Edda, which are at least as old as the sixth century, and possibly much older, I cannot find this opinion at all borne out.

So Völuspá ["Vaticinium Valæ," "the Song of the Sybil" or Spaewife], stanza vii.—

"Hittoz Æsir	"The Æsir (the gods) met
Á Iðavelli	On Itha-plain,
Þeir er haurg	The (gods) that *hörg*
Ok hof hátimbruðu."	And *hof* high-timbered.[1]

So again—Hyndluljóð, stanza ix.—

"Haurg hann (Ottar) mer gerði	"A haurg he made me
Hlaðinn steinum;	Builded with stones;[2]
Nú er grjót þat	Now has that grit
At glèri orðit;	Been turned to glass.
Raud hann í nýju	He reddened it[3] with new
Nauta blóði,	Neats' blood;
Æ trúði Ottar	Ever trowed Otter
Á Ásynjur."	On the Asynjur."

And again, Grimnismál, stanza xvi., speaking of the mansions of the Æsir:—

"Nóatún eru en ellepta,	"Noatoun is the eleventh,
En þar Njörðr hefir	But there Njördr hath
Ser umgerva sal;	Made himself a hall;
Manna þengill,	The king of men,
Enn meins vani,	The spotless one,
Hátimbruðum haurgi ræðr."	Rules a high-timbered *haurg*

So much must suffice for the Poetical Edda, where the word occurs often in the sense "temple." In the Prose Edda, Snorri Sturluson, vol. i. 61, says—"Annan Sal gerðu þeir (Æsirnir), þat vas haurgr er Gydiurnar átta, ok var hann allfagr, þat hús kalla menn Vingólf." "Another hall made they (the Æsir). That was a *haurgr* which the goddesses owned, and it was allfair (very fair); that *house* men call Vingolf."

In the Historic Sagas *Hof* and *Hörgr* constantly occur in juxtaposition. So in the destruction of the temples by King Olaf—"brjóta ok brenna hof ok hörga," "break down and burn; hof and horga, "temples and shrines." It will be observed that all these passages speak of *hörgr* or *haurgr* as a building or house. The passage in Hyndluljóð, which, from the expression "*steinum hladinn*," might seem to favour the open-air circle theory, is settled not to bear that meaning by the words which follow; these, if they have any sense at all, mean that the house built by Ottar for his friend the goddess, and roofed or reared with stones, had been turned into glass, and so had become transparent. So also the use of the word *hátimbra*, to rear or build on high, as well as of *sal* and *hús*, prove these haurgar to have been houses or buildings. Where *Hof* and *haurgr* occur together I take them both to mean roofed "temples," but perhaps of a different kind, or belonging to different divinities. If it were not for one passage in the Poetical Edda, which speaks of the god Njörðr, a male divinity, as ruling over "numberless *hofs* and *horgs*," I should be inclined to think that Hof was a temple of the gods, and Hörgr one of the goddesses; and it is remarkable that not only is one of the minor divinities worshipped in Norway, called "*Þorgerdr Hörgabrúdr*," "Thorgerda the hörgvirgin" or "bride," but that in the passage from Snorri's Edda, quoted above, Vingolf, the temple of the goddesses, is especially called *Haurgr*. So too in the Hervarar Saga, speaking of King Alf, who ruled in Alfheim or Elfheim,

[1] "High-timbered"—*i.e.* raised or built on high, whether in wood or stone.

[2] The words might also mean "loaded with stones—*i.e.* roofed.

[3] Smeared it red.

it is said—"Eitt haust var gjort disablot mikid hjá Álfi Konúngi, ok geck Alfhilldr át blótnm . . . enn um nóttina er hon rauð hörgin, nam Storkaðr Alfhilldi á brótt."

"One hairst a great sacrifice *to the goddesses* was made at King Alf's court, and Alfhillda (his daughter) went by night to redden, or smear with blood, the *hörg*. Starkadr took Alfhillda away." I believe, then, so far as our earliest information goes, that the difference between *Hof* and *Hörgr* was not one of construction, but of worship.

It is true that Munch and Maurer, whose authority is of great weight, both speak of *Hörgr* as a place of worship open to the sky. But neither of these writers seems to have compared the passages above quoted, but rather to have accepted the old notion without inquiry. In the case of Munch it is curious that, in a note at the foot of the page (vol i. p. 176, Norges Hist.), in which he says that "Hörgr was a simple kind of offering-place composed of stones set together under the open sky," he confesses that "sometimes hörgar seem to have had roofs," and then he quotes the older Gula Things Law, ch. 29, where it is forbidden to "build a *house* and call it *harg*."

The use of the word *brenna* (to burn) with hörgr also shows that a building, and not a mere circle of stones, was meant by the latter word. So Örvar-Odds Saga (Fornald. Sög. ii. pp. 287, 288)—"Hjá borginni stöðu *hof* ok *hörgar*, ok lèt Oddr slá í eldi ok *brenna* alt, er í nánd er borginni." "By the burgh stood *Hof* and *Horgar*, shrines and temples, and Odd made (them) set fire to them (throw fire into them) and burn all that was near to the 'burg.'" And in the verses which follow, and which are no doubt much older than the prose text of the Saga—

"Hverr veldr eldi ?
Hverr orrustu ?
Hof sviðnuðu,
Hörgar brunnu."

"Who rules the fire ?
Who sways the strife ?
Shrines were scorched,
Temples were burnt."

Here the context would show that hörgr is not used in the sense "idol," which it is said sometimes to mean, while brenna shows that a building to which fire could be put, and not a stone circle, which would not take fire, must be intended.

For myself I have great doubt whether hörgr ever does mean *idol*, whether of wood or of stone. I think it always means temple or a part of a temple, and when the expression rjóða hörgin, where the word seems to be feminine, is used, it means to hallow the temple or altar by sprinkling and smearing it with the blood of the victims, in which act Alfhillda was busy when Starkdr took her away by night.

The original meaning of the word I believe to be "high-place" in the sense of the Biblical high-places, and a high-place fenced off and hallowed. Thus we have, Isl. S. I. III.?—"Anðr hafði bænahald sitt á Krosshólum þar lèt hún reisa krossa . . . þar höfðu frændr nennar síðan átrúnad mikinn á hólana; var þar þá gjör hörg, er blöt töka til." "And" (who was an early Christian woman who settled in Iceland long before the inhabitants were converted, and whose descendants relapsed to heathendom) "had her oratory or praying place on the Crosshills. There she had crosses set up, and there her kindred after her had great faith in the hill, and there was then made a hörg, when they took to sacrifices." This view of *hörg* being a high-place is borne out by the kindred form in Anglo-Saxon, where the word is *hearg* or *harg*. Thus in Beowulf we have the compound word *heargetræf*:—

"Hvílum hie gehéton
Æt heargetræfum
Wíg-weorðunga" (490).

"Whilom they vowed
At the tabernacles of their high-places
Holy worship."

Where I do not translate with J. M. Kemble—"Sometimes they promised temple-worship at the tabernacles of their idols."

If Bosworth's Dictionary (*sub voce* "hearg") is to be trusted, the Cottonian MS. (49 ?) translated "capitale templum" or "capitolium," "Heafoðlece hearge," which would bear out my view To which I may add, that in the Codex Dipl. Ævi Anglo-Saxon of Kemble "*Hearg*" or "*Herg*" is used as the name of several places in England, one of which seems to be *Harrow*-on-the-Hill, on which commanding site I believe an Anglo-Saxon *hearg* or heathen temple to have stood. To the same root I refer the Harrow in Peper-*Harrow*, *Harrow*gate, *Harrow*by, and other places in England. The Latin equivalent I take to be *arx*, a fenced place on a hill, a citadel. It has nothing to do with *ara*, or *haruspex*, or *aruspex*.

In order to exhaust the subject I may add that the word is old in German, where in Old High German we have *haruc*, masc.; pl. *harugâ*, which is glossed sometimes *fanum*, sometimes *delubrum*, and sometimes *lucus* or *nemus*, all equivalent to temple or sanctuary, for with some of the early Germans at least a sacred grove stood for a temple, and in the North the *hofs* and *hörgar* are always described as standing apart in the midst of a wood. Grimm (Myth. p. 59, 2d ed.), indeed, from whom these last particulars are derived, and who has hard work to defend the view that none of the Germanic tribes had built temples—a view based on the well-known passage from the Germania of Tacitus—says: "Sometimes *hörgr* and *hof* are in juxtaposition, and then *Hörgr* seems to mean the holy place in the wood or rock, and *Hof* the built temple." But he too, great as he was, seems never to have examined and compared the passages which I believe, when fairly weighed, must lead to the conclusion at which I have arrived after such an

examination and comparison of the earliest authorities—viz. that *hörgr* does certainly not mean a close circle erected for sacrificial worship, but a building raised of stones and roofed, which could be set fire to and burnt, and which in all probability was erected on a hill.

And so, my dear Sir, this long letter comes to an end, and I hope it will be of use to you.—Believe me, very faithfully yours,

G. W. DASENT.

P.S.—In modern Icelandic Hörga means a peak of rock, as in the expression "Nú eru ecki uppí nema hæstu hörgar" ("Now none but the highest peaks are above the snow"), and in modern Norwegian *hörg* means a fell-top, or a level place on the top of a hill.

Of the heathen temples found in Gaul we find notices in the Life of St. Martin of Tours. On one occasion the saint set fire "fano antiquissimo et celeberrimo." In another place he wished to overthrow "templum antiquissimum," but his efforts were resisted by the pagans. Afterwards, under the guidance of two angels sent to protect him, Martin overthrew the building to its foundations, and "aras omnes, atque simulacra redegit in pulverem."

We find him overthrowing another temple in the country of the Ædui and destroying idols.

One of the idols which he overthrew is described as "grandi opere constructum. Politissimis saxis moles turrita surrexerat, quæ in comm sublime procedens, superstitionem loci operis dignitate servabat;" and another as "columnam immensæ molis cui idolum superstabat."[1]

In the legends of some of our Scottish saints references occur to the pagan temples and superstitions. St. Machar, according to the ancient belief of the Scottish Church, preached throughout all the country of the Picts, and converted to the faith their chiefs and nobles. It is added: "Destructis ibique templis idolorum, et subuersis aris, ecclesias construi jussit." Of St. Modan, another early Scottish saint, it is recorded that, armed with angelic aid, he overthrew "templum, in vico cui nomen leprosum, antiquis erroribus dedicatum."[2]

Of St. Manire we are told that he preached to those among whom lingered "nonnulle ydolatrie et superstitiones inter eosdem quos siluestres appellant, qui inter nemora rupes et deserta loca habitant."

One reason of this is said to be "propter dicte uacionis lingue varietatem, in quibus Christi doctores minus docti et experti in predicando et docendo fuere;" but that St. Manire, being "ntriusque lingue et sermonis peritissimus," betook himself "eisdem siluestribus." The country thus indicated would seem to be the heights of Strathdee and Braemar, where St. Manire was held in reverence as the patron saint of Crathie."[3]

The temples which the Christian missionaries found in Britain were certainly very different from stone circles. This we might gather from the Epistle of Pope Gregory to the Abbot Mellitus, wherein, after dissuading him from destroying the temples of the heathen, but only the idols in them, he adds: "Quia si fana eadem bene constructa sunt, necesse est ut a cultu dæmonum in obsequium veri Dei debeant commutari: ut dum gens ipsa eadem fana sua non vident destrui, de corde errorem deponat, et Deum verum cognoscens ac adorans, ad loca quæ consuevit familiarus concurrat."[4]

The Chronicle of William Thorn, a monk of Canterbury, furnishes the following addition to Bede's account of the foundation of Christ's Church, Canterbury:—"Erat autem non longe ab ipsa civitate, ad orientem, quasi medio itinere inter ecclesiam Sancti Martini et muros civitatis, phanum sive ydolum situm, ubi rex Ethelbertus secundum ritum gentis suæ solebat orare, et cum nobilibus suis, dæmoniis et non Deo sacrificare, quod phanum, Augustinus ab iniquinamentis et sordibus gentilium purgavit, et simulacro quod in eo erat infracto, synagogam mutavit in ecclesiam, et eam in nomine Sancti Pancrasii martyris dedicavit."[5]

Of this "fane" we are told by another chronicler, "extat adhuc condita ex longissimis et latissimis lateribus, more Britannico, ut facile est videre in ruinis Verolamiensibus. Basilica S. Pancratii nunc est, ubi olim Ethelbertus idolum suum coluit. Opus exiguum, structum tamen de more veterum Britannorum."[6]

The temple at which, as we learn from Venerable Bede, the heathen priest Coifi, after his conversion, hurled his spear, and which he set on fire with all its enclosures, must also have been a structure very different from a circle of stones.[7]

If we refer to the earliest notices of pagan rites in France and Germany, we shall find them associated with temples of the same description.

In the "Iudiculus Superstitionum et Paganiarum," which follows a Capitulary of the Emperor Carloman, dated A.D. 743, one of the references is "De casulis, id est fanis."

[1] Sulpicii Severi de Beati. Martini Vita, Amstel. 1665, pp. 459, 460, 559.

[2] Breviar. Aberd. Pars. Estiv. fol. 160, 161.

[3] *Idem* Pars. Hyemal, fol. 20.

[4] Ven. Bedæ Hist. Ecc. l. i. c. 30.

[5] Twysden, Decem Scriptores, col. 1760. Lond. 1652.

[6] Ex libro Godselini, primum Monachi apud S. Bertinum in provincia Morinorum, deinde Doroberniæ Cantiorum, quem scripsit de vita S. Augustini. Leland Collect. vol. iv. p. 8.

[7] Hist. Eccl. l. ii. c. 13.

In the Life of S. Gall, Bishop of Auvergne, who lived about the middle of the sixth century, written by Gregory of Tours,[1] we are told that the saint came to Cologne with the king Theodoric, to whom he was dear. "Erat autem ibi fanum quoddam, diversis ornamentis refertum, in quo barbaries opima libamina exhibens usque ad vomitum cibo potuque replebatur. Ibi et simulacra ut Deum adorans, membra secundum quod unumquemque dolor attigisset, sculpebat in ligno. Quod ubi Sanctus Gallus audivit, statim illuc cum uno tantum clerico properat; accensoque igne, cum nullus ex stultis pagauis adesset ad fanum applicat ac succendit."

We learn also from the Life of St. Gall, the companion of Columbanus, by Walafridus Strabo, a writer who died about the middle of the ninth century, that on one occasion St. Gall, with his companions, came to Arbon, near the Lake of Constance, where he found a priest Willimar, and inquiring of him whether he knew of any place suitable for a settlement, he was told, "In hac solitudine locus quidam est, antiquæ structuræ servans inter ruinas vestigia, ubi terra pinguis et fructuariis proventibus apta, montes per gyrum excelsi, eremus vasta et imminens opido, planities copiosa victum quærentibus fructum laboris non negat. Et cum loci ipsius situm per multa laudasset indicavit nomen ejus Brigantium."

The priest then conducted St. Gall and his companions in a boat to the spot which he had indicated: "Egressi de navicula, oratorium in honorem Sanctæ Aureliæ constructum adderunt, quod postmodum B. Columbanus in priscum renovavit honorem. Post orationem, cum per gyrum oculis cuncta lustrassent, placuit illis qualitas et situs locorum. Deinde, oratione præmissa, circa oratorium mansiunculas sibi fecerunt. Repererunt autem in Templo tres imagines æreas deauratas, parieti affixas, quas populus dimisso altaris sacri cultu adorabat, et oblatis sacrificiis dicere consuevit: 'Isti sunt dii veteres et antiqui, hujus loci tutores, quorum solatio et nos et nostra perdurant usque in præsens.'" Afterwards St. Gall preached to the people, who had assembled to see the strangers, that they should believe in God the Father, who made all things, and in His only-begotten Son, who is the life and the resurrection of the dead: "Et in conspectu omnium, arripiens simulacra, et lapidibus in frusta comminuens, projecit in lacum. His visis, nonnulli conversi sunt ad Dominum, et confitentes peccata sua, laudes Domino pro sua illuminatione dederunt. Alii, propter imaginum comminutionem, ira et furore commoti, gravi indignatione rabie turbidi recesserunt. Beatus autem Columbanus jussit aquam afferri, et benedicens illam, adspersit ea templum, et dum circuirent psallentes, dedicavit Ecclesiam. Deinde invocato nomine Domini, unxit altare, et beatæ Aureliæ reliquias in eo collocavit, vestitoque altari, Missas legitime compleverunt. Omnibus itaque rite peractis, reversus est populus in sua, cum gaudio magno. Post hæc, permansit ibi B. Columbanus cum commilitonibus suis tribus annis,[2] et ædificata inibi cellula, alii hortum laboraverunt, alii arbores pomiferas excoluerunt. B. vero Gallus texebat retia, et misericordia Dei co-operante, tantam piscium copiam cepit, ut nunquam Fratribus defuissent"

Here we find the heathen idols and worship in a building which was also suitable for a Christian oratory.

There are many references to the heathen priesthood of the Celtic people of Ireland in the early annals of that country; but I have not been able to discover anything which would serve to connect them with the use of stone circles as temples.

We are told of Magh Sleacht, which is translated *Campus Stragis*, that "ibi fuit præcipuum Idolorum Hiberniæ, nempe *Crom Cruach* et duodecim Idola Saxea circumstantia, et caput ejus ex auro, et hic Deus fuit omnium populorum quotquot possessernnt Hiberniam usque ad adventum S. Patricii." This idol was overthrown by St. Patrick.[3]

Elsewhere it is said[4]: "Annales Ultonienses plane indicunt Solem et Ventum fuisse præcipuos Ethnicorum Deos," and that the ancient religion was connected with a worship of fountains, lakes, trees, caves, and great stones or rocks.

Dr. Todd remarks on the word "Beltine": "The Irish pagans worshipped the heavenly bodies, hills, pillar-stones, wells, etc. There is no evidence of their having had any personal gods, or any knowledge of the Phœnician Baal. This very erroneous etymology of the word Beltine [the fire of the god Bel] is nevertheless the source of all the theories about the Irish Baal-worship," etc.[5]

King Leoghaire, being taken prisoner by the king of Leinster in an attempt to enforce an annual tribute, in order to obtain his liberty gave the guarantees of the sun, and of the wind, and of the elements, to the men of Leinster that he would never again come against them. But the next year, in violation of his engagement, he renewed the war; "and the sun and the wind killed him," say the annalists, "because he had outraged them," or violated the oath made upon them.[6]

In the poem composed by St. Columba on the occasion of the battle of Cuil-dreimhe, "which is apparently of

[1] Act. Sanct. Ord. S. Benedict, vol. i. p. 110.

[2] Not complete, says Mabillon, as Columbanus is said to have come to Italy A.D. 612.

[3] Todd's St. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland, p. 127. Dublin 1864.

[4] O'Connor's Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores Veteres, tom. i. Introduction, p. cxxii. 1814. The notice which I have quoted in the text is said by the editor to be extracted from a MS. at Stowe called Dinseanchus, fol. 50.

[5] Life of St. Patrick, p. 414, *note*.

[6] Todd, p. 437, quoting Four Masters, A.D. 457, vol. i. p. 144, where, in a note, O'Donovan, quoting from the Leabhar na h-Uidhri, shows that the oath was by the sun and moon, the water and the air, day and night, sea and land.

the nature of an incantation, Columba alludes to the magical arts of his adversaries. He complains of the mist which encircled the army; he speaks of the enemy as 'the host which went round the carn,' probably because they had marched round some carn of stones as a Druidical ceremony, and he adds—

'My Druid—may he be on my side!—
Is the Son of God, and Truth with Purity.'"[1]

Some of the magical practices of the Irish Druids may be gathered from the ancient hymn attributed to St. Patrick, where he says—

"Our fate depends not on sneezing,
Nor on a bird perched on a twig,
Nor on the root of a knotted tree,
Nor on the noise of clapping hands."[2]

It is well known that sneezing, both among the Greeks and Romans, and also in the middle ages, was regarded as ominous, and was made use of for the purposes of divination. This superstition was prohibited by several enactments of councils and synods, and formed a frequent topic of reprobation from the pulpit. As an example, we may cite the following passage from a sermon preached by St. Elgius or Eloy, who became bishop of Noyon about the year 640:—"Similiter et anguria vel sternutationes nolite observare, nec in itinere positi aliquas aviculas cantantes attendatis, sed sive iter sive quodcunque operis arripitis, signate vos in nomine Christi."[3]

See also the "Libellus Abbatis Pirminii," published by Mabillon, which he supposes to belong to the year 758: "Noli adorare idola, non ad petras neque ad arbores, nou ad angulos; neque ad fontes, ad trivios, nolite adorare, nec vota reddere. Precantatores et sortilegos, karagios, auruspices, divinos, ariolos, magos, maleficos, sternutns et auguria per aviculas, vel alia iugenia mala et diaholica, nolite facere et credere."[4]

The hymn composed hy St. Patrick at Tara, according to Dr. Todd, contains internal evidence of its antiquity and autheuticity. "The prayer which it contains for protection against 'women, smiths, and Druids,' together with the invocatiou of the power of the sky, the sun, fire, lightning, wind, and other created things, proves that notwithstanding the undoubted piety and fervent Christian faith of the anthor, he had not yet fully shaken off all pagan prejudices." Dr. Todd adds in a note: "The magical powers supposed to belong to aged women and blacksmiths are well known; a belief in them continues to prevail in some parts of Ireland aud Scotland to the present day."[5]

The Druidical rites seem to be summed up in the following passage, where it is said that the Druids who were converted to the Christian faith, on renouncing their magical arts became poets and masters of schools:—"Et licet interea Druidæ in Christum credentes, auguria vaticinia, incantationes aliasque magicas professiones et artes abjuraverint; non destiterunt tamen eorum snccessores, nempe seneciores, et poetæ stndium antiqnitatis mirifice colere, scholis publicis præesse, et hic in summo pretio apud proceres et populum haberi."[6]

We learn from Gregory of Tours that similar superstitions lingered among the Frankish people, who were wont "silvarum atque aquarum, avium, bestiarumque, et aliorum quoque elementorum, finxere formas, ipsasque ut Deum colere, eisque sacrificia delibare consueti." The idols used in their worship are again referred to by the same writer.[7]

Chrothildis of Burgundy, the wife of Chlodonens, the Frankish king, when her firstborn son came to be baptized, urged many arguments with her husband against his idolatry, saying that the gods whom he worshipped could neither help themselves nor others, being "aut ex lapide, aut ex liguo, aut ex metallo aliqno sculpti."[8]

The superstitious reverence for certain trees, which, as will be seen, prevailed among the Irish Celts, was common among other races as well in Englaud as on the Continent. Bonifacc uprooted au oak of great size and age in the forest at Geismar, near Fritzlar in Hessia, called "robur Jovis," and which was an object of worship among the pagans.

In the early part of the seventh century St. Valery was labouring among the pagans between the Somme and the Seine. In one place he overthrew a gigantic oak which was the subject of superstitious worship: "Juxta ripam fluminis stips erat magnns, diversis imaginibus figuratus, atque ibi in terram magna virtute immissns, qui nimio cultu more Gentilium a rusticis colebatur." A church was erected in honour of St. Valery, on the site where the tree had stood, near to a sacred fountain, "ex quo fertur ipse se lavasse."[9]

A few years later the saints Wandrille, Ansbert, Samson, Wulfran, and others, pursued their labonrs along the banks of the Seine, overthrowing statnes and images of idols, also the sacred oaks, filling up fonntains and miraculous waters, extinguishing the fires and the funeral-piles, covering with earth the amphitheatres and sacred stones, shutting up everywhere the grottoes of the fairies, the smoking holes, the prophetic caverns, and the mysterious air-holes.[10]

[1] Todd, p. 120.
[2] *Idem.* p. 122.
[3] Vita S. Eligii, lib. ii. c. 15, apud Dacherii Spicil. p. 97.
[4] Vet. Anal. p. 69.
[5] Todd, p. 430.
[6] Vit. S. Molaggæ, note by Colgan, tom.
[7] Gregor. Turon. Hist. Franc. lib. ii. cap. 10.
[8] *Idem.* lib. ii. cap. 27.
[9] Vita S. Walarici, apud Acta Sanct. Ordin. Benedict. Sæcul. II. cap. xxi.
[10] Cochet, La Normandie Souterraine, and authorities cited, p. 325.

The term "Druids," applied to their priesthood by the ancient Irish, seems to have been used in the same sense as "magicians," so that Dr. O'Connor writes "usque hodie, ars magica dicitur Draoidheacht."[1] In Adamnan's Life of Columba, and in all the early lives of Irish saints, the word used as equivalent to the term "Druid" is "magus." Dr. Reeves informs us that in the Irish MS. of St. Paul's Epistles at Wurtzburg the gloss on the magicians Jannes and Jambres, who are said to have withstood Moses (2 Tim. iii. 8), is "duo Druidæ Egyptiaci."

So the memoirs of St. Patrick, in the Book of Armagh, state that at the time of his arrival the monarch of Ireland had "seivos et magos, et aruispices et incantatores, et omnis malæ artis inventores," in his service.[3]

Mogh Roith was a celebrated Druid of the race of the Ciarraighe, from whom many families and saints were descended. In an ancient Irish poem printed by Dr. Todd, which he has entitled "Duan Eireannach," he is called "Mogh Roith, the protector," "from his having by his magic assisted the Munster men to defeat Cormac MacArt at the battle of Damhdhaire, in the second century."[4]

Pliny, who speaks of the Druids under the name of Magi, and as of the tribe of wizards and physicians, says that in Britain, in his time, they still practised magic, and that with august ceremonials.[5]

The legend of St. Patrick, in the Breviary of Aberdeen, describes his opponents as "magos et auriolos aliosque diversos vaticinatores."[6]

When Vortigern was smarting under the excommunication of St. Germanus for marrying his own daughter, "ad se invitavit magos suos, ut quid faceret, ab eis interrogaret."[7]

Broichan, the Druid of Brude the Pictish king, on one occasion exerted his magical powers by raising a storm on Loch Ness to hinder the projected sailing on it of St. Columba.[8]

It is obvious that the same superstition about fountains existed among the Pictish Druids as among their Irish namesakes. Adamnan tells us of a fountain in "Pictorum provincia" which the people venerated as a god; "nam de eodem fonticulo bibentes, aut in eo manus vel pedes de industria lavantes, dæmoniaca, Deo permittente, percussi arte, aut leprosi, aut lusci, aut etiam debiles, aut quibuscunque aliis infestati infirmitatibus, revertebantur."[9] It thus came to receive divine honour from the pagans.[10] St. Columba, on coming to it ("intrepidus"), with feelings, doubtless, like those of Coifi when he profaned the heathen temple at Godmundingham, both washed in it and drank of it, to the great joy of the "Magi," who believed that he would receive some injury from so doing. But not only was the saint uninjured, but from that day, through his blessing and washing in it, the fountain lost its evil power, and by it many people were healed of their diseases.

We have already heard of the twelve stone idols which were around Crom Cruach, and the early notices of heathen superstitions in connection with stones imply the use of the stones rather as *idols* than temples.

When we read of the apostasies of the people under Kentigern's rule, we find that one of his measures was to root out the worship of *idols*. At Hoddam the Saxons worshipped Woden as their chief god. Kentigern affirmed to them that he had been a mere man, and king of the Saxons.[11] King Ethelbert had an idol in his fane near Canterbury which was broken by the missionaries.

Gregory of Tours gives an account of his conversation with the monk Wulfilaich, who is said to have been the first of the Stylites in the West who set up as a rival to St. Simeon of Antioch. The anchorite said: "I went into the territory of Treves I there constructed with my own hands upon this mountain the little dwelling which you see. I found there an image of Diana, which the people of the place, still infidels, adored as a divinity."[12]

Many of the pagan practices are specified in imperial capitularies and early councils, but in no case can I discover a reference to superstitions connected with stone circles, although many of them are articles of a primitive *cultus*.

The first capitulary of Charlemagne directs all bishops to take heed lest their people take part in pagan rites or superstitions, which are specified as "profana sacrificia mortuorum, sive sortilegos vel divinos, sive phylacteria et auguria, sive incantationes, sive hostias immolatitias, quas stulti homines juxta ecclesias, ritu pagano faciunt, sub nomine Sanctorum Martyrum vel Confessorum Domini."[13]

Then, in a "capitulatio de partibus Saxoniæ," A.D. 789, the twenty-first chapter provides for the punishment of those who "ad fontes, aut arbores, vel lucos, votum fecerit, aut aliquid more gentilium obtulerit, et ad honorem dæmonum commederit."[13]

[1] Ann. Inisf. O'Connor's Introduction, p. 142.

[2] Zeuss, i. p. 278. Reeves' Adamnan, p. 73, *note*.

[3] *Idem*. p. 74, *note*.

[4] Irish Nennius, p. 265, *note*.

[5] Pliny, lib. xxx. sec. 4.

[6] Propr. Sanct. Pars. Hyem. fol. lxxi.

[7] Hist. Nennii, cap. xl. (Mon. Hist. Brit.)

[8] Adamnan uses the same word *Magi* in referring to the Druids amongst the Picts; and from what we see of them they appear to be of the same sort of magicians as the Irish Druids.—Reeves' Adamnan, p. 148.

[9] *Idem*. p. 119.

[10] Tirechan relates of St. Patrick that "venit ad fontem Find maige qui dicitur Slan quia indicatum illi quod honorabant magi fontem, et immolaverunt diva ad illum in domum dii, quia adorabant fontem in modum dii (Lib. Armac. fol. 13), quoted in Dr. Reeves' Adamnan, p. 119, *note*.

[11] Vita Kentigerni, pp. 235, 265.

[12] Hist. Francor. lib. viii. c. 15.

[13] Corpus Juris Germ. Walter. Capitularia Regum Francorum, tom. ii. pp. 54, 107, 115. Berolini 1824.

Another, entitled "De auguriis vel maleficiis," is in the following terms:—"Habemus in Lege domini mandatum: *Non auguriamini.* Et in Deuteronomio: *Nemo sit qui ariolos scisciteur, vel somnia observet, vel ad auguria intendat.* Item *nemo sit maleficus, nec incantator, nec Phytonis consultor.* Ideo præcipimus ut nec cauculatores (nec iucantatores) nec tempestarii, vel obligatores fiant (al. MS. calculatores auguriatores: auguratores). Et ubicumque sunt, emendentur vel damnentur. Item de arboribus vel fontibus, ubi aliqui stulti, luminaria vel alias observationes faciunt, omnino mandamus ut iste pessimus usus et Deo execrabilis, ubicumque iuvenitur tollatur, et destruatur."[1]

Among "Fragmenta Capitularium,"[2] A.D. 870, there is one, "De sortilegis et sortiariis," which sets forth: "Ut Episcopi, Episcoporumque miuistri, omnibus viribus elaborare studeant, ut perniciosam et a diabolo inventam, sortilegam et maleficam artem, penitus ex parochiis suis eradant, et si aliquem virum, aut feminam, huiusmodi sceleris sectatorem invenerint, turpiter dehonestatum de parochiis suis ejiciant." It continues: "Illud etiam non omittendum, quædam sceleratæ mulieres retro post Satanam conversæ, dæmonum illusionibus et phantasmatibus seductæ, credunt se et profitentur nocturnis horis cum Diana, Paganorum Dea, et in numerata multitudine mulierum equitare super quasdam bestias,[3] et multa terrarum spatia intempestæ noctis silentio pertransire, ejusque jussionibus velut domiuæ obedire, et certis noctibus ad ejus servitium evocari. Sed utinam hæ solæ in perfidia sua periisent, et non multos secum in infidelitatis interitum, pertraxissent. Nam innumera multitudo hac falsa opinione decepta, hæc vera esse credit, et credendo a recta fide deviat; et in errorem Paganorum revolvitur, cum aliquid divinitatis aut numinis extra unum Deum esse arbitratur," etc.[4]

The sixteenth canon of the Council of Vannes, circa A.D. 465, on the ground "quod aliquanti clerici student auguriis, et sub nomine fictæ religionis, quas sanctorum sortes vocant, divinationis scientiam profitentur; aut quarumcunque scripturarum inspectione futura promittunt; hoc quicunque clericus detectus fuerit, vel consulere vel docere, ab ecclesia habeatur extraneus."[5]

The provisions of early councils are in much the same terms. The twentieth canon of that at Nantes—supposed by Morice to be about 658, by others to be of a later date—provides: "Ut arbores dæmonibus consecratæ, quas vulgus colit et in tanta reverentia habet, ut nec ramum nec surculum inde audeat amputare, radiciter excindindantur atque comburantur. Lapides quoque, quos in ruinosis locis et silvestribus dæmonum ludificationibus decepti venerantur, ubi et vota vovent et deferunt, funditus effodiautur, atque in tali loco projiciautur, ubi nunquam a cultoribus suis inveniri possint. Et omnibus adnuntietur quantum scelus sit idolatria, et quod qui hæc veneratur et colit, quasi Deum suum negat, et Christiauitati abrenuntiat, et talem pœnitentiam inde debet suscipere, quasi idola adorasset."[6]

One of the articles in the "Indiculus Paganiarum," already quoted, is entitled "De Sacris Sylvarum quæ Nimidas vocant," which seems to refer to a spot in the woods set apart for religious rites. Dr. Thurnam tells us that the old Celtic name for a consecrated place, as seen in a poet of the sixth century, was *nemet*:—

> "Nomine Vernemetis voluit vocitare vetustas
> Quod quasi fanum ingens Gallica lingua refert."[7]

He adds, "Nemet, like the Greek *temenos* and Latin *templum*, seems to signify a piece of land cut off from common purposes and dedicated to religion."[8]

The "frith-splot," against which an early Saxon canon is directed, seems to have been "a spot or plot of ground encircling some stone, tree, or well considered sacred, and therefore affording sanctuary to criminals."[9]

Spots of ground cut off from the adjoining fields out of superstitious motives were well known in Scotland. One of them, under the name of THE GOODMAN'S CROFT, in the district of the Garioch in Aberdeenshire, attracted the notice of the General Assembly in 1594. It was provided, "anent the horrible superstition used in Garioch, and diverse parts of the country, in not labouring ane parcell of ground dedicate to the devil, under the name of The Goodman's Croft," that an Act of Parliament should be applied for "ordaining all persons possessours of the saids lands, to cause labour the samein, betuixt and ane certane day appointit therto."[10]

The minister of Montquhitter in Aberdeenshire, writing about the end of last century, notices that "the old mau's fold, where the Druid sacrificed to the demon for his corn and cattle, could not be violated for the ploughshare."[11]

[1] Corpus Juris Germ. Walter. Capitularia Regum Francorum, tom. ii. pp. 107, 415. Berolini 1824.

[2] *Idem.* vol. iii. p. 280.

[3] Some of our Scotch witches in the seventeenth century confessed their guilt of practices very like this. Thus Isobel Gowdie says: "I haid a little horse, and wold say, 'HORSE AND HATTOCK, IN THE DIVELLIS NAME!' and then ve vold flie away, quhair ve vold be, ewin as strawes wold flie wpon an hie-way. We will flie lyk strawes quhan we pleas; wild-strawes aud corne-strawes wilbe horses to ws, and ve put thaim betwixt our foot and say, 'HORSE AND HATTOCK, IN THE DIVELLIS NAM!' An quhan any sies thes strawes in a whirlewind, and doe not sanctifie them selues, we may shoot them dead at owr pleasour. Any that ar shot be vs, thair sowell will goe to Hevin, bot thair bodies remains with ws, and will flie as horsis to ws, als small as strawes."—Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. iii. p. 604.

[4] Corp. Jur. Germ. vol. iii. p. 529.

[5] Memoires a l'Histoire de Bretagne, by Morice, tom. i. p. 185.

[6] Venantius Fortunatus (Bishop of Poictiers), lib. i. c. 9.

[7] Crania Britannica, p. 121.

[8] Ancient Laws and Institutes of England, vol. ii. Glossary, *sub voce.*

[9] The Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, p. 834. Edin. 1845.

[10] Stat. Acc. of Scotland, vol. xxi. p. 148.

Professor Simpson, in a suggestive address delivered in 1861 to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, which throws light on every branch of our national antiquities, states that a relation of his bought a farm in a district within twenty miles of Edinburgh not very many years ago. "Among his first acts after taking possession was the enclosing a small triangular corner of one of the fields within a stone wall. The corner cut off—and which still remains cut off—was the 'goodman's croft,' an offering to the spirit of evil, in order that he might abstain from ever blighting or damaging the rest of the farm"—a singular example of the survivance of a superstition of our Celtic forefathers, notwithstanding the edicts directed against it, both civil and ecclesiastical, and notwithstanding the manifold changes and progress of two thousand years.[1]

The trials for witchcraft which form so remarkable a feature of the reign of James VI., contain allusions to a superstitious marking off of pieces of ground by the poor victims of these judicial murders. One of the points against a notable witch, Andro Man, at Tarbruich, in the parish of Rathven in Banffshire, was—"Thow hes mett and messurit dyvers peces of land, callit wardis, to the hynd knicht, quhom thow confessis to be a spreit, and puttis four stanis in the four nokis of the ward, and charmes the samen, and thairby haillis the guidis, and preservis thame fra the hunsaucht, and all vther diseasis, and thow forbiddis to cast faill or divett theron, or put plewis therin; and this thow did in the Manis of Innes, in the Manis of Caddell, and in dyvers vtheris places, quhilkis thow confessis thy self, and can nocht deny the same."

Andro was accused of affirming that "the Quene of Elphen hes a grip of all the eraft, bot Christsonday is the gudeman, and hes all power vnder God, and that thow kennis sindrie deid men in thair companie, and that the kyng that deit in Flowdoun and Thomas Rymour is their."[2]

From the previous notices, it would appear that the clergy were apt to be drawn into attempts to Christianise the heathen practice of divination, and to continue it under another shape, probably with the hope of securing to their own system the reverence which had been heretofore reserved for the pagan rites. We know that they symbolised with other heathen rites,[3] and St. Boniface complains, that the Christian priests too often assisted in these ceremonies, in which they joined in eating the sacrifices of the dead, consisting of the bulls and he-goats which had been offered to the gods of the pagans.[4]

In the "Liber Pœnitentialis" of the Archbishop Theodore are many references to prevailing heathen practices. The twenty-seventh chapter is entitled "De idolatria et sacrilegio, et qui Angelos colunt et maleficos, ariolos, veneficos, sortilegos, divinos, et vota reddentes nisi ad æcclesiam Dei, et in Kalendas Januarii in cervulo et in vitula vadit, et mathematicos, et emissores tempestatum."

Provisions are made against him "qui immolat dæmoniis," and those "qui simul celebrant festivitatem in locis abhominandis gentilium, et suam æscam ibi deferentes, simulque comederint;" and again, "Si quis manducaverit vel biberit per ignorantiam juxta famum." The places of heathen rites are again particularised, and in addition to trees, fountains, and stones, "cancelli" occur. "Si quis ad arbores, vel ad fontes, vel ad lapides, sive ad cancellos, vel ubicunque, excepto in æcclesia Dei, votum voverit aut exsolverit."[5]

Of the canons concluded under King Edgar, A.D. 967, the sixteenth provides that every priest zealously promote Christianity, and totally extinguish every heathenism, and forbid well-worshippings, and necromancies, and divinations, and enchantments, and man-worshippings, and the vain practices which are carried on with various spells, and with "frith splots," and with elders, and also with various other trees, and with stones, and with many various delusions with which men do much of what they should not.[6]

One of the secular laws of King Cnut, "Of Heathenism," is in the following terms, as translated by Mr. Thorpe:—"And we earnestly forbid every heathenism; heathenism is, that men worship idols; that is, that they worship heathen gods, and the sun or the moon, fire or rivers, water-wells or stones, or forest trees of any kind; or love witchcraft, or promote 'morth'-work in any wise; or by 'blot,' or by 'fyrht;' or perform anything pertaining to such illusions."[7]

The prevailing pagan rites, judging from these enactments, would seem to indicate a system combining a worship of the sun, moon, waters, trees, and stones, with claims to powers of magic and divination. The latter powers appear to be referred to in the "Indiculus Superstitionum," already quoted, under the heads "De incantationibus," "De auguriis vel avium vel bovum stercore vel sternutatione," "De divinis vel sortilegis," "De igne fricato de ligno id est nodfyr,"[8] "De cerebro animalium," "De simulacro de consparsa farina," "De simulacris de pannis factis,"

[1] Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, vol. iv. p. 33. Edin. 1863.

[2] Trials for Witchcraft, in Miscellany of the Spalding Club, vol. i. p. 120.

[3] One of the Capitularies prescribes, "Et quando eos ad sepulturam portaverint, illum ululatum excelsum non faciant . . . Et super eorum tumulos nec manducare nec bibere præsumant" (Capitul. Caroli Magni et Lud. vi. 197).

[4] Bonifacii, Epist. 71 (quoted in Thrupp's "Anglo-Saxon Home," p. 402). See also Epist. 49 in Migne *ap.* "Octavi Sæculi Ecclesiastici Scriptores," col. 747. Paris 1863.

[5] Theodori Arch. Cant. Liber Pœnitentialis, in Thorpe's Ancient Laws and Institutes of England, vol. ii. pp. 32-34.

[6] Thorpe, vol. ii. p. 249.

[7] *Idem.* p. 379.

[8] Among the ancient and modern customs of the inhabitants of the Western Islands, described by Martin, is one which occurred in the Lewis. "The inhabitants here did also make use of a fire called *Tin-Egin*—*i.e.* a forced fire, or fire of necessity, which they

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We have an interesting notice of one of these heathen bacchanalian meetings round a pillar-stone, and of the Christian symbol put upon it, in the Life of St. Samson, Bishop of Dol in Brittany.[2]

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We may suppose that the following act of St. Patrick, thus told in the tripartite Life of the saint, was done with the same purpose: "Rebus ecclesiæ ibi dispositis, Patricius se contulit ad locum qui et *Mag-selga* legitur appellari, ubi sex Briani Principis offendit filios, Bognam, cognomento Rubrum, Derthractum, Echenum, Crimthanum, Coelcharnum, et Eochadium. Ibi in loco amæno ubi circumfusa regio latè conspicitur, vir Dei cum aliquot comitantibus Episcopis moram contraxit inter tres colossos siue edita Saxa; quæ gentilitas ibi in memoriam aliquorum facinorum vel gentilitiorum rituum posuit. In his autem lapidibus, lapidis angularis, qui fecit utraque vnum, Christi Domini tria nomina tribus linguis expressa curavit incidi; in vno *Jesus*, in altero *Soter*, in tertio *Saluator* nomen impressum legitur."[5]

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At these pillars vows were made, and some rites enacted about them, which led the Christian missionaries to call them idols.[6]

It was the desire of partial accommodation that led these missionaries to excite in their converts a Christian regard for their old pillars, by sculpturing on them the Christian symbol of the cross; and thus it happens that many of the menhirs, or single pillar-stones of Brittany, are sculptured with small crosses within circles.[7]

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The feelings of veneration with which the early inhabitants of various countries looked upon some of these pillar-stones was exhibited in later times, both by the Irish and the Scotch, towards stones which succeeded to their reverence very much from the attempts of the early missionaries to associate the earlier regard for such monuments with Christian motives.

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Those stones also were objects of reverence on which their chiefs stood at their inauguration,[3] and which had been blessed by some of their early saints, like St. Columb's Stone near Derry, or that one referred to in the tripartite Life of St. Patrick, as follows[4]:—"The man of God accompanied Prince Eoghan to his palace, which he then held in the most ancient and celebrated seat of the kings called Aileach, and which the holy bishop consecrated by his blessing, promising that from the seat of Eoghan many kings and princes of Ireland should spring, and as a pledge of which he left there a certain stone blessed by him, upon which the promised kings and princes should be ordained."[5]

The early veneration of the Irish Celts for trees, in like manner, was continued into Christian times, but it came to be mixed up with feelings towards certain trees as the *palladia* of their tribes, and which were called Arbores Sacri, probably from having received the blessing of their early saints. These were the trees under which their chiefs were inaugurated. Thus O'Connor, in reference to the early veneration of trees in Ireland, says: "*Bile-Magh-a-dair—i.e.* Arbor-Sacer-campi-Quercus, sive adorationis, arbos erat in Agro Clarense, ad collem Sacrum Dalcassiorum, ubi reges *O'Briani* inaugurari solebant, ut in Annalibus IV. Mag. ad ann. 1012. Iidem annales ad ann. 981, inquiunt-Dalcassia vastata per Maelsechnallum filium Donaldi, et vetus Arbor Sacer loci. Nundinarum-Campi-Adorationis, ramis orbatus, postquam eradicatus fuisset e terra cum suis radicibus. Eadem sæpe recurrunt ubi Reguli se mutuo aggrediuntur." And in the Annals of Innisfalen, under the year A.D. 964, it is said: "Vetus arbos monumentarius campi adorationis fractus a dimidio septentrionale Hiberniæ dicto dimidio Conni."[6]

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[7] The Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. iii. p. 212.

"In the village on the south coast of Egg there is a well called St. Katherine's Well; the natives have it in great esteem, and believe it to be a catholicon for diseases. They told me that it had been such ever since it was consecrated by one Father Hugh, a Popish priest, in the following manner: He obliged all the inhabitants to come to this well, and then employed them to bring together a great heap of stones at the head of the spring by way of penance; this being done, he said mass at the well, and then consecrated it; he gave each of the inhabitants a piece of wax candle, which they lighted, and all of them made the *dessil* of going round the well sunways, the priest leading them; and from that time it was accounted unlawful to boil any meat with the water of this well."[1]

A spring in the parish of Comrie enjoyed, till quite recently, a great reputation from its association with St. Fillan of Breadalbane. Invalids walked or were carried round the well three times in a direction according to the course of the sun. The waters were in especial repute for the cure of barrenness. All the invalids threw a white stone on the saint's cairn, and left behind some rags of linen or woollen cloth. A natural rock on the top of Dun-Fhaolain formed the saint's chair, and he formed a basin in a large stone at the bottom of the hill for his bath. It seldom wants water in the greatest drought, and all who had sore eyes washed three times with this water.[2]

The primitive system had come to invest certain trees, fountains, and stones with magical qualities, which led their votaries to pay them divine honours. The Christian missionaries seem to have tolerated the regard for these natural objects, but strove to change the former blind superstition into a faith in them, as channels and depositories of heavenly powers, on the principle laid down by Pope Gregory in his letter to the Abbot Mellitus, and by new marks and associations to break the tie which nourished the old feeling.[3]

"It is not easy," says Dr. Todd, "to vindicate the second order of saints, and their disciples, from the charge of attributing to their own hymns, poems, shrines, and reliquaries, as well as to their denunciations of wrath and imprecations, the same sort of magical powers which the Druids claimed for their prophecies, charms, and incantations." The cathach or battle-book of St. Columba was believed to have this virtue, that "if it were sent right-wise—that is in a direction from right to left round the army of the Cinel Conaill (the clan descended from Columba's ancestor Conall Gulban)—that army was certain to return victorious from battle. But it must have been carried round the army on the breast of some coarb—that is, successor of some bishop or abbot—who was, to the best of his power, free from mortal sin."[4]

Thus, although when St. Patrick visited Cashel all the idols of the country fell down before him, yet "an attempt seems to have been made to conciliate the old superstitions, for we are told that there was a stone there at which, or near which, the king was baptized, which was thenceforth called *Leach-Phadruic*, or Patrick's Stone." Dr. Todd adds, that an ancient stone dedicated to an idol called Cermand Celstach (or Kelmand Kelstach), which in pagan times was covered with plates of gold, was preserved (doubtless without the gold) inside the cathedral of Clogher, up to the times of Cathal Maguire, who has recorded the fact, and who died A.D. 1498.[4]

Dr. Todd gives an instance of St. Patrick's consent to follow one of the burial customs of the pagan Scots.

Two daughters of King Leoghaire were baptized by St. Patrick, and having died, "they buried them near the well Clebach, and they made a circular ditch like to a ferta,[5] because so the Scotic people and gentiles were used to do, but with us it is called reliquiæ (relec), that is, the remains of the virgins. And this *ferta* was granted (*immolata est*) with the bones of the holy virgins to Patrick and to his heirs (*heredibus*) after him for ever. And he made a church of earth in that place."[4]

These attempts to confer a fresh regard on various objects are valuable indices to the nature of the earlier superstitions which they sought to supplant, but among them we can discover no references to the use of stone circles *as temples*, nor to any superstitions connected with them requiring a new direction, as in the case of such objects as trees, fountains, and pillar-stones.

On a review of all the facts, it seems to me that the idea which assigns to stone circles an origin or use as temples is based on a mere assumption.

Neither can I think that the use of stone circles by the Northmen at a later period of their history as places of judicial meetings has any real bearing on the original purpose of these monuments.

At the very time when, as we learn from the Sagas, the courts of the Norwegians were held in such structures in Iceland, we know that another portion of the same people were brought into contact with the circles at Stennis; instead, however, of giving to these circles a name indicative of their use as places of worship or justice, they called the site simply the ness of "the stanes;" and some centuries before this time the kindred Saxons could find no more descriptive name for the great Wiltshire monument than was suggested by the position of the pillars, and thus it was named Stane-henge.

[1] Martin's Western Islands, p. 278.

[2] Sinclair's Stat. Acc. vol. xi. p. 181.

[3] Cochet notices an attempt to change the devotion to certain trees at Jumiege—"Dans le voisinage d'une chapelle consacrée à la *Mère de Dieu*, une série de genêts dont les branches avaient été nouées par des pèlerins. Les arbres d'alentour renferment également dans leurs rameaux des images de saints, maniere chrétienne de sanctifier des arbres jadis honorés d'un culte profane" (La Seine Inferieure, p. 451. Paris 1864).

[4] Todd's St. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland, pp. 123, 129, 455.

[5] Ferta denotes almost always a pagan cemetery (Todd).

Attention has at times been drawn to the circumstance, that in Scotland, courts were held at stone circles in the fourteenth century, and remarks have been made leading to the conclusion, that we are here to recognise their original intention, as "places of those assemblies common to all the Teutonic peoples where the tribe met to discuss its common affairs, to devise laws, and to administer law."[1]

It seems to me, however, that in any event the use of a monument at a time so distant from that of its erection, can throw but little light on its original design, and that the instances referred to admit of a different solution from the one here suggested.

The first, in point of date, is a court held in the year 1349 by William, Earl of Ross, Justiciary of Scotland, on the north of the Forth, to try a cause against William of St. Michael, accused of deforcing the officers of the Bishop of Aberdeen. The process narrates: "Quia specialiter requisiti per dominum nostrum regem et locum suum tenentem ad sustinendum et protegendum patrimonium regium ecclesie Aberdonensis," "Comparuimus cum nobilibus quam plurimis de consilio domini nostri Regis et nostro ad unum diem legitimum per juris ordines ordinatum apud stantes lapides de Rane en le Garniach."[2]

The second is a court held by Alexander Stewart, Lord of Badenach, the King's Lieutenant, in the year 1380, to which he cited the holders of certain lands in the regality of Badenach, to appear and produce their titles to their lands. This court was called to be held "apud le standand stanys de Ester Kyngucy in Badenach," or, as the place is elsewhere called in the same record, "de le Rathe de Kyngucy estir."[3]

There the Earl sat, and before him came the Bishop of Moray, "et stans extra curiam," he protested against the whole proceedings of the Earl, whom he refused to acknowledge as his over-lord.[4]

In both cases, the courts were held on lands belonging to the parties on whose behalf they had been summoned. The "villa" and "schira de Rane" formed part of the original endowments of the see of Aberdeen, and the bishop had a "manerium" with a chapel at Rane,[5] where the three head courts of the barony were held. In the immediate neighbourhood of this residence the "standing-stones" were placed; the Lord of Badenoch also was sitting on his own territories, "ut dominus inter vasallos suos ad jura reddenda," at a spot in the immediate vicinity of his Rathe of Kingussie.

It appears, however, that in these times, councils and courts were held at fountains, on natural hillocks, or artificial cairns, and at fords and bridges, in such wise that we cannot infer anything of their original design from their secondary uses as trysting-places for courts or other meetings.[6]

On the Hill of Conan, in the upper part of the parish of St. Vigeans in Forfarshire, is a large and prominent sepulchral cairn. From an early period this cairn has been the seat of courts and judicial meetings. Thus, in 1254, a dispute having arisen between the monks of Arbroath to whom the lands of Conan belonged, and the Lord of Panmure, who owned the contiguous lands of Tulach, as to the boundaries of these lands, the parties met on the day of St. Alban the Martyr "super Carnconnan," when the dispute was compounded.[7] A charter by the abbot, of certain lands in the territory of Glammis, in favour of John Lyon, dated in 1375, takes the latter bound to pay "unam sectam curie nostre capitali apud Carnconan;" and in 1409, when Alexander of Onchtirlowny was served heir to his brother William in the lands of Kennymekil, in the parish of Kincoldrum, the inquest was held by the bailie of the abbot's regality "apud Carneonane."[8]

In 1380, the Bishop of Aberdeen held a court for the production of the title-deeds of his vassals claiming to hold their lands of the see of Aberdeen, "apud montem capelle beati Thome martyris juxta canoniam de Aberdon."[9] This is a natural gravelly hillock, which is still nearly entire. It is situated a little to the west of the cathedral, on high ground overlooking the valley of the Don and the surrounding country. At this court, the claim of John Crab, as tenant of the barony of Murthil, near Aberdeen, formed the subject of debate.

[1] Chart. Morav. Pref. xxix.; Scotland in the Middle Ages, p. 285.

[2] Registr. Episcop. Aberdon. vol. i. p. 79.

[3] Chartul. Morav. p. 184. The head of the lordship of Badenach was at Ruthven, where another early rath had been placed, and which doubtless led to the selection of the site of the castle of Ruthven. At the court of Kyngucy the bishop protested against the right of the earl as superior; but on the following day, at a meeting in the castle of Ruthven, they compounded their dispute, and the bishop gave a lease of his lands of Rathmorchus to the earl, who had to pay three suits to the bishop "ad curiam nostram capitalem apud Bruneth." The bishop reserved "nobis et successoribus nostris episcopis Moraviensibus nido vel nidis ancipitrum si et quot infra predictam terram nostram nidificare contigerit" (Registr. Morav. p. 189).

[4] In Dr. Wilson's Prehistoric Annals, the bishop is said to stand extra *circum*, as if the court sat within the circle. The words in the record, however, are extra *curiam*, merely implying the position of the bishop as external to the officers of the Court, but not defining the situation of that of the Court itself.

[5] Registr. Episcop. Aberd. vol. i. pp. 88, 117, 164.

[6] Dr. Petrie quotes from the Book of Lecan a notice of Carn Amhalgaidgh, in the county of Sligo, as giving a distinct idea of the kind of monuments which the pagan Irish chieftains erected for the purpose of receiving their bodies after death, and as tending to show that an annual meeting of the people, called in Irish *Oenach*, was usually held at those regal cemeteries:—"Carn Amhalgaidh—*i.e.* of Amhalgaidh, son of Fiachra Elgaidh, son of Dathi, son of Fiachra. It is by him that this carn was formed, for the purpose of holding a meeting of the Hy-Amhalgaidh around it every year, and to view his ships and fleet going and coming, and as a place of interment for himself" (Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland, p. 107).

[7] Registr. de Aberbroth. vol. i. p. 322.

[8] *Ibid.* vol. ii. pp. 34, 47.

[9] Registr. Episcop. Aberdon. vol. i. p. 113.

In the year 1298, a court was held by the Abbot of Kelso "apud pontem de Eterig.[1]

In the year 1398, the Bishop of Moray held a court "apud Pontem Episcopi," when a trial by a jury took place.[2]

In the early records of the Sheriff Court of Aberdeen, I have noted instances of courts held at many different localities throughout the shire. In November 1504 the Sheriff held a court, when a cause between the Laird of Gartly and John Haliburton was continued to the first day of the ensuing month of March, to the Sheriff Court of Drumblait, "to behaldin *at the furd of Scleoth.*"[3]

In the month of February 1557 the court of the Sheriff was held "apud lie Standand Stanis de Huntlie,"[4] for the trial of a cause at the instance of James Gordon in Easter Migvie against George Forbes, son to umquhile Alexander Forbes in Easter Migvie.

In the month of May 1557 the court of the Sheriff was held "apud crucem fori ville de Turriff," when Marjorie M'Kalloun was served heir to her brother John, in the lands of the two Inverernans and Edinglassie, lying within the earldom of Mar.

A well-known or prominent stone was sometimes selected as the place at which the courts of a barony were convened. Thus, the "Gray Stane of Cluny" was the spot where the vassals of the barony of Cluny paid their suit. The Earl of Mar held three head courts at the "Stone of Migveth" in Cromar;[5] and on the "Hirdman Stane," in Orkney, oaths continued to be taken in the early part of the fifteenth century. Indeed, in Orkney the district courts came so commonly to be held at a standing stone, that in various documents of the sixteenth century a court and "a stane" were used synonymously.[6]

In short, an object remarkable for its prominence, or historical character, was frequently chosen as the site to which meetings for judicial purposes were summoned, but the occasional holding of meetings at such differing objects will not justify us in ascribing to these objects a common original design.[7]

The plan and situation of the stone circles are adverse to the idea of their having been *designed* as places of meeting or courts. They are frequently hollowed out within the stones, so that a judge would have been hidden from those around; and while a single pillar might be a natural erection for a trysting-place, it would be a vain expenditure of labour to erect a circle of pillars for the purpose. In many places, also, the circles occur in adjoining groups, which would hardly have occurred if they had been designed as sites for holding courts. In some localities these groups are still numerous, but before the progress of agricultural improvement had removed the circles of which we can now barely trace the former existence, they were so abundant that no necessities of meetings or courts could require them, or account for their origin.[8]

[1] Liber. de Calchou, p. 179. King Alexander II. granted to the monks of Kelso certain lands on the Etterick "ad perpetuam sustentacionem pontis de Ettrick" (Liber. de Calchou, p. 309).

[2] Registr. Morav. p. 212.

[3] A bridge or ford seems to have been frequently chosen as a place for judicial or similar proceedings. One of the enactments of the law, "that is callit Claremethane," provides that "all thai that wonnys beyond Forth as in Lothyane or in Galloway or in ony othir place sall ansuer the challangeouris of Scotlande at the end of vi. wolkis day at the *brig of Striveling*" (Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. i. p. 50). One of the "leges Marchiarum" provides that in certain cases the person accused "sall ansuere at the Camysfurd," and in others "at Jedwart ouerburne" (*Ibid.* p. 84).

[4] See Sculptured Stones of Scotland, *note*, vol. i. Preface, p. vi.

[5] Antiqs. of the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff (Sp. Club), vol. ii. p. 48; vol. iv. p. 716.

[6] Miscellany of the Spalding Club, vol. v. p. 392; Preface, p. xxxix.

[7] Very many of the trysting-places of the English courts were marked by the oak, the beech, or the elm, the living monuments of nature surviving through many a generation of the human race. Natural hills or artificial tumuli, upon whose summit the judges might debate, visible to the surrounding multitude, yet separated from the throng, were also appropriated to the popular assemblies (Palgrave's Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth, vol. i. p. 139).

[8] On Mauchrie Moor, at Tormore in Arran, there are ten circles of standing-stones adjoining each other, with vestiges of others now destroyed. Between the two "laws" of the Lomond Hill, there were eight circles of standing-stones close to each other; and near Ballindalloch in Banffshire five circles are within sight of each other (Proceedings of the Soc. of Antiqs. of Scotland, vol. iv. pp. 502-505; Arch. Scot. vol. iv. p. 35).

III. EARLY PILLARS AND CROSSES.

In the preface to the previous volume of the "Sculptured Stones of Scotland" I have made some observations on the primitive custom of erecting stone pillars to mark the graves of the departed, and other events. I here add notices of some early monuments of this kind.

We find the description of an early sepulchral monument in the Life of Kentigern,[1] where we are told that on the death of Leudonis, a British chief, the grandfather of the saint, his friend erected in the place where he fell "in signum regale, lapidem grandem, imposito illi desuper saxo minore, arte cavatoria, qui adhuc ibi permanet, distans a monte Dunpelder in parte austriua quasi uno miliario."[2]

But such erections were not confined to kings; for, if we may credit a story in Nennius, one of Arthur's dogs was honoured with a stone monument. He says: "Est aliud mirabile in regione quæ dicitur Buelt. Est ibi cumulus lapidum, et unus lapis superpositus super congestum, cum vestigio canis in eo. Quando venatus est porcus Terit impressit Cabal, qui erat canis Arturi militis vestigium in lapide. Et Artur postea congregavit congestum lapidum, sub lapide in quo erat vestigium canis sui; et vocatur Carncabal. Et veniunt homines et tollunt lapidem in manibus suis per spatium diei et noctis et in crastino invenitur super congestum suum."[3]

One of the battles between the Britons and Saxons recorded by Nennius occurred "in campo juxta Lapidem-tituli qui est super ripam Gallici maris statutum."[4]

We learn from early Irish manuscripts descriptive of ancient cemeteries and battle-fields in various parts of Ireland, which are corroborated by the existing remains, that the memorial of the Celtic warrior and chief was a cairn and pillar-stone. "We find," says Dr. Petrie, "the stone cairn and the green mound, with their sepulchral chambers within them, and their monumental character indicated by the upright stones, sometimes single, like the stele of the Greeks, and sometimes forming a circle, or concentric circles."[5]

Cormac Cas, the ancestor of the O'Brieus, was interred under three pillar-stones, which gave the name of Dun-tri-liag to a fort which he erected, and which his descendant, the celebrated Brian Borumha, reconstructed."[6]

In the royal cemetery of Brugh-na-Boyne, we hear of the pillar-stone of Bruidi, the son of Muiredh, where his head is interred, and the caisell (stone enclosure) of Aengus, son of Crummael. Dathi, the last pagan king of the Scoti or Milesian race, was interred in the cemetery called Relec-na-Riogh at Rathcroghan, and his monument, which is a small circular mound, with a pillar of red sandstone, yet remains.[7]

Dr. Petrie also informs us that adjacent to the Irish oratories and circular stone houses of the early saints, are upright pillar-stones which mark their graves.[8]

Some of these pillars have inscriptions in the Ogham character, and in other instances, as on a stone at the oratory of Gallerus, an inscription in the Græco-Roman, or Byzantine character, of the fourth or fifth century. This inscription is not perfectly legible throughout, but is sufficiently so to preserve the name of the ecclesiastic of whom it is the memorial, and reads as follows: THE STONE OF COLUM SON OF . . . . MEL.[9]

On Inchnaguile in Lough Corrib, in the county of Galway, is a ruined church, which Dr. Petrie believes to be of the age of St. Patrick. Near it is a pillar with several Greek crosses on it, and an inscription, which reads: THE STONE OF LUGNAEDAN, SON OF LIMENUAH."[10]

A pillar, supposed to have originally been in the underground chamber of a rath in the county Kerry, had two rude crosses on each side, and two Ogham inscriptions, which have been read by Dr. Graves, as NOCATI MAQI MAQI RET[TI]—*i.e.* "[The Stone] of Nocat, the Son of Mac Reithe;" MAQI MUCOI UDDAMI—*i.e.* "[The Stone] of Uddam, Son of Mogh." Another pillar, with an Ogham inscription, has a cross within a circle at the top. It originally stood in the churchyard of Aglesh, parish of Minard, in the same county.[11]

[1] Registr. Glasg. vol. i. p. lxxxix.

[2] This superimposed stone seems to have been a cap-stone, a covering common to some of the pillar-stones, and many of the early crosses in Ireland. "In the churchyard [of Aghabulloge, a parish in the diocese of Cloyne] is Olans Stone (a fine Ogham, 6 feet 6 inches in height) and cap, a circular concave stone, about which are many traditions" (Caulfield's Life of Saint Fin Barre, p. 19, *note*. Lond. 1864).

[3] Hist. Nennii ap Monum. Hist. Britann. pp. 79, 80.

[4] Historia Nennii, cap. 48.

[5] Eccl. Architecture of Ireland, pp. 102-109; and MSS. authorities quoted.

[6] Annals of the Four Masters, vol. ii. p. 867.

[7] Petrie, p. 107. [8] *Idem*, p. 134. [9] *Idem*, p. 134.

[10] *Idem*. p. 165; Annals of Four Masters, vol. i. p. 140.

[11] Wilde's Catalogue of the Museum of R. I. Academy, pp. 135, 136. Small crosses within circles occur on the pillar-stones of Brittany (Arch. Cambr. for 1857, p. 370). Early examples are given in Arch. Cambr. for 1856, pp. 51, 141; *idem* for 1861, p. 206; Blight's Ancient Crosses in the East of Cornwall, p. iv. Lond. 1858.

We may here trace the gradual progress from the rude pillar of pagan times, to the inscribed but unhewn pillar which records the name of the person of whom it is THE STONE.[1]

The following extracts from Lives of St. Patrick, preserve the notice of various kinds of crosses in Ireland in his day, and the ideas which suggested them. For these I am indebted to the kindness of my friend Dr. Reeves of Armagh, whose labours have thrown so much light on the early history of the Scots of both Ireland and Alba :—

"Stans autem sanctus Patricius in prædicto loco a latere dextero montis Miss (now Slemish, in the county of Antrim), ubi primum illam regionem in qua servivit cum tali gratia adveniens vidit ubi nunc usque crux habetur in signum ad vissum primum illius regionis ilico sub oculis rogum regis incensum intuitus."[2]

On another occasion Patrick, when on his journey, "venit in Album Campum et in regionibus Nepotum Maini et invenit in illo signaculum crucis Christi et ii sepulcra nova, et de curru suo sanctus dixit, *Quis est hic sepultus?* et respondet vox de sepulcro, *Ecce sum homo gentilis.* Respondit sanctus, *Cur juxta te crux sancta infixa est?* Et iterum respondit, *Quia vir qui sepultus est juxta latus meum rogavit mater ejus ut signum crucis ponerctur juxta sepulcrum filii sui. Vir fatuus et insensatus posuit juxta me;* et exilit Patricius de curru suo, et tenuit crucem, et evellebat de gentili tumulo et posuit super faciem babtizati et ascendit super currum et oravit Deum taciter."[3]

"He proceeded eastwards to Lec Finnbhaile. Patrick formed a cross in the stone over Cillmor Uachtair Muaidhe to the west; but Lia-na-manach is its name at this day—*i.e.* from Crumther Monach the saint of Cill Olcan; but there was no church there at that time."[4]

"Patrick proceeded eastwards into the territory of Ui Fiachrach along the sea. He was stopped by Douisce—*i.e.* a great unusual flood reached it, and he cursed it. There is upon the river a place which is called Buaile Patrice—*i.e.* a small mound with a cross upon it—where he delayed for a short time."[5]

[1] We learn from Adamnan that the stone which St. Columba used for a pillow was standing in his day "quasi quidam juxta sepulcrum ejus titulus stat monumenti" (Vit. S. Columb., Reeves, p. 234).

Isolated pillars occur in various parts of Scotland, with names indicative of early, though probably in most cases secondary, use. Thus, on the boundary of the parishes of Fyvie and Rayne in Aberdeenshire, is a pillar called the "Tow Stane," at which it is believed a tax or impost was levied in early times. The monument described as "Towcross ultra arcum occidentalem de Edinburgh" marked the site of a similar exaction. A pillar on the lands to which the monument has given the name of Lecht-Alpine, in the parish of Inch, on the shore of Loch Ryan, in Galloway, stands on the side of the old road leading from Ayrshire into Wigtonshire, and near the boundary of the counties. The popular belief is, that this pillar was of old used as a stone where a tax was exacted on all goods coming into Wigtonshire; and the tradition has so far preserved the memory of the fact, that by the charter of William the Lion creating the burgh of Ayr, "Lachtalpin" is one of the places where "tolneium et alie consuetudines que burgo debentur, dentur et recipiantur" (Municipal Corporations, Scotland—Appendix to the General Report, p. 7).

A stone stood till lately on the lands of Cloch-can, in the parish of Old Deer in Aberdeenshire. It seems likely that the lands derived their name from this monument, at which the "can" of the district, one of the early payments from land which is mentioned so frequently in our early charters, may have been collected.

I recollect a remarkable pillar which stood till lately on a hill in the parish of Inverkeithny in Banffshire, and was known as "the Conveth Stone;" it may have derived its name from being the place of payment of the "conveth," another due which is found in the same early records with that of "can." The former name of the parish was Conveth, and the thanage of Conveth is mentioned in early times" (Registrum Moraviense, p. 320).

One of the sculptured stones at Rhynie (Plate VI. vol. i.) is known in the country as the Cro or Crow Stane, and may have had some connection with the settlement of the "Cro," or compensation for crimes committed in the district (Reg. Majest. iv. 30; iv. 55, pp. 299, 300. Acts of the Scot. Parl. vol. i. Leges inter Brettos et Scotos, p. 299).

One of the boundaries of the lands of Melgow, settled at a perambulation of the Justiciary of Fife, held at Largo Law in 1306, ran "ad lapidem qui vocatur le crawstane" (Registr. de Dunfermlyn, p. 410).

The lands of Crawstone, in the barony and parish of Abercorn, probably took their name from another "crawstane."

One of the boundaries of Knoklargauch, between the Earl of Fife and the Abbot of Dunfermline, was a stone "qui vocatur Wadestane" (*Ibid.* p. 223)—probably a stone of covenant or pledge. Of a like nature was the Hirdmane Stane in Orkney, on which "John of Erwyne and Will. Bernardson swor before owre Lorde the Erle off Orkney and the gentiless of the countre" (Miscellany of the Spalding Club, vol. v. p. 391).

The CAT STANE at Kirkliston, the *lapis catti* at Slipperfield in Peeblesshire (Registr. de Holyrood, p. 211), the large cairns called "Cat Stanes" at Comiston, now demolished, are of a class which is traditionally believed to mark the sites of ancient conflict.

Pillars to which the name of *leckerstones* are applied are found in various parts of Scotland. Near the town of Abernethy, on the road to Invernethy, are two *leckerstones*. Two *leckerstanes* formerly stood near the church of Lindores. On the moor in Aberdeenshire where the well-fought battle of Harlaw took place in 1411, is a tall pillar called the *Liggar Stane*. The term is applied to a cairn in an early note of the boundaries of the lands of Kirkness, one of which is described as running "ad unum acervum lapidum qui dicitur in wlgari *lykirstane*" (Registr. Priorat. S. Andree, p. 1).

These lands were given to the Culdees of Lochleven by Macheth and Grnoch his queen; and it is interesting to find the queen's memory preserved in the march, which is said to run "a quoddam fonte qui dicitur in wlgari GROWOKYS WELL" (*Ib.* p. 1).

[2] Memoirs of St. Patrick in Book of Armagh, fol. 3 *aa*.
Idem, fol. 14, *a b*.

[3] Vita Tripartit. S. Patricii, MS.

[4] *Ibid.* Spots associated with any event in the history of great saints were held in affectionate remembrance. Many touching examples of this are recorded by Adamnan in his Life of Columba. It has been noticed that crosses were frequently erected to commemorate various events in the lives of the saints which were deemed to be of importance; such as the spots where they rested for a time, or first saw some part of a country with which they came to be connected. A place on a hill where St. Brandan pitched his tent was called "Sedes Brandani" (Breviar. Aberd. Pars. Hyemal. fol. 89); and another near Dumbarton probably got its name of "Sedes Patricii" from some traditional account of a like circumstance in connection with St. Patrick (Registr. Paslet. p. 162).

In a Life of St. Columbanus, written by a monk of Bobbio, who lived in the tenth century, we see that crosses were also erected there for various purposes. On one occasion a rock which obstructed the path to his retreat was miraculously removed, and "ob venerationem atque tanti miraculi a fidelibus crux juxta eam posita est sicut et hodie cernitur."

A chapter "De cruce juxta saxum posita" refers to a practice which seems to have been peculiar to the Irish missionaries. St. Columbanus had erected a church in the place which he had chosen for a retreat, and "ubi saxum erat aliquantulum concavum crucem sibi affixit. Consuetudo est enim hominibus hujus gentis unumquemque per diem centies et eo plus genuflectere; ad quod opus locum eumdem ab eo credimus expetitum. . . . . In eodem vero loco in quo prædicta Crux a S. Columbano posita fuerat Ecclesia in honore Sanctæ crucis constructa est, sicut nunc cernitur, ubi etiam ipsa Crux pro amore inclyti viri honestissime servatur."[1]

Adamnan has preserved notices of the erection of crosses in Iona in the time of Columba for various reasons, and the memory of Adamnan himself is preserved in "Adamnan's Cross," which is still to be seen near the rath on the hill of Tara, within which he held a synod in the year 697.

The cross of Cairbre Crom (King of Hy Many) stood in the middle of the togher, which leads from the old nunnery of Cloonburren, in the parish of Moore, to the townland of Faaltia. The cross has lost both its arms, and now presents the mere appearance of a pillar-stone, but it is still called "the Cross of Cairbre Crom" by the natives, who retain a vivid tradition that it marks the spot where S. Kieran put on the head of Cairbre Crom, King of Hy Many.[2]

The Registry of the Abbey of Clonmacnoise tells us that "before the west door of MacDermot's church stood a large old-fashioned cross or monument, much injured by time, on which was an inscription in antique characters which nobody that I could hear of could read," "with illegible characters, and the sculptures of St. Kyran and O'Carwyll joining hands together, and St. Kyran's monks on each side of them."[3]

We are told by his biographer that Kentigern erected many crosses, "habebat in consuetudinem ut in locis quibus prædicando populum adquisitionis nomini Christi subdiderat, et de cruce Christi illos imbuerat aut ubi aliquantisper deguerat, triumphale vexillum sanctæ crucis erigeret." On one occasion, fleeing from Cumbria towards Wales, he taught the idolaters among the mountains near Carlisle. Here he erected a cross, from whence the place came to be called Crossfield, and here a church was built and dedicated to him. Again, when in Wales, the saint having been guided to a suitable site for a monastery, "deinde in testimonium et signum salutis et auspicium futuræ religionis ibidem crucem erigens tentoria fixit.[4]

If it may be thought, that in this Kentigern followed the example of his master St. Serf, "qui de Scotorum nacione originem sumpserat sub ritu et forma primative ecclesie," we may believe that the custom of erecting crosses in Pictland was one of early origin.[5]

Of the erection of crosses by St. Regulus we hear much in the history written by the monks of St. Andrews before the middle of the twelfth century. On reaching Kilrimont with his companions, "crucem quamdam quam secum de Patris portaverant, ibidem sibi erectis papilionibus in terra fixerunt." Next they met three sons of the Pictish king at Forteviot, who gave to God and St. Andrew the tenth part of Forteviot, "ibidem vero cruce quadam erecta, loco et loci habitatoribus Regis filiis benedixerunt." At this place the king built a church.

On their return to Kilrimont, the king offered to God and St. Andrew a considerable part of the adjoining ground, which was solemnly marked off, "in signum vero Regiæ commendationis per loci circuitum divisim 12 cruces lapideas viri Sancti erexerunt."[6]

The Saxons have left us a memorable example of their custom of erecting crosses, in the monument at Ruthwell. Bede relates that Oswald erected a large cross, before which he and his army knelt and prayed before the battle of Heavenfield, that it was the first one raised in Northumbria, and that after the death of Oswald a church was built upon the spot.[7]

Cuthbert erected a cross at Farne, and desired his monks to bury him on the east side of it; and Ethelwold, who in about thirty-five years after Cuthbert's death became his successor in the see of Lindisfarne, during his own lifetime caused a stone cross of fine workmanship to be erected, and his name carved on it "in sui memoriam."[8]

The early erection of Saxon crosses may also be gathered from references in their charters to the *old cross* as a

[1] Mabillon, Acta Sanctor. Ordinis Benedicti, vol. ii. pp. 37-39.

[2] Trans. of Kilkenny Society, 1856-7, p. 457. The king was killed by his enemies, and his head carried to the causeway of Cluain Boirenn, and left on a green flagstone in the middle of the causeway. After that, the body and head were carried to Clonmacnois, and the head was placed on the body. After this the pillar of Kieran was brought [and placed] under the head, and the head adhered to the body at the word of Kieran, and Coirpre granted Cuil-foda as an altar-sod, and the Imleachs as a reward for his resuscitation, to God and to Kieran for ever.

[3] Registry of Clonmacnoise, with Notes and Remarks by Dr. O'Donovan, in Journal of Kilkenny Society, 1856-7, p. 444.

[4] Vita Kentigerni apud Pinkerton's Vitæ Antiquæ, pp. 248, 285.

[5] Breviar. Aberd. Pars. Hyemal, fol. xxv.

[6] Hist. B. Reguli, in Pinkerton's Enquiry, vol. i. pp. 459, 460.

[7] Bede, Hist. lib. iii. cap. ii.

[8] Simeonis Dunelm. Hist. ap. Twysden, col. 5-7.

landmark.[1] At Heddenham was the base of a cross, removed to Ely Minster, commemoratiug Ovinus, Etheldreda's steward, who died about 680, with the iuscription "Lucem Tnam Ovino Da et requiem. Amen."[2]

"In the neighbourhood of Whitby several crosses have been observed in solitary spots on the moors [and on houes or sepnlchral mounds], several beside the highways, bnt a much greater number in churchyards or near religious buildings.

"One of the crosses on the top of a houe or bnrial-mound is called Lilla or Lilhone Cross. It is 7½ feet high, and of a peculiar form.

"A cross stood on Swarthone. It was carved on all sides with twisted work and patterns, and with the figure of a lamb.

"Arno Cross may be Arnehoue Cross, for it stands on a houe near Rosedale. The Saxon or Danish name Arne occurs in Arnecliff."[3]

Two crosses marked the grave of Bishop Acca at Hexham, one at his head and another at his feet. On one was an inscription to his memory.[4]

Egvinns, an Anglo-Saxon bishop of Worcester, has left us a notice of burial crosses, "ad locnm ubi sacrum corpus ejns (S. Aldhelmi) jacebat L. ferme millibus nltra Meldunense monasterium situm deveni, et ad sepultnram adduxi et honorifice sepelivi; et mandavi ut in qnocunqne loco sacrum corpus in asportatioue pausaverat, sacra Deo erigerentur signacula." "Manent omnes cruces nec ulla eorum vetustatis sensit injuriam, vocanturque *Biscepstanes*, id est lapides episcopi."[5]

A circnmstance connected with Wilfrid suggested the erection of a cross, viz. on the spot where the corpse of the saint had been washed.[6]

The erection of crosses where the dead body of a saint or celebrated person had rested has been noticed in the case of Aldhelm. A place where the bearers of St. Deviuic's body rested was called (no donbt from the cross raised to commemorate that circumstance) "Crostan."[7] Churches were raised on the spots where, in the course of its many wanderings, St. Cnthbert's body had rested, and the same idea gave rise to the crosses in memory of Eleanor, the wife of Edward I. "In omni loco et villa quibus corpus pausaverat jussit rex crucem miro tabulatu erigi ad reginæ memoriam ut a transeuntibus pro ejus anima deprecetur in qua Cruce fecit imaginem reginæ depingi."[8] These crosses were nine in nnmber. The ceremonial adopted in marking, as the corpse halted, the spot on which the crosses were to be erected, is thns described:—"Et cnm corpus dictæ reginæ transiret de Dunstaple, in medio fori subsistit feretrum donec cancellarius regis et magnates qui tnnc aderant ibidem locum congruum designassent ubi postea snmptibus regiis crucem erigerent magnitudinis admirandæ priore nostro tnnc præsente et aqnam benedictam aspergente."[9]

A stone cross was erected on the spot where King Alexander III. met his fate near Kinghorn.[10]

Fordun, in describing a wonderful cross which was discovered at Peebles in the year 1260, after (as was believed) being hid in the ground for many centuries, adds, that at a spot about three or four paces from the cross an "urna lapidea" was found containing ashes, and the bones of a human body which seemed to have been dismembered. No one knew whose relics they were, bnt some imagined them to be those of him who was commemorated in an inscription on the pedestal of the cross—"Locus [or Loculns] Sancti Nicholai Episcopi."[11]

Leland tells us that a cross was set np near a bridge at Wakefield "to mark the place where the Duke of Yorke or his sun the Erle of Rutheland was slayne."[12]

To show the spot at Pontefract whereon Thomas Earl of Lancaster had been beheaded, A.D. 1322, a wooden cross was set up; later, one of stone took its place, as we gather from the will of William of Northfolk, who says: "Lego ad construendam nnam crucem lapideam ponendam ubi Crux ligneus stat versus montem Beati Thomæ juxta viam ducentem versns Bongate."[13]

[1] Codex Diplom. vol. vi. 2. 177.

[2] Gough's Camden, ii. p. 141.

[3] Young's Hist. of Whitby, vol. ii. pp. 753-756.

[4] Simeonis De Gestis Regum Anglor. col. 101, ap. Twysden.

[5] William of Malmsbury, De Vita Aldhemi Episc. Scireburnensis ed. Wharton ap. Anglia Sacra, vol. ii. p. 23.

[6] Vita S. Wilfridi, ap. xv. Scriptores, pp. 89, 90.

[7] Breviar. Aberd. Pars. Estiv. f. 160. A curious analogous custom still prevails in some parts of Scotland, as I learn from Dr. Arthur Mitchell, who has furnished me with the following note of it:—"In all the parishes on the west side of the counties of Inverness and Ross, and also in many of those on the west side of Argyle and Sutherland, it is customary to erect a cairn at the spot where a funeral procession halts on its way to the churchyard. These cairns are generally small; but sometimes, if the deceased has been a man of mark in the district, a large cairn is erected, say five feet high and five feet broad at the base. As there are places which are convenient for these haltings, so it happens that there are groups of these cairns to be seeu—as, for instance, near Bridge of Roy in Glen Spean. The erection of these cairns is not in these parts of Scotland an occasional or rare, but an everyday occurrence. I subjoin a sketch of one, which is quite recent, and which was built to the memory of a man about whom I myself knew a good deal. From all I have observed, it will not take very many years before his name and this cairn cease to be connected—that is, he will be forgotten."

[8] Walsingham, Hist. Ang. ed. Camden, p. 55.

[9] Chronicon, sive Annales Prioratus de Dunstaple, ed. Hearne, t. ii. p. 586.

[10] Forduni Scotichron. vol. ii. p. 128.

[11] Scotichron. vol. ii. p. 96. Urna is defined by Ducange as *theca, feretrum.* The word is most likely used by Fordun to describe a stone coffin or cist (Glossar. *voce Urna*).

[12] Itin. vol. i. p. 42.

[13] Testam. Eboracen. (Surtees Soc.), vol. i. p. 281.

Frequent notices of crosses as boundaries occur in old Scotch charters. In one by Fergus Earl of Buchan to John, son of Uthred, of various lands in Buchan, one of the boundaries is said to extend "usque ad Crucem Medici."[1]

A notice of one of the sculptured stone crosses (that at Camston, vol i. Plate LXXXVII.) occurs in a boundary, in a deed of agreement between Sir Thomas Maule of Panmure and the Earl of Crawford, dated 21st November 1481. The line of march is said to run "a magna Cruce Lapidia de Cambystoun.[2]

A charter by King Robert Bruce to Sir James of Garviach of the forest of Cordys, dated in 1317, gives one line of march "ad crucem et magnum lapidem in via regia."[3] The cross of St. Catherine is a bounding mark in a charter to James Forbes of Asloun in 1523.[4] The boundaries of the Runys of Kylbathoe in 1283 were defined, among other marks, by "standing stones," cairns, "trees marked with crosses of old."[5] A charter by Alan, son of Roland, Constable of Scotland, of the lands of Maxby and Achencork, in the fee of Kyrkconnel, contains a boundary "ad quercus qui habent cruces."[6] A deed in the same volume, "De Divisis inter Kyrk Wynyn et Culwenn," dated in 1289, contains a march running "ad querenn cruce signatum;" and to another, which was described "per cruces et Stauroyses ac alias metas apparentes"—the latter term being that still applied to *cairns* in Westmorcland.[7] In a perambulation of the lands of Tarves in 1236, between the Abbot of Arbroath and the Countess of Buchan, two crosses form part of the line of boundary;[8] and in 1253, on the settlement of a controversy about the marches of Kingoldrum between the Abbot and Sir Thomas de Rettre, one of the boundaries was a stone on which a cross was cut by both the contending parties.[8] Sometimes a sepulchral cairn occurs in a boundary, as the barrows do in Anglo-Saxon charters. One of the boundaries between Murcroft and Scottistoun is "the Caryn of Mar."[9] I am indebted to Dr. Arthur Mitchell for a notice of two curious crosses cut on a rock in Strath Helmsdale, near Kildonan in Sutherlandshire. They are of small size and antique form, and are regarded by the common people with veneration. The two referred to, give to a part of the river Helmsdale the name of "Pool of the Crosses." There are others of the same kind in Sutherlandshire, and they occur on the sides of the old roads in the narrow glens of the country.

The rude unsculptured pillars which are found throughout ancient Pictland resemble those here figured, the first of which occurs near Dunbar, and the other is the Caiy Stone, in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh.

In Scotland the transition from the unsculptured pillar is less marked than in Ireland, by inscriptions of the name of the person of whom it is said to be THE STONE. We have two examples of stones in Scotland with

[1] Collections on the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff, Spalding Club, p. 407.

[2] Registr. de Panmure, MS. vol. i. p. 318, noted for me by Mr. Jervise.

[3] Registr. Aberd. vol. i. p. 44.

[4] Antiquities of the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff, vol. iv. p. 143.

[5] The marking of trees and stones with crosses appears in very early records of the Frankish kings. Among other instances quoted by Ducange is a precept by Childebert I., A.D. 528, in which a boundary is defined "usque in vallem ubi Cruces in arbore et lapides subtus infigere jussimus . . . ubi Cruces in arbores quasdam . . . et lapides subterfigere jussimus" (Ducange, Glass. in *voce* "Cruces vice terminorum"). In a charter of the lands of Burgie to the monks of Kinloss by King Alexander II. in 1221, one of the boundary-lines is said to run from a great oak which Malcolm Earl of Fife at first caused to be marked with a cross. The march extended to the "rune of the Piets," which is defined on a contemporary parchment attached to the charter to mean the "Carne of the Pethis or Pechts Feildis" (Registr. Moray. p. 456).

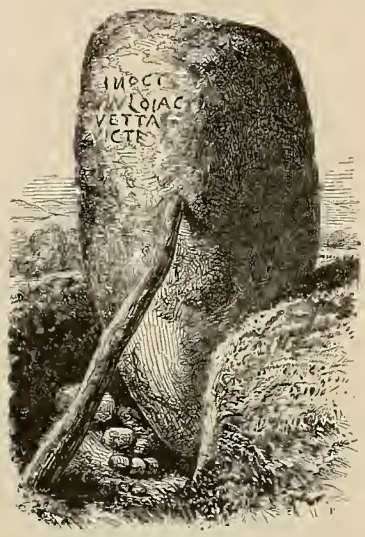
[6] Chartulary of Holmcultram, MS

[7] *Idem*.

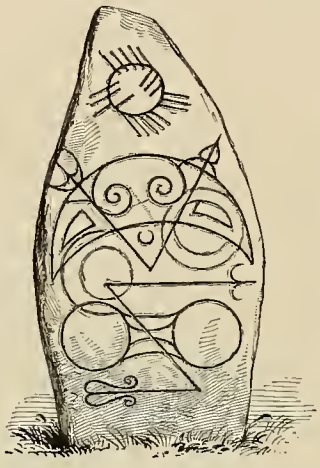
[8] Registrum Vet. de Aberbroth. pp. 161, 226.

[9] Registr. Aberd. vol. i. p. 245.

inscriptions in Roman letters of debased character, one of which is situated near the Kirk of Yarrow,[1] and the other is the Cat-stone at Kirkliston figured below.[2] We have also a pillar at Knockando, with an inscription in Runes, recording a man's name—"SIKNIK"—but it is probably of a later period than those just referred to.[3] One of our early inscribed pillar-stones *combines* the symbols, with an inscription in Oghams, the latter recording, it may be thought, the name of the person to whom the pillar was erected; but generally the symbols alone seem to mark the first idea of sculpture in the progress from the rude pillar. The stone just referred to is one of three at Logie in Aberdeenshire, and is here figured.[4]



CAT STONE.



LOGIE STONE.

GOODLIEBURN STONE.

The cross near Alloa seems to be among the earliest attempts to inscribe on a pillar the Christian symbol. It is noticed and figured under the head "Early Modes of Burial." "Stob's Cross," near Markinch, seems also to be of an early date, as well as the crosses at High Auchinlary and Kirkclauch in Galloway.[5]

The stone at Goodlieburn, near Perth, is a solitary example on the east coast of Scotland of a pillar with the figure of our Lord in relief.[6]

The woodcut of it here given shows the present condition of the stone. A description of it, dated in 1798, states that the stone formerly stood on the south side of the old road from Perth, to Methven and Crieff, but that the road having been altered and ploughed up, it was now placed in the middle of a field on the farm of Goodlieburn. At that time the height of the shaft above the pedestal was nine feet six inches, and it is said that on the other side of the stone there was the figure of a lion passant about two feet high, the back very much defaced, with the faint trace of some other figure above the lion. At this time the figure of our Lord was more complete, and the head was surrounded by a "glory." It appears that the monument had been crnciform, but that the arms were broken off at the time when this description was written.[7]

[1] Proceedings of the Soc. of Antiqs. of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 484; vol. iv. pp. 134, 524.

[2] *Ibid.* vol. iv. p. 119.

[3] Sculptured Stones, vol. ii. Plate CV. No. 3.

[4] It appears in The Sculptured Stones, vol. i. Plate III. No. 2.

[5] Sculptured Stones, vol. i. Plates cxxiii.-iv.

[6] A somewhat similar figure is carved on the arch of the doorway of the round tower at Brechin (Sculptured Stones, vol. ii. Plate I.)

[7] The description was written at the end of the "Edinburgh New Town and County Almanack for the year 1783," in the Antiquarian Museum at Perth, and was copied for me by Mr. Jervise.

IV. THE SCOTCH TONSURE.

THE tonsure of St. Patrick was from ear to ear. This was also the tonsure adopted by St. Columba and his followers, and it, along with the proper time for the observance of the Easter festival, became a great point of controversy between the Irish school, represented by Aidan, and the Roman school, of which the impetuous Wilfrid was the prominent champion. The questions, after being discussed at the Synod of Whitby, were decided against the Scotch customs.

King Nechtan having received instructions from the Abbot Ceolfrid, enforced the adoption of the Roman usages throughout all the provinces of the Picts; and the monks of Iona, who were refractory on the point of the tonsure, were expelled "trans dorsum Britanniæ."[1] This was in A.D. 717; they had adopted the Roman time for observing Easter in the previous year, while in the ensuing year an entry in Tighernach shows that they then also conformed to the new-fashioned tonsure—"A.D. 718 Tonsura coronæ super familiam Iae."[2]

The appearance, therefore, of ecclesiastics tonsured after the Roman manner on the monument at St. Vigeans[3] may be held to mark that its erection took place after Nechtan had put his church under St. Peter, and adopted the Roman customs—namely, in A.D. 710.

An interesting notice of the conflict between the Scotic and the Roman usages is preserved to us in the chartulary of the Abbey of Landevennec in Brittany, a foundation of St. Gueuole in the fifth century. Lobineau, in his Life of the saint, tells us that he was the disciple of St. Budoc, who drew his mode of life from the disciples of St. Patrick, or from St. Patrick himself. This would seem to afford reason for inferring that our saint-monks of Brittany observed the rules of the Scottish (Irish) monks, which were the same as those St. Patrick had been taught by St. Martin at Marmoutier, by St. Germain at Auxerre, and by the Anchorites in the islands of the Mediterranean.

The ordinance of Louis le Debonnaire abolishing the Scotch customs and substituting the rule of St. Benedict in the monastery of Landevennec, has a strong resemblance to the decision of the synod of Whitby:—"Notum sit quod dum Matmouocus Abbas ex Monasterio Landevennoch nostram adiiset præsentiam, et illum sive de conversatione monachorum illarum partium consisteutium, sive de tonsione, interrogassemus, et ad liquidum nobis qualiter hæe forent patefecisset, cognoscentes quomodo ab Scotis, sive de couversatione sive de tonsione capitum, accepissent, dum ordo totius Sanctæ Apostolicæ atque Romanæ Ecclesiæ aliter se habere dignoscitur, placuit nobis, ut sive de vita seu etiam de tonsura, cum universali Ecclesia, Deo dispensante, nobis commissa, concordarent. Et ideo jussimus ut et juxta regulam Sancti Benedicti patris viverent, quæ possibilis et laude digna est. Et de tonsura capitis, juxta taxatum modum, cum Sanctæ Romauæ Ecclesiæ, quæ per orbem terrarum dilatata est, concordent unitate."[4]

Hæe eodem anno predicto cepta est in eodem Monasterio supra scripta Regula patris Benedicti.

[1] Ann. Tighern. in Reeves' Adamnan, p. 381.

[2] *Idem.* p. 381. This fall of two customs associated with the practice of St. Columba may be said to be the first step towards destroying the supremacy of the monastery of Iona as the "caput et arx" of the churches of Alba. Abernethy, Dunkeld, and St. Andrews, came successively to inherit its primatial glories, and the introduction of the diocesan and parochial system completed the change of national feeling on the subject.

[3] Sculptured Stones of Scotland, vol. i. Plate LXX.

[4] Cartul. Landevenec. ap. Memoires Pour Servir de Preuves à l'Histoire Ecclesiastique et Civile de Bretagne, Par Dom. H. Morice, vol. i. fol. 228. Paris, 1742.

V. CELTIC JUDGES.

As I think it probable that the figures seated on chairs, which appear on some of the cross-slabs, are meant to represent the judges of the time, I add a few notices of these officials.

The Book of Deir preserves to us a notice of Matadan "the Brehon," as a witness to one of the grants to the monastery; from which we may infer that the Celtic people of the country had the law administered to them by the rules of the Brehons, which formed the legal code among the ancient Irish.[1]

We find two figures seated on chairs pourtrayed on the slab at Dunfallandy, with a cross between them.[2] One of the figures has in his hand a rod, which was an important symbol in the investiture of Celtic chiefs. Dr. O'Donovan has, from ancient Irish authorities, recorded the conditions requisite to constitute the legitimate inauguration of an Irish chieftain. Of these, one was that the ceremony should be celebrated at a remarkable place in the territory appointed of old for the purpose, where there was a stone, with the impression of two feet, believed to be the size of the feet of the first captain, chieftain, or acquirer of the territory. Another was, that after taking an oath to observe the laws of the territory, the chief laid aside his sword and other weapons, upon which the historian of the district, or some other person whose proper office it was, handed him a straight white wand as a sceptre and an emblem of purity and rectitude, to indicate that his people were to be obedient to him, and that he required no other weapon to command them.[3]

Spenser, in his view of the state of Ireland, says that he had seen some of the inauguration-stones, "in some of which I have seen formed and engraven a foot which they say was the measure of their first captain's foot, whereon he standing, receives an oath to preserve all the ancient former customs of the country inviolable, and to deliver up the succession peaceably to his tanist; and then with a wand delivered unto him by some whose proper office that is, after which, descending from the stone, he turneth himself round thrice forward and thrice backward."[4]

Martin[5] describes the formalities observed at the entrance of Scottish chieftains upon the government of their clans. "A heap of stones was erected in form of a pyramid, on the top of which the young chieftain was placed, his friends and followers standing in a circle round about him; his elevation signifying his authority over them, and their standing below, their subjection to him. One of his principal friends delivered into his hands the sword wore by his father, and there was a white rod delivered to him likewise at the same time."

The "Lia Fail," on which the chiefs of the Dalriads in Scotland had been inaugurated from time immemorial, was of this character. When Scone became the royal residence, the "stone of destiny" was removed thither.[6] It was placed at a cross in the cemetery at the east of the church; and we learn from Fordun that it was the

[1] The Brehons were the hereditary judges of their tribes, and enjoyed certain lands attached to the office, as their successors, the sheriffs of counties, in later times did. Thus, in Ireland the Brehons "were divided into severall tribes and families, as the MacKeigans, O'Deorans, O'Breasleans, and MacTholies. Every contrey had its peculiar Brehaive dwelling within itself, that had power to decide the causes of that contrey, and to maintain their controversies against their neighbour Coutreys, by which they held their lands of the Lord of the contrey where they dwelt" (Mageoghegan, version of Annals of Clonmacnoise; O'Donovan's Annals of the Four Masters, vol. iii. p. 516, *note*). Under the title of "Judex" and "Deemster," we frequently meet with these local judges in our early records, when they had become judges of districts. Farhard, "judex" of Buchan, who witnesses a charter of William Cumyne, Earl of Buchan, to Cospatric Macmadethyn, was probably the successor of Matadan (Registr. Aberdon. vol. i. p. 15). "Fergusius dictus Demster" held certain lands in the thanage of Calder (Regist. Morav. p. 472). "Keraldus, judex de Angus," occurs as a witness in a perambulation of the lands of Kinblathmont in 1219, and the lands which he enjoyed came to be called Keraldstoun (now Caraldston). In the year 1236 a perambulation of the lands of Tarves took place, at which Kerald, Ferchard, and Thomas, "judices," were present. Kerald's brother Adam, was "judex domini Regis," and Constantine, Earl of Fife, is "Magnus judex in Scotia." Constantine, "judex de Strathern," witnesses a grant by Laurence, son of Orm of Abernethy, of the church of Abernethy, to the monks of Arbroath, in the time of William the Lion (Registr. de Aberbroth. pp. 26, 162, 163). "Macbeth, judex de Gouryn," witnessed a grant to the monks of Scone by Swanus, son of Thor, and may be the same person who is styled "Makbeth, vicecomes de Scona," in the charter of Abernethy just quoted (Liber. Eccl. de Scon. p. 18). In 1230 "Bridin potanach, judex," is witness to a perambulation of the lands of Dunduf (Regist. de Dunfermelyn, p. 111). Macungal, "judex" of Fife, witnesses a grant by Arnold, bishop of the Scots, to the canons of St. Andrews, of the church of Dairsy (Regist. Priorat. S. And. p. 128).

[2] Sculptured Stones, vol. i. Plates XLVII. XLVIII.

[3] The Genealogies, Customs, and Tribes of Hy Fiachrach (Irish Arch. Soc.), p. 451.

[4] Quoted in Ulster Journal of Archæology, vol. v. p. 229.

[5] Hist. of West. Islands, p. 102.

[6] The stone was carried off by Edward I., in whose inventories it occasionally appears as "una petra magna super quam Reges Scotiæ solebant coronari," and elsewhere as "petra Scotiæ." It was placed in the chapel of St. Edward the Confessor at Westminster, and at first the king proposed to cover it with a chair of bronze, which was partly made. He changed his mind, however, and ordered a chair of wood to be made, on which, as we gather from the account of the expense, he placed two small gilt leopards (King Edward's Spoliations in Scotland, by Mr. Hunter, Arch. Journal, vol. xiii. pp. 252, 253).

custom to bring the newly-anointed king to this spot, and to set him on this stone, which he calls "cathedra regalis lapidea," covered with a cloth of silk wrought with gold. It was here, when surrounded by his nobles, that Alexander III. was addressed by a Highland seannachie, who recounted his descent from Fergus, the first King of the Scots in Alba, and after taking his breath, carried the line back to Heber, who was descended from Scota, the daughter of Pharaoh.[1]

Olaus Magnus describes a stone not far from Upsala, "Morasteen dictus, super quem novus rex eligendus, infinita populi multitudine presente, suscipitur, ac postmodum sacrioribus ceremoniis a catholicis episcopis, juramento defendendæ fidei præmisso, confirmatur.[2]

Among the Celtic people of Brittany, the Mactierns appear as officials of great authority and importance in the ninth century. About the middle of that century we have a notice of a suit brought "in placito publico" before Gradlou, a Mactiern, and *Missus* of Nominoe, Prince of Brittany, and other noble men who were present; and a grant to the Monastery of Redon, in the twentieth year of the reign of the Emperor Louis the First is thus attested:—"Conwoion monachus scripsit istam carticulam, per commeatum et voluntatem Alvriti Mactiern sedente super trifocalium, id est istomid in fronte Ecclesiæ stante Rethworet in dextero ejus, etc.[3]

In the case of the figures at Dunfallandy seated in chairs, one of whom holds a rod, we may have preserved a representation of the *Chief* associated with the *Brehon*.

The court of the Brehon was probably held on the moothill, and his chair placed on its summit. "Ellon was of old the capital of the earldom of Buchan. Here, on a green mount rising from the bank of the Ythan, those ancient Earls administered justice, received the homage of their liegemen, and took investiture of their great fief."[4]

Chalmers quotes a charter of David, the Earl Palatine of Strathern and Caithness, to John Rollo, dated at Methven the 13th of February 1380, confirmed by a charter of Robert II. on the 4th [14th] February 1381, and by which the lands of Fyndon were granted, with this reservation:—"Salvis nobis et heredibus nostris, Cathedra Comitis, et loco domus capitalis dicte terre de Fyndon;" he adds, "thus was the chair of justice wherein the Earl sat to decide causes, which was placed to the westward of the mansion-house, reserved, though the lands were conveyed."[5]

When Sir John Stanley, King of Man, in the fourteenth century, inquired of his deemsters the nature of the ceremonies connected with the courts on Tinwald Hill, among other answers he received this:—"And upon the Hill of Tynwald sitt in a chaire, covered with a royall cloath and cushions, and your visage into the east, and your sword before you holden with the point upwards."[6]

[1] Scotichronicon, vol. ii. p. 82.

[2] Quoted in Olaus Wormius' "Danicor. Monument. Libri Sex," lib. i. cap. xii. p. 89.

[3] Actes concernans la Fondation de Redon & le regne de Nominoë, *ap.* Morice, tom. i. fol. 269.

[4] Mr. Joseph Robertson, in Miscellany of the Spalding Club, vol. v. p. 57.

[5] Caledonia, vol. i. p. 737, quoting Astle's MS. Diplom. Scotiæ.

[6] Quoted from the Statute-Book in Kneale's Guide to the Isle of Man, p. 180.

VI. HEREDITARY OFFICES.

In the Preface I have suggested that the sculptures on the cross-slabs of Scotland were the work of a school of hereditary artists. That this would be in harmony with other parts of the Celtic system, as developed in Ireland, will appear from the following notices.

The patriarchal principle not only pervaded their civil but their ecclesiastical polity. The early Irish saints, by whom monasteries were founded were so reverenced in after-times, that the abbots who succeeded them were less regarded for their spiritual office than as the "heirs," or successors, of the founder, who was supposed to continue his care for his institution, and to vindicate its privileges against any encroachment. The Abbot and Bishop of Armagh derived much of his importance from being the "coarb" of St. Patrick, the memory of the founder being revered as the father or first abbot rather than as bishop; and the possession of St. Patrick's relics, including his crozier, called "Bachal Iosa," his bell, known as the "Finnfaidheach," or fair-toned, and the famous copy of the Gospels, called the Canoin Patraic (in modern times the Book of Armagh), was absolutely required to secure the quiet possession of the office.

Writing of the last of these relics, Dr. Petrie says, it was considered of such inestimable value that its safe stewardship became an hereditary office of dignity in a family connected with the church of Armagh, who derived their name, Mac Moyre, or son of the steward, from this circumstance, and as a remuneration for which they held no less than eight town lands in the county, still known as the lands of Bally Mac Moyre's Town.[1] So great indeed was the veneration in which this book, together with the crozier of Patrick, was held by the Irish, that as St. Bernard tells us in his Life of St. Malachy, it was difficult to persuade the people to receive or acknowledge any one as the rightful archbishop of Armagh but the possessor of them.

The possession of the relics of their patron saint also enabled their successors, the abbots of chief monasteries, to levy tribute within a certain district where the founder's memory was held in reverence. This was done by making a circuit of such district, carrying with them the relics or insignia of the saint. Such circuits are recorded in the Irish annals from an early period of the eighth century, and the contributions thus made from churches and people were termed "the law" of the particular saint, which is expressed by the word "lex," though the meaning of the term was sometimes denoted by the Irish word *cain*, signifying a tribute, and *riar*, in the sense of a "demand" or "claim."

These succeeding abbots or "coarbs," in many cases, were married persons, and transmitted the succession to their children, as at Clonmacnoise, where we are presented with such a line, "unbroken for 350 years, of ecclesiastical persons of one kind or another, who lived in the married state, and reared up children to fill in after-time such places in the Church as they themselves occupied, or kindred ones."[2] At last the office of coarb came into the hands of particular families, "and to be occupied by one race exclusively, inheriting, according to the law of tanistry, from the twelfth, or probably even from the eleventh century."[3] The same process took place with the "herenachs" or managers of the lands given to the founders of monasteries. For, as we find in later times, the occupancy of the termon or church lands shared actually between the coarbs and erenachs and the septs or families of which they were the heads, and the coarbs undoubtedly came by their share as the representatives of the heads of the old religious establishments of Ireland, so it seems highly probable that the erenachs were assigned their share by the original church founders, or by the coarbs who succeeded them, to occupy these lands by hereditary succession, according to the course of tanistry, and cultivate them for their own support and that of the churches to which they severally belonged.[4]

In an account of the inauguration of the king of Connaught in 1224 we have a record of his subsidies, and the territories from which they were to be levied; also the various officers under the king. Of these the first is high-steward (ard-maor); then follow the keeper of the hostages, the commander of the fleet, and the henchman, who has the chieftainship of the Kerne with the care-taking of the hounds. He had a chief butler, a chief doorkeeper, a historian and recorder of his tributes, a physician, a brehon. Each of these last had forty-eight townlands in payment for the office performed by them. Each of his four royal chiefs (that is of his own line) had forty-eight townlands, together with *all dead church lands*, by which expressive term is meant lands taken at an early period from the church by the oppressive conduct of the laity, and not reclaimed afterwards.[5]

[1] Inquiry into the Origin and Uses of the Round Towers of Ireland, p. 330.

[2] Memoir Introductory to the Early History of the Primacy of Armagh, by the Reverend Robert King, p. 21. Armagh, 1854.

[3] *Idem*, p. 22.

[4] *Idem*, p. 19.

[5] Transactions of the Kilkenny Arch. Soc. 1852-53, p. 335.

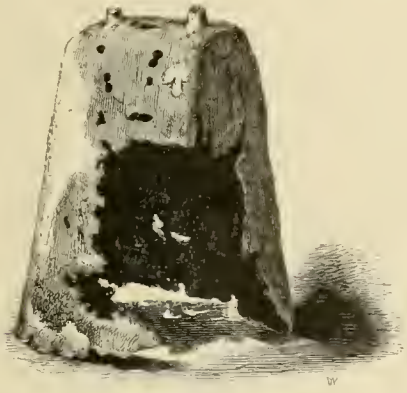
So late as the commencement of the seventeenth century Camden writes of the Irish nobility: "They have their historians, who record their exploits; physicians; poets (called bards); and harpers; each of whom have lands assigned them, and each of these possessions in every territory form distinct families; as the Breahans of one lineage and name, the historians of another, and so of the rest, who each bring up their children or relations in their respective arts, and are always succeeded by them."[1]

It would seem that all the ecclesiastical arrangements of the early Irish Church were reproduced in Scotland. The prevalence of monasteries, and the absence of diocesan or parochial divisions, are common to both. We find also in Scotland the same reverence for the founders of monasteries, and for their relics, as existed in Ireland. The primacy of the abbots of Hy over the monasteries of the Picts and of the Scots, arose out of reverence to them as coarbs or "heirs" of St. Columba the founder. The possession of the shrine which enclosed the bones of the saint conferred on the Abbot of Hy a peculiar prestige. It was carried to Ireland on various occasions as the warrant for religious contributions; and when Kenneth MacAlpin transferred the primacy to Dunkeld, he procured for the new church which he erected, the relics of Columba, or a portion of them, so as to associate with his foundation the memory of one who was so greatly revered.[2]

In Scotland, as in Ireland, the bells of the early saints were held in great reverence, and lands were enjoyed by their hereditary keepers. A charter of King William the Lion to the monastery of Cambuskenneth, preserves a notice of the bell and staff of St. Lolan, and shows that to the custody of each, a piece of land was attached. By it he conveys the church of Kincardine-on-the-Forth, with its chapels and oblations of all sorts, "et unum toftum ad campanam Sancti Lolani, cum uno orto, et unum toftum ad baculum Sancti Lolani cum uno orto."[3]

A niche in the wall of the ancient burying-ground called Claodh-Brennan, in Glenlyon, contains a bell of one of the early saints, which has not even yet quite lost the reverence of the neighbourhood. It is tall and of iron, rivetted on two sides, with remains of bronzing both inside and outside. The bell which St. Moloch helped to fabricate was obviously of the same kind, being "Campana ferrea et quadrata," and it was held in reverence at Lismore in the beginning of the sixteenth century.[4]

The bells here figured are of this primitive character. The first is called the Bell of St. Columbkille, and



BELL OF ST. COLUMBA.

BELL OF ST. NINIAN.

also went among the native Irish by the name of *God's Vengeance*, in allusion to the curse which, as they believed, followed on any who swore falsely on this relic. It is now in the collection of the late Mr. John Bell of Dungannon, and is said to have been in use until recent times, throughout the county of Tyrone, in cases of solemn swearing.[5] The other bell is in the same collection, and is called the *Clog-rinny*, or Bell of St. Ninian, from a traditional association with that great missionary. It is made of iron, coated with bronze, and measures 6½ inches in height.

From certain deeds preserved among Lord Airlie's charters,[6] it appears that in 1447 the hereditary keeper of

[1] Camden's "Britannia," by Gough, vol. iv. p. 467.

[2] The reverence for St. Columba prompted the use of his name in giving sanction to an oath so late as the end of the twelfth or early part of the thirteenth century, when Reginald, son of Somerled, Lord of the Isles, and Fonia his wife, on being received into brotherhood, conferred on the monastery of Paisley, among other gifts, a penny annually from every house which smokes within their territories, and the gift is enforced by an oath *per Sanctum Columbam*. The same expression occurs in another grant by Donald, the son of Reginald (Registr. de Passelet, pp. 125, 126).

It would appear that an oath by the name of a chieftain was not uncommon. Pennant, writing of Arran, says: "There was another species of honour paid to the chieftains that I believe is still retained in this island, but the reason is quite lost—that of swearing by his name, and paying as great a respect to that as to the most sacred oath" (Tour in Scotland, vol. iii. p. 184).

[3] Charters of Cambuskenneth. MS. in Adv. Lib. fol. 83, No. 129.

[4] Breviar. Aberdon. Part. Estiv. fol. vi.

[5] Wilson's Prehistoric Annals, vol. ii. p. 463.

[6] Printed in Miscellany of the Spalding Club, vol. iv. pp. 117, 118. Some valuable notices of ancient Scottish bells, by Mr.

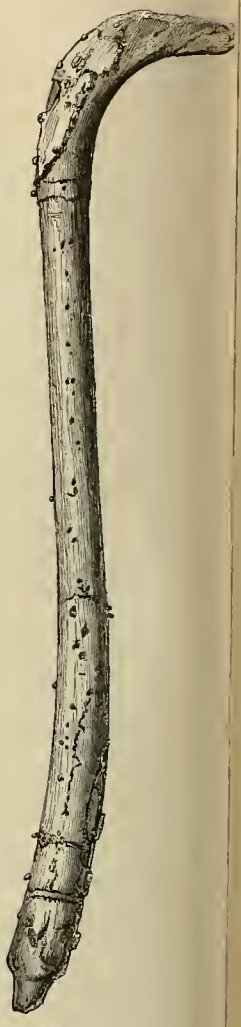
the bell of St. Meddan was Michael David, who resigned it to Sir John Ogilvy of Luntrathin, by whom it was assigned to his wife Margaret, Countess of Moray, she being invested in a house and toft near the church of Luntrathin, which pertained to the bell.[1]

The keepership of the crozier of St. Fillan belonged to a family named Doire, the representative of which, in 1487, received a letter under the Privy Seal of James III. confirming him in the possession of the relic, and the privileges inherent in its custody, while an inquest held before the Bailie of Glendochart in 1428, "de et super autoritate et privilegiis cujusdam reliquie Sancti Felani, que vulgariter dicitur Coygerach," finds that its keeper had a right to a certain payment of meal from every inhabitant of the parish; also that the office of bearing the relic was given to a certain ancestor of the then holder (Finlay Jore), "per successorem Sancti Felani." The duties of the keeper are then described, from which we learn that if any of the inhabitants of Glendochart had his cattle stolen or carried off, and for any reason did not dare to pursue after his goods, "tunc unum servum suum vel hominem mitteret ad eundem Jore de le Coygerach, cum quatuor denariis vel pare sotularum, cum victu prime noctis, et tunc idem Jore abinde suis propriis expensis prosequetur dicta catalla ubicunque exinde sectum querere poterit infra regnum Scotie."[2]

THE QUIGRICH OF ST. FILLAN.

The Quigrich is now the property of Alexander Dewar, a Canadian farmer, and the representative of its old hereditary keepers. From the drawing here given it will be seen that it had originally formed the head of a crozier, of a much later date than the saint with whom it is associated, but which probably came in place of an earlier and ruder relic belonging to St. Fillan.

The hereditary custodiers of the staff of St. Moluag, in the island of Lismore, like the keepers of the staff of St. Lolan at Kincardine-on-the-Forth, possessed a little freehold of land in virtue of their office, and certain lands in St. Munna's parish of Kilmun, were held by the keeper "cum baculo Sancte Munde."[3] The staff of St. Moluag, popularly known as the *Bachuil-more*, is now in the possession of the Duke of Argyle. As will be seen from the cut, it is a plain staff with a curved head. Portions of a covering of metal, with the rivets by which it had been attached, yet remain.



THE BACHUIL-MORE.

Like to this was the staff of St. Kentigern, which, according to Joceline, was neither gilt nor gemmed, as were those of his time, "sed de simplici ligno, tantum reflexa."[4] When St. Columba came to visit St. Kentigern on the banks of the Molendinar, the saints exchanged *bachuls* in token of mutual love, but that of Columba is described as "aurcis crustulis inclusus ac margaritarum diversitate circumstellatus."[5] Such an exchange of *bachuls* seems not to have been uncommon among the early Celtic saints. On a certain occasion St. Patrick exchanged his *bachul* for that of his disciple S. Munis—"Tunc etiam S. Antistes ait, baculos commutemus; ego tuum habeam, et tu teneas meum. Et ita factum est. Et baculus ille inter reliquias quæ Forgnaiæ apud S. Munem asservantur recensentur."[6]

Joseph Robertson, will be found in the Liber Collegii Nostre Domine Glasguensis, p. 24, *et seq.*, Glasg. 1846; and similar notices of British and Irish bells, by Mr. Westwood, occur in Arch. Camb. vol. iii. pp. 230, 301; vol. iv. pp. 13, 167.

[1] The reverence for bells seems to have been universal among the saints of the Hiberno-Scotic Church. Some of the bells have curious legends connected with their history, as in the case of St. Kieran's bell. St. Patrick met that saint in Italy, and said to him, "Proceed before me to Ireland, and go to a well in the centre of Ireland called Fuaran, and there build a monastery." Kieran pleaded his ignorance of the spot; on which Patrick again told him to go, adding, "Accipe hoc cymbalum socium itineris, quod erit mutum usque dum pervenies ad prædictum fontem; et cum illuc pervenies, cymbalum tunc dabit claram vocem et sonabit dulciter; et post triginta annos ego ad te veniam in illo loco." St. Kieran arrived at Ireland accordingly; but the bell gave no sound, till he came to the well Fuaran, as Patrick had said, after which "cymbalum viri Dei aperta voce lucide clamavit, quod cymbalum *Bardan Kierani* vocatur, et habetur cum magna honore in civitate et in tota provincia Sancti Kierani. Ducitur enim per regiones ad conjurationes Principum, ad defensionem pauperum, et ad exactionem tributorum monasterii S. Kierani. Quod vero cymbalum factum est apud Sanctum Germanum Episcopum, Magistrum S. Patricii" (De S. Kierano et S. Cartacho episcopis et abbatibus in Ossoria Hiberniæ Provincia. Acta SS. Bollandi. March 5).

Of equal note was the bell of Winwaloe, an Armorican saint, in whose Life we read—"Picturæ et Statuæ Antiquissimæ, S. Winwalœum representant," pedum Abbatiale sinistra teneutem, dextera tintinnabulum, infraque hoc pisces, veluti ad illius sonitum ex aquis exilientes. Ea adhuc Campanula S. Winwalœi, uti passim appellatur, populis in veneratione est, quam ea magnitudine et figura, et ferrea colore, ad nigredinem vergente, prout ibi habetur, depictam inde accepimus, uti et memoratam antea Casulam, et ipsius Winwaloei effigiem (De S. Winwalœo Abbate, apud Acta SS. Boll. 3 March).

[2] Black Book of Taymouth, p. xxxvi.

[3] Proceedings of the Soc. of Antiqs. of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 12.

[4] Vita Kentigerni, cap. xiii. MS. Marsh's Library, Dublin.

[5] Scotichron. iii. 30.

[6] De S. Mnne Episcopo Forgnagiensi. Colgau, Acta SS. Hib. tom. i. p. 265.

Mr. Joseph Robertson has preserved notices of croziers of other early Scottish saints, which were long held in veneration.[1]

Sometimes a charm had a hereditary keeper. Martin describes a stone in Arran possessed of various miraculous virtues. "The custody of this globe is the peculiar privilege of a little family called Clan-Chattons, *alias* Mack Intosh; they were ancient followers of Mack Donald of the Isles."[2]

A banner had a hereditary keeper, as in the case of the Brechannoch, which was conveyed by King William the Lion to the monks of Arbroath, and therewith the land of Forglen, "data Deo et Sancto Columbe et le Brachbennache."[3]

In the beginning of the eighteenth century, Martin, after describing, among other officers of a Celtic chief, his cup-bearer and purse-master, adds, "both these officers had an hereditary right to their office in writing, and each of them had a town and land for his service. Some of these rights I have seen fairly written on good parchment" (p. 108).

The office of smith of the lordship of Brechin was enjoyed by hereditary succession. In 1514 Alexander Lindsay was returned as heir of his father Richard in this office, by a jury selected from the barons of the shire, who found that he was entitled to the accustomed payments of meal, with a fleece of wool from the tenants of certain towns, for the working of a forge."[4]

It thus appears that the veneration for the staves, bells, and relics of early saints was a feeling common both to Ireland and Scotland. That the same feeling existed in the Celtic Church of Wales, we gather from various notices in the Welsh Itinerary of Giraldus Cambrensis. In it he describes the staff of St. Cyric kept in the church of St. Germanus in Wales, and the bell of St. David in the church of Glascum, a psalter of Quindreda, sister of St. Kenelm, a golden torque of St. Canaeus, and a bronze horn of St. Patrick, brought from Ireland, all of which were held in great repute, and worked miracles. He adds—"Campanas bajulas, baculos quoque in superiori parte cameratos, auro et argento, vel ære contectos, aliasque hujusmodi Sanctorum reliquias in magna reverentia tam Hyberniæ et Scotiæ quam et Walliæ populus et clerus habere solent, adeo ut sacramenta super hæc longe magis quam super evangelia et præstare vereantur et pejerare."[5]

The abuses resulting from the Irish monastic system occurred in the same way in Scotland. At Iona there was no lineal succession among the early abbots, as there was in many of the Irish monasteries; but Dr. Reeves has shown that the first eleven abbots, with only one or two exceptions, were strictly limited to a branch of the Tir Conallian family, and it was only another step to vest the abbey in the abbot, and make it transmissible to his heirs. Accordingly, at the dawn of our records, we find lay abbots in the monasteries at St. Andrews, Dunkeld, Abernethy, and Brechin, while they were probably in many other Scotch monasteries.

The monks of St. Andrews, while telling us, before the middle of the twelfth century, of the origin of the devotion to St. Andrew in Pictland, add, "et quomodo contigerit quod tantæ abbatiæ ibi factæ antiquitus fuerint quas multi adhuc seculares viri jure hæreditario possident."[6]

The hereditary principle had taken possession of the Culdee monks at St. Andrews, and we can detect it in all the arrangements of our Highland people down to the final destruction of the patriarchal idea which followed the last "rising" for the Stuarts.[7]

It will thus appear to be in harmony with the whole polity of the Celtic people, both of Ireland and Scotland, if we suppose that the art of sculpture and design which must have found place among the Pictish people, by whom the cross-slabs were erected, was confined to a school of men probably inmates of the monasteries, who handed down the knowledge to their successors.

The same state of matters can be traced in the later history of the Western Highlands and Islands of Scotland, where, amid the incessant broils by which the country was distracted in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, there was a school of sculptors, who could design and execute the crosses and sepulchral slabs, of exquisite grace and art, of which so many examples still remain.

[1] Proceedings of the Soc. of Antiqs. of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 14, 125.

[2] "A description of the Western Islands of Scotland," p. 226. Lond. 1703.

[3] Registr. Vetus de Aberbroth. pp. 10, 73.

[4] Miscellany of the Spalding Club, vol. v. p. 291.

[5] Itin. Camb. (Powell), Lond. 1804, pp. 6, 7, 13, 14.

[6] Pinkerton's Enquiry into the History of Scotland, vol. i. p. 498. Edin. 1814.

[7] We find Benedict Biscop, when on his deathbed, warning his monks against the first step in hereditary succession, and urging them not to elect his own brother as his successor. "Sed et hoc sedulus eisdem solebat iterare mandatum, ne quis in electione abbatis, generis prosapiam, et non magis vivendi docendique probitatem putaret esse quærendam. 'Et vere' inquit 'dico vobis, quia in comparatione duorum malorum, tolerabilius mihi multo est totum hunc locum in quo monasterium feci si sic judicaverit Deus, in solitudinem sempiternam redigi, quam ut frater meus carnalis, quem novimus viam veritatis non ingredi, in eo regendo post me abbatis nomine succedat" (Vita S. Benedicti—Bedæ Opera Minora, tom. ii. p. 150. Lond. 1841).

VII. CHARIOTS.

The chariot on one of the sculptured slabs at Meigle[1] leads to an inquiry as to the use of these vehicles among the early Celtic races.

Cæsar tells us of the war-chariots of the Britons, which they were accustomed to have in great numbers in their battles, and in the use of which they were peculiarly expert.[2] We learn also from Tacitus, that at the battle of "Mons Grampius" the war-chariots of the Caledonians constituted part of their array.[3] The form of these chariots may be gathered from the descriptions of Cæsar and other classical writers, and they are represented on some medals of Julius Cæsar, of the consular series, which commemorate his conquests in Britain.[4] They would appear to have been very small, two-wheeled, and drawn by two horses.

Occasionally fragments of chariots have been found in British sepulchres. Abont 1815 a barrow near Market Weighton in Yorkshire was opened, in which was a cist containing the skeleton of a man. Near the head were the heads of two wild boars. Inclining from the skeleton, on each side, had been placed a chariot-wheel, of which the iron tire and ornaments of the nave alone remained. The wheels had been about two feet eleven inches in diameter, and each of them had originally rested on a horse, the bones of which were found nnder or adjoining to them. Near to the horses was fonnd a pair of bits made of iron, plated with bronze.

A second barrow, in the same neighbourhood, also yielded the remains of a charioteer. The skeleton was found to have rested on the shield; on each side had been placed a chariot-wheel and a bridle-bit, which were all of iron. The diameter of the wheels was abont two feet eight inches.[5]

Other remains of chariots in sepnlchres have been found at Stanwick in Yorkshire, at Hamden Hill, Somersetshire, and at Le Teifenan, near Berne, in Switzerland.[5]

There was a spot at Tara called the Slope of the Chariot, "and it is distinctly stated in the Life of St. Patrick, preserved in the Book of Armagh, that the Gentile or Pagan Irish had chariots at Tara before their conversion to Christianity."[6]

In the very striking hymn said to have been composed by St. Patrick at the time of his meeting with the pagan king and his Druids at Tara, he invokes Christ to be with him "in the chariot-seat;" that is, when he was travelling by land.[7]

One of the canons of a synod said to have been held by St. Patrick, and at all events of an early date, provides that a monk and virgin shall not abide in one lodging, "nec in nno currn a villa in villam discurrant."[8]

We find frequent references to the nse of chariots by St. Patrick and St. Columba in the Lives of these saints. In the Memoir of St. Patrick in the Book of Armagh, a manuscript, written in the year of our Lord 807, and of which the composition is not later than the year 750, nnder the head "De dilegentia orationis," we have a notice of his chariot and the driver of it, which, as it incidentally illnstrates other points of interest, I subjoin. "Omnes psalmos et ymnos et apocalipsin Johannis et omnia kantica spiritalia scripturarum cotidie decantans, sive manens, ant in itenere pergens. Tropeo etiam crucis in omni hora diei noctisqne centies se signans, et ad omnes cruces quascnmque vidisset, orationis gratia, de cnrru discendens, declinabat. Inde etiam in die qnadam ingrediens, crucem quæ erat jnxta viam sitam non videns, prætergressus est. Hanc tamen auriga vidit, et ille dixit, cnm ad hospitium quoddam quo tenderat pervenissent, et orare ante prandinm cœpissent, dixit inqnam auriga 'Vidi crucem juxta viam per quam veninms positam.' At ille Patricius, dimisso hospitio, per viam qnam venerant ad crucem pergens, oravit, et sepnlcrum ibi viderat et mortuum in illo busto sepultum interrogavit, qna morte abierat, et sub fide vixerat. Respondit mortnus, Gentilis vixi et hic sepnltus fui" (fol. 7 *b*).

"Quædam etiam mulier, in alia provincia degens, mortuum filinm, qni se longne separatns est, habnit, et illa absente sepultus est, at post aliquot dies, lugens mater omissum filium planxit, et indecreto, errore, sepulcrum, gentilis hominis sui filii bustum esse pntans, crucem non juxta gentilem possuit; et ob hanc caussam, nt Patricins dixit, crncem

[1] Sculptured Stones, vol. i. Plate LXXXVI.

[2] Cæsar, De Bello Gallico, lib. iv. cap. 24; lib. v. cap. 19.

[3] Julii Agricolæ Vita, cap. xxxvi.

[4] Mr. Beale Poste on Ancient British Chariots, Journal of Arch. Assoc. vol. vi. p. 252.

[5] Horæ Ferales, p. 179. York vol. of Arch. Instit. pp. 28-31. In the year 1829, in digging on a moor near Ballindalloch, the skeleton of a man, with the bones of a horse, were found, along with fragments of rings, and bits of iron, one of them like a great hoop, the whole suggesting the grave of a charioteer with his horse and chariot (Wilson's Prehistoric Annals, vol. ii. p. 154).

[6] Book of Rights, Dr. O'Donovan's Introduction, p. lvi.

[7] Dr. Todd's St. Patrick, p. 428.

[8] S. Patricii Synodi, Canones, Opuscula, a Joach. Laurent. Villaneuva, p. 2; Todd's St. Patrick, p. 485.

non viderat, quia sepulturæ gentilis locus fuit, et virtus major inde surrexerat ut mortuus loqueretur, et qui sub fide defunctus erat Christi sciretur, et juxta illum almæ crucis fieret meritum, signo in vero termino possito" (fol. 7, *bb*).

"Et venit in Album Campum in regionibus Nepotum Maini, et, invenit in illo signaculum crucis Christi et ii. sepulcra nova, et de curru suo sanctus dixit, "Quis est qui sepultus hic? et respondet vox de sepulcro," "Ecce sum homo gentilis." Respondit sanctus, "Cur juxta te crux sancta infixa est?" Et iterum respondit, "Quia vir qui sepultus est juxta latus meum, rogavit mater ejus ut signum crucis poneretur juxta sepulcrum filii sui: vir fatuus et insensatus posuit juxta me. Et exilit Patricius de curru suo, et tenuit crucem, et evellabat de gentili tumulo, et posuit super faciem babtitzati; et ascendit super currum, et oravit Deum taciter" (fol. 14, *ab*).

St. Maidoc on one occasion found that the horses of his chariot would not move. Being warned by an angel to visit the king of Connaught, who was sick, he told his driver to let the horses take their own way. "Et statim equi ad aquilonem cursum declinaverunt, et cum venissent ad stagnum Dergderc, equi sine impedimento sub curru suis pedibus per lacum, quasi per aridam terram divina potentia perrexerunt." After this, on finding that there was no road for him, he blessed the place, and then "ad hanc vocem plana via per montes et silvas et grunnas sine ullo impedimento usque ad monasterium, quod dicitur Keallmieduach (ubi erat rex Connachtorum Guarius Aidhne infirmus) facta est."[1]

In Adamnan's Life of St. Columba (ed. Reeves) we have references to chariots for war as well as to those for ordinary conveyance. Thus, we hear of the chariot of a king of the Irish Cruithne (p. 33); of a chariot in which Columba saw a cleric riding (p. 74); and of one used by the saint himself when in Ireland (p. 171).

A notice of a chariot brought from Ireland occurs in the Life of Samson, Bishop of Dol in Brittany, about the middle of the sixth century. "Plaustrum ordinans ad portanda spiritualia utensilia sua atque volumina; suumque currum in duobus imponens equis, quem de Hibernia apud se asportaverat." We may recollect, in contrast to this use of chariots, that Cuthbert and Aidan were wont to go afoot in their missionary labours, and that the latter, instead of using the horse which King Oswin presented to him, gave it to a poor man who asked an alms from him.[2]

In the legend of St. Irchard, bishop and confessor, who laboured under St. Ternan among the rude people of his native Deeside, we have a notice of a wheeled car, on which he ordered his followers to place his body, and to bury him on the spot where it should stop of its own accord. We are accordingly told that they placed the saint's body "in biga rotarum," which having halted on the spot where the church of Kincardine on the Dee was afterwards built, and remained immovable, they buried St. Irchard there.[3]

In A.D. 1020, Armagh was burned, and among other articles which were destroyed was "the chariot of the abbots."[4]

Like the chariot of the Bishop of Dol, that figured on the stone at Meigle is drawn by two horses who have plaited tails, after the fashion of those on Assyrian sculptures. The driver is in front, and two people are in the body of the vehicle, the seats being all on one level. A ring appears in the rein, which may represent one of those numerous bronze rings which are occasionally found in tombs, with bridle-bits and other articles of horse-furniture. The spokes of the wheel swell out in the middle, and the general plan of the car can be understood.

The same picture represents a man on his back, with his head in the mouth of a bear, whose throat he is piercing with a dagger grasped in one of his hands. A dog appears to be barking at the bear, and a man is in the act of shooting at him with a bow and arrow.

Chariots drawn by horses are sculptured on the base of the north cross, Kilklispeen, on the base of the north cross at Clonmacnoise, and on that of the cross which stands in the churchyard of Kells.[5]

The use of chariots being so prominent in the chronicles of the early Irish, it is natural that we should also find traces of the roads on which they could be driven; and we learn from Dr. O'Donovan—"According to the early Irish annals and other fragments of Irish history, the ancient Irish had many roads, which were cleaned and kept in repair according to law." In Cormac's Glossary definitions are given of the terms used to denote different kinds of roads. One of the roads was made for the meeting of two chariots—*i.e.* the chariot of a king and the chariot of a bishop—so that each of them might pass by the other.[6] According to the ancient Irish topographical work called Dinnseanchus, there were five great roads in Ireland, which radiated in different directions from Tara; and Dr. Petrie informs us that of some of these roads very indistinct traces remain, but they are still remembered by the old inhabitants.[7]

The ancient saints of Ireland had their chariots, as we have seen. St. Odran was charioteer to St. Patrick, and on a certain occasion, knowing that the life of his master was threatened because he had overthrown the great pillar-stone worshipped by the Irish in the plain of Magh Sleacht, he received the dart intended for St. Patrick, for whom he was mistaken by sitting in the saint's seat in the chariot, having asked his permission, "ut eo die ipse sederet

[1] Vita S. Maidoci ap. Colgan, Acta SS. Hib. tom. i. p. 213.
[2] Bedæ Hist. Ecc. lib. iii. cap. 14.
[3] Breviar. Aberdon. Part. Estiv. fol. lxxxix.
[4] Annals of the Four Masters, ed. O'Donovan, vol. ii. p. 797.
[5] O'Neill's Irish Crosses, Plates XII. XXII. and XXVIII.
[6] Book of Rights, Introduction, pp. lvii. lviii.
[7] History and Antiquities of Tara Hill, p. 205.

in principaliori currus loco;"[1] from which we gather that there was a difference in the level of the seats in the Irish chariot.

Occasional early notices of roads for wheel-carriages occur in our records. In a charter by King Robert Bruce of the forest of Cordys to Sir James Garviach, dated 25th October 1317, reference is made in a bounding description "ad veterem viam plaustrorum;"[2] but when we bear in mind the obstacles to the use of wheel-carriages which occurred in most parts of Scotland till a very recent time, we may conclude that the use of chariots among the Pictish people was of a restricted nature. The classical writers assure us that the ancient Caledonians made great use of them in their battles; but we learn from Tacitus that they were apt to be impeded not only among the dense throngs of the enemy, but also to stick in "inæqualibus locis"[3]—a fact which is more easily understood than that they should have been able to find places suitable for any use of them whatever.

[1] De S. Odrano ap. Colgan, Actt. SS. Hib. tom. i. p. 371. [2] Registr. Aberdon. vol. i. p. 44. [3] Agricolæ Vita, cap. xxxvi.

VIII. EARLY MODES OF BURIAL.

The sepulchral purpose which I have ascribed to the pillar-stones and cross-slabs renders it permissible to record a few facts illustrative of the earlier modes of burial in Scotland.

Many of our early sepulchral deposits are found in dry gravelly hillocks, where frequently only a single cist or a single urn occurs. But in other cases a mound or cairn is found to cover a number of cists, and urns occur in groups.[1] Thus, under a cairn on the banks of the Lyon, in the parish of Dull,[2] were discovered ten or twelve cists, some of which contained urns, while others had only ashes and pieces of bone. Under a cairn at Dupplin a great number of cists occurred. Pennant found seventeen under the same cairn.[3] There are also in many parts of Scotland extensive groups of cairns which mark the site of places set apart for burial. Two remarkable groups of sepulchres in the neighbourhood of the town of St. Andrews have recently been discovered. They occurred on the rising ground on each side of the Kinness burn. Those on a piece of ground called Haly Hill consisted of twenty cists, which were supposed to form part of a larger surrounding number not yet examined. They contained human remains, but no urns. They were long, and the bodies had been laid at full length. One of them was shorter than the others, and contained the remains of a young person. In it many interesting relics—some of them of the kind generally associated with short cists—were found. Among these were a small circular vessel of glass, less than two inches in height, of a pale green colour, and beside it fragments of broken glass, of a white colour, which had probably formed another similar vessel. There were also a fragment of what may have been a ring of glass, coated with an enamel of a yellow-ground, with spots of red in it; a little bit of smooth greenstone, less than three inches in length, like a whetstone; a bit of bone with a hole as if to receive a knife; another smaller bit of perforated bone, with a slender socket of bronze inserted; a fragment of thin bronze like the point of a knife; a circular disc of stone, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in diameter, with a hole in the centre; many smooth pebbles, of small size, and a fragment of jet.

Besides these, which were all in the shortest cist, there were found in digging among the other cists, flakes of flint, and a stone celt or hammer broken across. Teeth of horses, oxen, and sheep were also found in large quantities.[4]

On the platform at the opposite side of the valley, near Law Park nurseries, where stone coffins have occasionally been found, a group of urns was discovered. They were all near to a large stone, which being in the way of the plough, was dug up by the farmer. There were no cists, but in four instances triangular holes were found, formed of pieces of flagstone, within which were urns filled with calcined bones. Eighteen large urns were found, besides two discovered by the farmer in removing the large stone referred to, in one of which were two thin bronze knives about three inches in length. Beside the urns a flint-flake was picked up, and large quantities of the teeth of oxen and sheep, and cores of their horns. The urns varied in height from ten to sixteen inches, and in diameter from eight to eleven inches. Some of the urns were inverted, while those which stood on end were covered by flat stones. All the urns contained calcined bones. In one case an inverted urn had had another larger urn put above it. The outer urn was broken, and portions of it were found among the bones in the entire urn. In the progress of agricultural operations quantities of stones and boulders have been carried away from the spot, so that a cairn may have originally covered the spot; and in a tumulus, which seemed to have been surrounded by a circle of stones, at a distance of about 100 yards from the spot, a rude stone cist, containing a human skeleton, was found.

Several flat cairns have been recently examined containing cists, and exhibiting many vestiges of extensive burning, in the shape of incinerated bones and charred matter, as in one at Burreldales in Aberdeenshire, described in the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland (vol. iv. p. 429). I recently assisted at the excavation

[1] A curious group of urns has recently been discovered near Ferryport, on the Tay. It consisted of eight urns disposed in a circle round a central urn. The urns contained burnt bones, and in two of them small earthen cups were found lying above the bones. These cups were filled with bones, and are perforated by two holes on one of their sides. The urns varied in size from about 5 to 15 inches in height. Some of them were inverted, and others stood on their ends. In one of the latter, on the south-east side, was another inverted urn, both containing burned bones and charcoal. No urns were found on the north-west side of the circle.

[2] New Stat. Acc., Perthshire, p. 768.

[3] Pennant's Tour in Scotland, vol. ii. p. 106; vol. iii. p. 183.

[4] Stone hatchets, broken in two or more pieces, are found in the sepulchral chambers at Locmariaquer in Brittany (Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, vol. viii. p. 452); and in the sepulchral chamber in the great tumulus in St. Michael's Mount at Carnac (Arch. Camb. Jan. 1864, p. 49). Dr. Wilson has remarked the occurrence of bronze swords among sepulchral deposits, and that they are frequently found broken, from which he infers that "one of the last honours paid to the buried warrior was to break his well-proved weapon and lay it at his side ere the cist was closed or the inurned ashes deposited in the grave" Prehistoric Annals, vol. i. p. 394.

of a remarkable cairn called "Cairn Curr," on the farm of Warrackstone, in the parish of Tullynessle, Aberdeenshire.[1] It covered four short cists, of which three contained urns, without other remains; the fourth was empty. This cairn also contained two inverted urns (one of them of enormous size), filled with incinerated bones, while extensive traces of burning were observed in the centre of the cairn, as if the bodies had been consumed there.

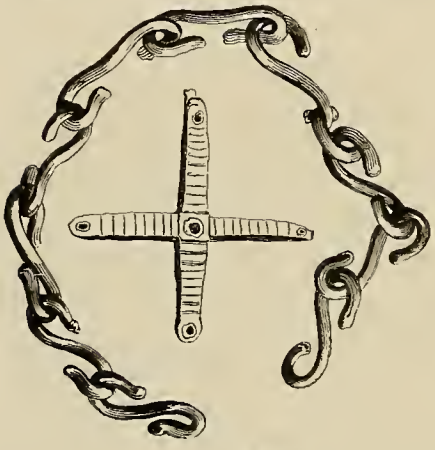
Among the remains at Burreldales a fragment of a bronze knife was discovered; and in an adjoining cairn recently opened, where a cist was discovered, were found an urn, a jet necklace, and a fragment of bronze. At Cairn Greg (Notices of the Plates, p. 54) a short cist was found which contained an urn and a bronze spear-head.

Fragments of bronze also occurred in an urn containing incinerated bones in the stone circle at Tnack, described in vol. i. (Appendix to the Preface, p. xx.)

It has generally been taken for granted that the short cist is the mark of an earlier period than the long one. It would seem, however, that this assumption is not to be relied on, unless fortified by concurrent circumstances. The long cists, just described, are associated with objects which are also common to the short ones.[2]

The short cist has even been found in Christian sites and around the cross-slabs of Scotland;[3] thus evidencing its late continuance.

An example of the transition period appeared within the limits of the ancient burial-ground of the parish of Kingoldrum. A short cist was opened about twenty-four years ago which contained a skeleton in a doubled-up posture. On one of the wrists was a rude bronze armlet, now in the possession of the Reverend James O. Haldane, parish minister of Kingoldrum, by whom the cist was opened. In a grave in the same burial-ground a small bronze cross was found by Mr. Haldane; and in another place one of the primitive square ecclesiastical bells of iron was discovered.[4] The cut here given represents the bracelet and cross. At Meikle Kenny, in the same parish, Mr. Haldane found a short cist, partly formed of a broken mill-stone, which seemed to have been rather more than three feet in diameter, and showed marks on each side of the central hole, of a bar which had kept the axle in its place—on the whole suggesting a comparatively late date.



AT KINGOLDRUM.

Many stone cists were recently dug up in the ancient burial-ground of the church of St. Mary of the Crag, which are elsewhere described (Notices of the Plates, p. 4). The modes of interment here, seemed, in some cases, to combine parts of both systems.

Long stone cists have been found at the west end of the church of Conpar-Angus;[5] in a portion of the old cemetery of Durham Cathedral;[6] and, to the eastward of the ruins of the Priory of North Berwick, a great number of rude stone-coffins, formed of separate slabs, have been turned up;[7] and more recently they have been found near the church of Kelso.

The Chronicle of Fortingall preserves an instance of the use of what appears to have been a cist of detached flags in the early part of the sixteenth century, where, in recording the death of M'Gregor of Glenstray, on 24th May 1519, it adds—"Et sepultus in cista lapidum ex parte b . . . . summi altaris de Dysart."[8]

The curious sarcophagus at St. Andrews (vol. i. Plate LXI.) was formed of separate sculptured stones. The example at Govan (vol. i. Plate CXXXV.) is formed out of a single block of stone, and is sculptured with some of the same class of ornaments, and with men and animals of the same contour, as those which occur on the cross-slabs.

These are obviously remains of a period not distant from that of the cross-slabs, but we have notices of the use of stone coffins in Scotland at a time considerably prior to their date.

Thus, when St. Ninian was buried in the church of St. Martin at Whithorn, "quam ipse a fundamentis construxerat," he was placed "in sarcophago lapideo juxta altare."[9] We are told in the Life of Kentigern that on one occasion the man who was cook to St. Serf, having died, was buried. At the request of the brethren of the

[1] The occurrence of an unoccupied cist in the cairn at Warrackstone is one of several facts which tend to show that these burial-places may have been prepared in some cases before they were required, like the mausolea of modern times. Dr. Petrie gives a notice from early sources of the cairn of Amhalgaidh, which this chieftain prepared as a place of interment for himself (Round Towers of Ireland, p. 107); and in later times we have instances of crosses being prepared by those for whom they were designed as monuments (Sculptured Stones, vol. i. Preface, p. v.)

[2] Since this was written, some remarkable cairns near Crinan in Argyleshire have been examined by the Rev. William Greenwell. In one of them a cist was found 3 feet 5 inches in length, while the central cist was 7 feet in length. In another cairn two cists appeared, the one measuring 3 feet 8 inches in length, the other 5 feet 4 inches, while in the centre a chamber upwards of 19 feet in length, and divided into four compartments, was found. In another, three cists were found, measuring severally 4 feet 6 inches, 1 foot 6 inches, and 7 feet 6 inches in length.

[3] See Sculptured Stones of Scotland, vol. i. p. 26.

[4] Proceedings of the Soc. of Antiqs. of Scotland, vol. i. p. 191.

[5] Sinclair's Statistical Account, vol. xvii. p. 11.

[6] Proceedings of the Arch. Instit. at Newcastle, vol. i. p. 78.

[7] Liber de Northberwic, Pref. p. xix. Edin. 1847.

[8] Black Book of Taymouth, p. 117. Edin. 1855.

[9] Vita Niniani, ap. Vitæ Antiquæ Sanctor. p. 19.

monastery, St. Serf besought his disciple Kentigern that he would raise the man from the dead, which he did. The man resumed his duties in the kitchen, and when he again died he was "inclusus nobili sarcophago." It is added—"Exaratum est etiam in ejus tumbe operculo, qualiter resuscitatus fuerat a Sancto Kentegerno, ut usque in seculum a cunctis videntibus, vel visuris, glorificetur mirabilis Dominus in sancto suo."[1] When the body of St. Duthac[2] was removed from the grave in which it was first deposited, it was placed in "sarcophago et theca decenti."[3] St. Drostan, the disciple and companion of St. Columba, was buried in "tumba lapidea," which remained to cure the sick, who visited it in the early part of the sixteenth century, at his church of Aberdour, in Aberdeenshire.[4]

When the remains of St. Margaret, Queen of Malcolm Canmore, were translated into the choir of the renovated building at Dunfermline, they were raised "de monumento lapideo," in which they had reposed since the year of her death in 1093.[5]

That the occurrence of long stone cists in Scotland is not to be regarded as a mark of age without a consideration of relative circumstances, will also appear from the following fact, for which I am indebted to Captain Thomas. At Ness, in the Island of Lewis, till quite recently, no one was buried in a wooden coffin. There was only one big coffin in connection with every churchyard, which the people called "chest of the dead," and used in the same manner as the bier of the present day. When the body was brought to the churchyard in this chest, a coffin of stone was made, in which the corpse was placed. This manner of burying lasted till comparatively recent times, for the name of the man who was buried in the "chest of the dead" is quite remembered in Ness even yet.

But in many parts of Scotland groups of stone coffins have been found in places not connected with any known Christian site. These are frequently of a coffin shape, and are disposed with the head to the west. In some of these groups graves of children have been found. In a coffin at Cramond (one of a group of twenty-four arranged in regular rows) was found an iron key. At Old Haaks, on the property of Wormeston, near Fifeness, thirty stone coffins, ranged in two parallel rows, S.E. by N.W., were discovered in 1829, about 10 feet under the surface of a mound, about 40 or 50 feet above the sea, and from 500 to 600 feet back from it. The coffins were separated from each other by pieces of slab inserted between them; and a similar group, of about forty coffins, similarly arranged, with the heads to the west (of which a child's grave formed one), has been recently discovered close to the "Catstane" on the estate of Carlowrie. A number of stone coffins was discovered in the summer of 1860 at the "Burial Knowe," in the parish of Salton, East Lothian. These were of the full length of the body, were disposed east and west, and one of them was the grave of a child.[6] It does not appear that any relic was found in these graves except the key at Cramond.

Groups of graves, resembling those just described, have been found in various parts of England, and have been ascribed by English antiquaries to the Anglo-Saxon period, and said to date from the sixth to the tenth centuries, and it has been asserted that many of the cemeteries of that period were isolated cemeteries, and unconnected with churches.[7]

Worsaae records certain facts, from which he infers that "towards the close of the heathen period there were general places of interment, which form the transition to the custom which became prevalent in the Christian era of interring the dead in churchyards.[8]

We know that among the pagan Celts of Ireland, there were places set apart for royal cemeteries, and that at a later period, the privilege of burial in the clan cemetery was jealously guarded.

Thus the family of Mac Dermot Gall would allow no one to be buried in their ground in the churchyard of Clonard but a Mac Dermot Gall, not even their wives when of a different family.

It may be asked whether the Scotch groups just described are to be assigned to a pagan period; and in determining this point we must bear in mind that the Christian idea from the outset required that the bodies of Christians should be laid in ground consecrated to the purpose, which generally surrounded the church. There would naturally be a period of transition in all countries, when old modes and places of interment would still be resorted to. In the time of St. Columba we hear of a converted Pict who was buried under a cairn; and we gather from an ordi-

[1] Vita Kentigerni, cap. vii.; MS. Marsh's Library, Dublin.

[2] Breviar. Aberd. Part. Hyemal. fol. 66.

[3] Etheldreda, queen of Egfrid, became an inmate of Ebba's monastery at Coldingham, and after a year she was made abbess of Ely. She was at first buried in a wooden coffin, but afterwards her remains were placed in one of stone, apparently a relic of Roman art, alleged to have been miraculously found (Bede, Hist. Eccles. iv. 19). The introduction of the sarcophagus was probably through ecclesiastical influence, and the origin of the whole from examples of Roman art. St. Cuthbert was buried in the sarcophagus given to him by the abbot Cudda (Vita S. Cuth. auct. Ven. Beda, cap. xl.; Symeonis, Dunelm. Hist. lib. i. cap. 10).

[4] Breviar. Aberdon. Part. Hyemal. fol. xix. *b*.

[5] Forduni Scotichron. vol. ii. p. 83.

[6] In his treatise "De Locis Sanctis," Adamnan records the description given to him by Arculfus, of the sepulchres of the "four patriarchs, Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, and Adam the first man." The following passage in it shows that at this time—that is, in the seventh century—the custom of burying the dead with the feet to the east had become the ordinary one:—"Quorum plantæ, non sicut in aliis orbis regionibus ad Orientem humatorum converti moris est, sed ad Meridiem versæ et capita contra septentrionalem plagam conversa" (Acta SS. Ord. Benedict. tom. iv. Pars. ii. p. 465).

[7] Archæol. Journal, vol. iii. p. 115.

[8] Primeval Antiquities, p. 104. Lond. 1849.

nance of Charlemagne, that it was difficult to restrain the Christian Saxons from burying their dead in the mounds of their heathen forefathers, while he decreed that they should be buried in the cemeteries of the church.[1] An act of the synod held under Boniface at Leptines in A.D. 743, seems to indicate that even heathens at times might see an advantage in securing their burial in churches. "Ecclesiam in qua mortuorum cadavera infidelium sepeliuntur sanctificare non licet. Sed si apta videtur ad consecrandum, inde evulsa corpora [evulsis corporibus?], et rasis vel lotis lignis ejus, reædificetur."[2]

In addition to the general idea of sacredness which came to be attached to the consecrated resting-place, another was added, which among the Celtic people afforded a powerful motive.

I have elsewhere adverted to their patriarchal reverence for the founder of their race or tribe. Their reverence for the memory of their spiritual ancestor, or founder of the clan monastery, was equally intense. In some respects he was regarded as still alive. It was believed that an injury done to their monasteries was resented by the saints themselves, and that they were still able to protect their followers. Thus, the register of the monastery of Clonmacnoise, in which St. Kieran, the founder of the establishment, was buried, informs us that the saint "had such power, being a holy bishop, through the will of God, that what soules harboured in the bodies buried under that dust may uever be adjudged to damnation. Wherefore those of the same blood have divided the churchyard amongst themselves by the consent of Kyran and his holy clearks." It thus happened that in the churchyard of St. Kieran, which contained about two acres in circuit, there were niue churches, mostly built by kings and petty princes of these parts as their places of sepulture; and the register of the house contains an account of the various lands granted to the church of Clonmacnoise by these provincial kings and chieftains, in the grants of which they secured to themselves aud their descendants a right of interment in the sacred ground.[3]

The same idea prevailed elsewhere, although the benefit is not so express and universal as at Clonmacnoise. Thus, in the Life of St. David it is said, "est autem alius prope locus, in cujus cœmiterio quicunque salva fide humati fuerint, vix eorum emus inferni pœnas luet.[4]

Gradlon, a Breton Prince, about the end of the fifth century, gave to the abbey of Landevenech certain lands "propter sepulturam meam atque pretium sepulchri mei."

Thus Salomon, Prince of Brittany, about the middle of the ninth century, chose his burial within the monastery founded by him at Redon, "in quo etiam reverentissimus Abbas Conwoion sepultus jacet; ibi et venerabilis nostra conjux Guenwret honorifice sepulta quiescit, in quo etiam et ego si piisima Dei clementia mihi concedere dignata fuerit, corpus meum sepeliendum cum consilio Britanniæ nobilium, tam sacerdotum quam Laicorum, devovi."

In the inductive clauses of charters of the early Lombard kings to the monastery founded by St. Columbanus at Bobbio, we find conjoined mention of the miracles which continue to be wrought there by the merits of the saint, with the statement "(ubi) corpusque ejus humatum quiescit."[5]

It was a high privilege, at first reserved for great ecclesiastics, to be buried within the church, but this right soon came to be abused, and the canons of some early councils are levelled against the practice. The sixth canon of that of Nantes (A.D. 658) ordains "etiam secundum majorum iustituta ut in ecclesia nullatenus sepeliatur, sed in atrio aut in portieu aut extra Ecclesiam. Infra Ecclesiam vero, aut prope altare ubi corpus Domini et sanguis conficitur, nullatenus habeat licentiam sepeliendi;" aud a capitulary of Charlemagne decrees—"Ut nullus deinceps in Ecclesia mortuorum sepeliatur."[6]

This desire of being brought into contact with localities and objects hallowed by connection with early saints

[1] On this subject see Notices of the Plates, pp. 56, 57, and the authorities there cited.

[2] Corpus Jur. Ger. Antiq., by Walter, tom. ii. p. 524.

[3] Registry of Clonmacnoise, with Notes and Remarks, by J. O'Donovan, LL.D., Proceedings of Kilkenny Archæol. Soc. 1856-7, p. 444.

[4] Vita Actt. SS. Bollandi, i. Martii, tom. i. p. 42.

[5] Ugo e Lottario re confermano i privilegi . . . al Monastero di Bobbio, A.D. 940, 20 Marzo ap. Historiæ Patriæ Monumenta, Chartarum, tomus i. It was probably the association of the continued presence and power of the saints with relics used by them which secured to certain bachuls and bells the inordinate reverence which meets us in the early Irish annals. In a Life of St. Martin, an Armorican abbot, who lived about A.D. 600, we find an account of his dying words to his monks. Taking the staff "quem piis manibus semper gestarat," and which "per Dei virtutem, multorum fontium inventor fuerat," he fixed it in the middle of the cloister, and told his followers to regard it as a sign of his love for the monastery which he had founded, above all other places, "nam hic baculus qui hic figitur mei præsentiam vobis repræsentabit et futuræ ætati emolumenti salutaris erit" (Vita S. Martini Abb. Vertavensis in Armorica, circ. A.D. 600; Acta Sanct. Ord. Benedict. tom. i.)

The bachul of St. Fergus allayed a storm at sea. St. Machar, with a touch of his bachul, turned a wild boar into stone, and St. Serf slew a dragon at Dunning by piercing it with the point of his bachul (Breviar. Aberd. Part. Estiv. fol. 144-146; *Idem*, fol. 16).

It was another phase of the same feeling which prompted the continued regard for the body of a great saint, as if it remained capable of injury. It was the privilege of the men of the patrimony of St. Cuthbert not to go beyond the diocese to fight for either king or bishop. Thus, when Anthony Beck, the warlike occupant of St. Cuthbert's chair, had twice compelled the men of the diocese of Durham to go beyond its limits in the Scotch wars, and they on the second occasion had returned without his permission, he imprisoned them at Durham "quod ipsi graviter ferentes fecerunt se partem contra Episcopum, dicentes se esse Haliwerfolk, et terras suas tenere ad defensionem corporis Sancti Cuthberti nec debere se exire terminos episcopatus scilicet ultra Tynam et Teysam pro Rege vel Episcopo" (Hist. Dunelm. Script. Tres, p. 76, Surt. Soc.)

[6] Walter, Corpus Juris Germ. vol. ii. p. 432.

manifested itself in many forms. It led to a great estimation of burial in ground consecrated by their having been interred there, and it drew others when alive to seek relief from diseases by their contact with some relic of the saints, and to go in pilgrimage to their shrines. The idea of sanctity connected with the monastic orders led people to seek for burial not only in the consecrated ground about the monastery, but in the habit of the monks. The right was in early times purchased by the great men of Brittany[1] by the gift of lands and other offerings, as we have seen to have been the case in Ireland. Among the Saxons, "at every funeral a payment called a soul-sceat was made to the church where the interment took place, and a legacy was also expected. A mancus of gold, or even a much higher sum, was usually paid in the case of a king, or bishop, or of a person of high rank; and we read of a legacy or burial-fee consisting of a bracelet and two golden crosses, with garments and bed-clothes; of another which consisted of thirty marks of gold, twenty pounds of silver, two golden crosses, and two pieces of cloth set with gold and gems; and another of 100 swine and a sum of money, to be paid annually."[2]

An early reverence for Iona as a place of sepulture seems to have arisen in connection with its great founder St. Columba; and the churches throughout Alba associated with the memory of him and his followers, and other early saints, no doubt were looked upon with a kindred feeling by its Celtic people.

Dunfermline, the foundation of the saintly Queen Margaret and her husband Malcolm, became a burial-place of importance at an early period. It would seem probable that, as in many like cases, this new Benedictine establishment was founded on the site of an early Celtic monastery, which only received enhanced importance by its association with the Saxon princess and her husband. In the time of William the Lion, Malcolm, Earl of Athol, granted the church of Moulin to the abbey of Dunfermline, for the weal of his own soul and that of his wife, and of the kings his predecessors there resting, choosing his own burial also in the same place.[3] Malcolm the Fourth, in a writ to Earl Duncan and others, his good men of Fife, commanding them to maintain and protect the abbey of Dunfermline, adds—"Ubi corpus avi mei David regis in Deo requiescit;"[4] and Alexander III. afterwards confirms to the monks certain lands which had been an offering on the day of the burial of Malcolm himself.[5] It would seem that the reference by the Earl of Athol to his kingly ancestors who were buried at Dunfermline applies to a period before that of David, and thus to an earlier foundation. Pope Lucius confirms the abbey of Dunfermline "in sepultura regum Scocie cum omnibus pertinenciis suis;"[6] and King Robert Bruce, at a later period, granted to the monks, the church of Kinross, with the chapel of Urwell, "propter honorem sepulture Regum predecessorum nostrorum qui ibidem sepeliuntur, ac sepulture nostre quam apud ipsos specialiter eligimus."[7]

The early traditions of the foundation of St. Andrews under King Hungus inform us that the first Christian burial at Kilrimont was that of Mouren, the daughter of the Pictish king, to whom his queen gave birth at Monichie, "nullo ante hoc ibidem sepulto." One of the seven churches built by St. Regulus and his associates was in honour of the virgin Mouren, and in the east part of that church were afterwards buried fifty virgins of the royal race. The three virgins who accompanied St. Regulus were buried at another of the seven churches "ad Ecclesiam S. Anaglas;" and if we may credit Boece, there were many monuments of early burials about the church, of St. Regulus, "quam hodie omnibus venerabilem cernimus in medio agro canonicorum sepulture sacro, monumentis prisco more celebribus (ut est videre) sine tamen nominibus refertam." I have elsewhere[8] referred to the great number of stone coffins, and other vestiges of early interments, on all sides of the ruined church on the Kirkhengh except the east, and to the opinion of my friend Dr. Barnard Davis, that some of the skulls submitted to him from that collection seemed to be of the type found in cists in ancient Pictland, from which it is not unreasonable to infer that this churchyard, which probably was that of the Culdee monastery, was employed as a place of sepulture at an early and transitional period.

These circumstances would lead us to infer that after the introduction, or, at all events, the establishment, of Christianity, burials were confined to consecrated sites, generally around churches.

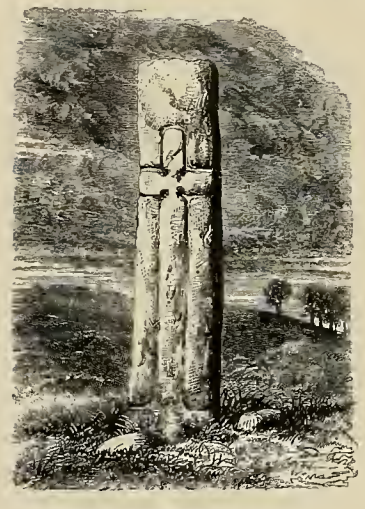
At the very dawn of our own period of record we find that the rights of sepulture were regarded and defined. An instance of this will be found in an agreement in the time of David I. entered into between the Bishop of St. Andrews and the Abbot of Dunfermline, touching the parish church of Eccles or Stirling, and the chapel of the castle of Stirling, where the rights of the parish cemetery are studiously reserved, as well as those of the men in question, "propter sepulture dignitatem."[9]

The men whose burials were thus provided for were those generally within the king's lordships in the soke of Stirling, and it appears that the rights of the lowest classes in the matter of burial were regarded. Thus, in recording the names and pedigrees of their serfs, the monks add the place of their death and burial. Patrick Scurfarauche died at Orock, and was buried in the cemetery of Kinghorn; Alan Gilgerwer, his son, died at Kynglassy, and was buried there; John Scoloc, his son, died at Kynglassy, and was buried there; "William Fleming

[1] Morice, col. 328.
[2] Thrupp, Anglo-Saxon Home, p. 402.
[3] Registrum de Dunfermelyn, p. 85.
[4] *Ib.* p. 26.
[5] *Ib.* p. 48.
[6] Registrum de Dunfermelyn, p. 154.
[7] *Ib.* p. 229.
[8] Notices of the Plates, p. 40.
[9] Registr. de Dunfermelyn, p. 9

primus died at Flemingbrech, and was buried at Dunfermline; Alwine Cambrune, his son, died at Tolibrenche, and lies in the cemetery of Markinch; Engenius, his son, died at Kynglassy, and lies there."[1]

This reverence for burial prevailed among our pagan ancestors, and we yet discover many monuments of that feeling; but the Christian system gave to it a new direction and a loftier sanction. One of the requirements of the new system was, that the bodies of the faithful should rest in consecrated ground; and this was a protest against the older system of burial in mounds or cairns, which frequently took place without regard to locality. When to this was added the other motives and sanctions which I have described, we cannot suppose that such burial-places as those at Carlowrie, Fifeuess, and Cramond, would have been used by Christians, unless we are also to suppose that they were originally sites of Christian consecration, of which the history is lost,[2] or that they mark a period of transition and the infancy of the Christian system, when the body was unburned, and was uniformly laid at length in the direction of east and west, but when the old sites of burial had not been forsaken. From the number of stone cists which have been found around some of the cross-slabs, it would seem probable that such a site had come to be regarded as consecrated.[3] A very interesting example of burial, of what seems a transition character, was found near to the town of Alloa. About half-a-mile east from it, upon the ridge of a swelling ground immediately adjoining the alluvial banks of the river Forth, and with the river in view, stands a stone pillar, having a cross of a very primitive type cut on either face. An examination of this site, in the year 1829, led to the discovery of many human bones, much decayed, close to the stone; and, at about nine feet north from its base, of a cist three feet in length, formed of sandstone flags, which also contained human bones much decayed. The cist was covered with a flag, at each end of which, on the inside, was incised a small cross of the simplest form, but evidently cut with care. The engravings here given represent the "Stone Cross" and the incised cist cover—the latter from Mr. Bald's sketch made at the time of the discovery of the cist.



THE "STONE CROSS," NEAR ALLOA.

COVER OF CIST AT THE "STONE CROSS" NEAR ALLOA.

It is worthy of observation that at the opposite end of the town of Alloa a pagan cemetery was discovered in the course of the previous year, which has also been described by Mr. Bald, to whom we are indebted for an account of the "Stone Cross." There were found many short stone cists, like that at the latter monument, and twenty-two clay urns containing calcined bones. In one of the cists two gold armlets were found, of which one is now in the National Museum of the Antiquaries of Scotland—but no calcined bones or urns were found at the "Stone Cross."

Another example of what may mark a period of transition has recently come under my notice. On the summit of a rising ground called the Hartlaw, on the estate of Spottiswoode, in Berwickshire, are two adjoining gravel knolls of no great prominence, which have recently been excavated under the inspection of Lady John Scott. On laying bare the south knoll portions of circular foundations, forming enclosures of varying size, were noticed. They were constructed of small slabs set on edge in the ground. About the centre of the largest enclosure a round pit was discovered about two feet deep, and less in diameter, lined with stones. This pit was filled with charred wood. Small holes, formed of stones on edge, were found in the lesser enclosures, and were also full of charred wood, which occasionally occurred in minute portions mixed with the soil. Two long graves, formed of stone slabs on edge, lying east and west, with the heads to the west, were found on the south side: they were unpaved in the bottom.

In the adjoining knoll two pits like wells were discovered on the north-east side. One of them was deeper than the other; it measured about fifteen inches across, and was about two feet deep. It was lined with stones, and was filled with charred wood and unctuous earth. Portions of black matter had penetrated into the soil below and outside the hole.

Fourteen coffins lying around the knoll were opened. They lay east and west, with the head to the west. They were generally about six feet in length, but one was only four feet six inches, and another three feet ten inches. The coffins were formed of small slabs, with which they were floored in the bottom and covered above. It was observed that a grave was always to be detected by the occurrence of fragments of charred wood in the surrounding soil. Within the grave, ashes of wood generally appeared on the earth in the centre, and towards the head in some cases. In some of the coffins portions of unburned human remains were found, generally at the west. I remarked a portion

[1] Liber de Dunfermelyn, pp. 220, 221.

[2] The Anglo-Saxon cemetery was not always close by a church. Bede tells us in the Life of St. John of Beverley, "Est mansio quædam secretior, nemore raro, et vallo circumdata, non longe ab Hagulstaldensi ecclesia . . . habens cœmeterium Sancti Michaelis archangeli," etc. (Bede, Hist. Eccl. lib. v. cap. 14).

[3] As at St. Orland's stone at Cossins, and at Meigle (Sculptured Stones, vol. i. Appendix to the Preface, p. xxiii.)

of an under-jaw, very fresh, with some arm bones and portions of skulls. No relics of any kind were found in the cists. This example of early burial may be contrasted with one of another type at Clacharie, in the same neighbourhood, which was excavated by Lady John Scott in the autumn of 1863, and which seems to belong to an earlier purely pagan period.

At this spot, also on the estate of Spottiswoode, are two knolls. On one of them was a great cairn of stones, beneath which were found three short cists. One of these contained a large urn, inverted, on a slab, filled for about one-third of its height with incinerated bones. Above this was a pyramid of black ashes and fragments of charred wood, filling the rest of the urn. The other cists also contained incinerated bones, black ashes, and charred wood, but no urns.

In the centre of the space covered by the cairn was a large pit, lined with stones, converging to the top, where it became very narrow, and was covered with a small slab. In it fragments of baked clay, charred wood, and unctuous earth were found, and on the top a small cube of brick.

In the adjoining knoll was found a pit containing a large quantity of charred wood and unctuous matter. This hole went ten feet into the till, the lower five feet consisting of burned matter and the upper of gravel and stones. It was like a cist on the top, having covering slabs resting on the sides, and was also lined with slabs. In three places on the east and south sides of the knoll deposits of ashes and bones were found, and in different spots two flint implements, three or four stone celts, and round pebbles. In these knolls many foundations, formed of slabs set on end in the ground, like those at Hartlaw, some of which enclosed small spaces, were found. In these respects there was a resemblance between the two modes of burial; but the occurrence of short cists, urns, incinerated bones, and stone implements at Clocharie, seems to refer it to an earlier and purely pagan period.

On some of the upland moors of Perthshire there still appear many vestiges of early pagan cemeteries, consisting of numerous cairns, circles, and other enclosures of stone pillars. These frequently occur in the immediate neighbourhood of groups of hut circles. I was present at the recent excavation of very extensive remains of cairns, pillars, and hut circles, at Balnabroch in Strathardle, where the cairns and circles occurred close to each other. Little was found in the cairns except numerous fragments of charcoal and burned bones.

IX. EARLY SANCTUARIES—"CROSS MACDUFF."

In early times the boundaries of sanctuaries were occasionally defined by the erection of crosses, and even in pagan days privileges of "girth" were accorded to certain pillar-stoues.[1] The present volume coutains drawings of the "girth crosses" of the monastery of Dull in Athol,[2] and in describing these I have been led to prepare the present note on the general subject of sanctuaries, with especial reference to that connected with "Cross Macduff."

By the ancient statutes of the Scottish church it is provided that every church which was consecrated and had the right of baptism and burial, should have the privilege of sanctuary, which extended for thirty paces around the burial-ground.

A similar rule existed in the Saxon church. But besides this common right, some of the English churches were invested with peculiar privileges of sanctuary.[3] Among these were the churches of York, Beverley, Hexham, Croyland, Tynemouth, and Westminster. In some of these frithstools were erected, and in two of them—viz. Beverley and Hexham—they still remain. The privilege of frithstool was far more extensive than that of the ordinary right of sanctuary. "To every church and churchyard belonged the rights of sanctuary, but the fugitive could enjoy them only for a short prescribed time, and if guilty of particular crimes, might be followed to, and carried off from, the very altar itself; their protection too did not stretch one foot beyoud the burial-ground around the church or minster. Not so the frithstool rights; they overshadowed for a mile, before he came to touch the chair itself, the fugitive who approached from any side; allowed of their being sought and used by any criminal; and guarded him, however long he chose to stay within the bounds of their protection." "The frithstool stood uear the high altar, or by the side of the patron saint's shrine. From this spot, as from a centre, the frithstool spread its privilege of sanctuary over land and water all about the minster, which held it to the distance of at least a mile. Tall crosses, made sometimes of wood, but oftener of stone, told the boundaries of this asylum."[4] Such special privileges were the subjects of royal grants. In the case of Beverley we are told that they flowed from a vow made by King Athelstane at the altar of St. John of Beverley, when ou his northward march to encounter Constantine the King of the Scots, that if he should return as a couqueror he would enrich his church with some special marks of his royal favour. Having been successful in the contest, he on his return "seipsum Sancto Johanni præsentavit, et omni vasa aurea et argentea quæ in preseuti habebat, nec non et arma in quibus vicerat, coram altari Sancti Johannis obtulit; arcum videlicet, sagittas, et pharetram, bipennem, gladium, et lanceam, scutum, loricam, et galeam; quæ multo post tempore in Beverlacensi ecclesia cunctis volentibus monstrabantur perspicua." "Deinde iustinctu Archiepiscopi, et assensu Principum suorum, pacem ecclesiæ Sancti Johannis formavit, et eam regia authoritate confirmavit, et ab ostio ecclesiæ ipsius circumquaque per spacium unius leucæ eam dilatavit, totamque ipsam leucam tali libertate sancivit, ut quicunque, cujuscumque flagitii reus, infra ipsam leucam, antequam comprehenderetur, posset venire, vitæ securitatem, et membrorum indemnitatem permitteretur habere."[5]

One of the chapters of Prior Richard's History of the Church of Hexham is—"De pace inviolabili per unum miliare circumquaque ipsius ecclesiæ," which he says was instituted by the authority of kings and princes, and confirmed by the Holy See, and bishops, and kings as well of Scotland as England.

In our early writers some churches are mentioned specially as sanctuaries, and these may have acquired this distinguishing appellation from the sanctity attributed to the early saints who founded them.

Special rights of sanctuary, with unusual sanctions, were at times given in royal charters. Thus, in 1144,

[1] See *antea*, p. xxxviii. *note*.

[2] Plate XVII.

[3] The Church of our Fathers, by Daniel Rock, D.D., vol. iii. p. 366. We learn from Giraldus Cambrensis that in Wales "peace" was secured to all animals feeding in churchyards, and to a great distance beyond them, where certain boundaries and ditches had been appointed by the bishops in order to maintain the security of the sanctuary. In the case of principal churches, to which antiquity has annexed the greater reverence, it is added that the protection is extended to the herds as far as they can go to feed in the morning and return at night (Description of Wales, book i. ch. xviii.)

[4] Sanctuar. Dunelm. et Beverlac, p. 98, Surtees Soc.

[5] Fordun, in describing the Western Islands, singles out certain churches as having the right of girth, probably in a pre-eminent degree. "Insula Awyn, ubi cella Sancti Adamnani, ibique pro transgressoribus refugium. Helant-Macarmyk et ibi refugium. Helant Leneon, id est insula sanctorum, et ibi asylum [refugium edit. Hearnii]. Insula I., et ibi refugium" (Scotichronicon, vol. i. p. 45). The heinousness of a crime committed within a church, and the "bot" exigible for it, were proportioned to the nearness of the spot where it was perpetrated to the frithstool or altar. We may see also the difference between a crime committed on a spot hallowed by the relics of saints, and one not so favoured, in a capitulary of the Emperors Louis and Lothaire, A.D. 827, where it is provided, "Si in atrio ecclesiæ, cujus porta reliquiis sanctorum consecrata est, huiuscemodi homicidium perpetratum fuerit, simili modo emendetur vel conponatur. Si vero porta ecclesiæ non est consecrata, eo modo conponatur quod in atrio committitur, sicut conponi debet quod in immunitate violata committitur" (Pertz, Monum., Germ., Leges., vol. i. p. 313).

David I. granted as a cell to the abbey of Kelso the church of Lesmahagow, with the privilege that whoso for escaping peril of life or limb, should flee to the said cell, "vel infra quatuor cruces circumstantes pervenerint, ob reverenciam Dei et Sancti Machuti," should have the king's "firm peace."[1] It has been recently stated that the limits of this sanctuary were probably the same as the boundaries of the modern parish.[2]

"The King's peace" was a privilege which attached to the sovereign's court and castle, but which he could confer on other places and persons, and which at once raised greatly the penalty of misdeeds committed in regard to them."[3]

King Malcolm IV. granted to the church of Inverleithen, in which his son's body rested the first night after his decease, on its way to be buried at Melrose, a right of sanctuary in all its territory, as fully as Wedale or Tyningham.[4]

The church of Wedale was regarded with an early and mysterious reverence, partly, it would appear, from an ancient belief that King Arthur brought with him from Jerusalem an image of the Virgin, fragments of which (says an annotator of Nennius of the eleventh century) "are still preserved at Wedale in great veneration."[5] The church of Wedale was dedicated to St. Mary, and there existed a well-known road to the sanctuary of Stow across the hills called the *Girthgate*. Near to the old church of Wedale is a well called "Our Lady's Well."

The preceptory of Torphichen, the seat of the knights of St. John, had also the privilege of sanctuary within a district defined by four stones marked with crosses,[6] some of which still remain in their original sites, each about a mile distant from a similar central stone in the churchyard.[7]

The monastery of Dunfermline had a right of sanctuary.[8] The primitive monastery of Maelrubha, at Applecross, enjoyed the privilege, which is said to have extended six miles around it in all directions.[9]

The sanctuary at Dull was probably of early date. The monastery itself was one of those foundations which had its origin long before the time when our charter records begin. It was situated in one of the many rich glens of the valley of the Tay which appear to have been places of early settlement. In the glen of Fortingall, in the adjoining parish of that name, is the well-known yew-tree of extreme age; and in the neighbouring parish of Logierait, in the valley of the Tay and Tummell, was the rath which was the *head* of the old earldom of Athol. The association of this church with St. Adamnan affords another trace of early settlement. In Glenlyon are many primitive remains.

The crosses by which the sanctuary at Dull was bounded have the appearance of very great antiquity, but have no features by which we can fix their date.

According to some of our old writers, "Cross Mackduff" was a sanctuary, and its history is so singular that it seems allowable to examine it in some detail when describing other similar crosses.

The early belief which existed on the subject was, that Macduff, who is called Earl of Fife, was greatly instrumental in the overthrow of Macbeth, king of the Scots, and the elevation of Malcolm Canmore to the throne. Among the rewards conferred on him was the privilege that he and his successors should place the king on his royal seat at his coronation; that he should command and lead the king's vanguard into battle; and that he and all his kindred should be entitled to the benefit of the "law of Clan Macduff."

This law has been variously defined. According to Forduu, it conferred on the earl and all his posterity for

[1] Liber de Calchou, vol. i. p. 10.

[2] Greenshield's Annals of Lesmahagow. Edin. 1864.

[3] Liber de Calchou, Preface, p. xxiii.

[4] *Idem*, vol. i. p. 22.

[5] A marginal addition to a copy of Nennius' Hist. Brit., written in the thirteenth century; vol. of English Hist. Soc. Pref. p. xxv. and p. 49; Monumenta Hist. Britann. p. 73. In Gale's edition of Nennius, the passage descriptive of the image of the Virgin is not given, but the fragments at Wedale are said to be of a cross made by Arthur at Jerusalem (xv. Scriptores, p. 114.)

[6] The town of Tain in Ross-shire had an "immunitas" marked out by four crosses. An inquest was held "apud villam immunitatis de Thayne," on 20th April 1439, by Alexander of Sutherland, master of the same; William of Leslie, sheriff of Inverness; Hugh of Ross, of Balnagone; George Monro of Foulis, and others, who found that all the inhabitants within the immunity of Thayne were under the special protection of the Holy See—"Et quod dicta immunitas primo fundata fuit per quondam illustrissimum Scotorum regem Malcolmum Canmoir," and afterwards confirmed by various kings—viz. "David de Broyce, Robertum ejus nepotem, et ultimum Robertum primi Roberti filium. Et quod dicti iuhabitantes villam de Thayne plenam et liberam potestatem et privilegium habent et habuerunt ad emendum et vendendum omnia bona quecunque infra quatuor cruces angulares antedictæ immunitatis, et quod nunquam soluerunt, neque de ratione solueut, aliquam contribucionem regibus Scocie nec Comitibus Rossie, preterquam eustumam domino, uostro regi." The inquest append their seals along with that of Alexander, Earl of Ross, the king's justiciar on the north of the Forth (General Hutton's MS. in Adv. Lib., from the original notarial copy).

[7] New Stat. Acc. Torphicheu, p. 49. According to Sibbald, one of these stones stood on the east march of the Kipps (Hist. of Linlithgowshire, p. 26. Edin. 1710).

[8] The working of the right of sanctuary in the case of Dunfermline may be gathered from an entry in the register of that monastery. In the year 1320 an inquest was held to settle certain questions between the monks and their "meu" of Twedale. Among other demands of the latter, one was "quod si aliquis ex genere eorum hominem interfeeeret, vel aliud flagitium commiserit, propter quod tenetur immunitatem ecclesiæ postulare, si ad monasterium de Dunfermline veuerit causa immunitatis habende, quod quam, diu ibi steterit de bonis monasterii debet procurari. Ad quod respondent quod hoc facerent extraneo, multomagis homini suo de genere prædictorum" (Registrum de Dunfermelyn, p. 241). A subsequent document refers to the chapel of St. Catherine "infra pontem testudinem nostri azili monasterii vulgariter vocati, the girth-bow" (*Idem*, p. 253).

[9] Breviar. Aberd. Part. Estiv. fol. 89.

ever the right that, if a noble person of their number should commit a sudden and unpremeditated slaughter, he should be free, on payment of twenty-four merks of kinbot, and if a common man, on payment of twelve merks.

Wyntoun's account differs from this considerably. According to him, the privilege entitled any of Macduff's kindred who should commit unpremeditated slaughter within "the kingdom of Fife" to full remission, on payment of twenty-four merks of kinbot if the slain person were a gentleman, and twelve merks if he were a yeoman.

"Eftyre this the thryd askyng
That he askit at the king
Gyve ony be suddane chawdmellè
Hapnyd swa slayne to be
Be ony of the thaynys kyne
Of Fyf the Kynrick all wythin
Gyve he swa slayne wer gentilman
Foure and twenty markis than,
For a yhwman twelf markis ay
The slaare suld for kynbwt pay,
And hawe full remyssyowne
Fra thine for all that actyowne
Gyve ony hapnyd hym to sla
That to that Lawch ware bwndyn swa;
Of that priwylage eveyr mare
Partles suld be the slaar."[1]

Johu Major says:—"Tertium, quod omnes posteri de sua cognatione pro nobilis casuali nece xxiv marchis, et veruaculi pro xii, remissionem haberent."

The account given by Boece differs entirely from those just quoted, and defines the privilege as a right of regality conferred on the clan Makduff, by which its head could repledge from other Courts in any part of the kingdom to his own Court, any of his own clan and territory "ut tribui Magduffi perpetuo regalitas esset, ut vocatur, appellant autem regalitatem priuilegium, quoslibet in sua tribu creandi magistratus aut judices, juri dicendo, constituendi quacunque in actione, extra crimen majestatis lese. Potestatem quoque habet ex quacunque regni parte, si quis ex ipsius tribu, vel ea regione cujus ipse est, in jus vocatus est, ad suos revocandi judices."[2]

Buchanan describes the privilege as a mere title to escape from the consequences of unpremeditated slaughter by Macduff's posterity for a payment in money, "ut [posteri ejus] ob cædem impremeditatam hominis generosi, viginti quatuor, ob plebæi, duodecim marcas, argenti, soluerent: que postrema lex usque ad ætatem patrum nostrorum, quandiu scilicet ex ea familia superfuit quisquam, duravit.[3]

The right, as defined by Sir John Skene, was that of girth, of which "the cross of Clan Makduffe, which divides Stratherne fra Fife abone the Newbrugh, beside Lundoris," was the "caput." "The croce of Clan Makduff had privilege and liberty of girth, in sik sort that when ony manslayer, being within the ninth degrie of kin and bluid to Makduff, sometime Earl of Fyffe, come to that croce, and gave nine kie and an colpindach, or young kow, he was free of the slaughter committed be him."[4]

The introduction of the girth cross, and the limitation of the right to those within the uinth degree[5] of kindred with the first Earl Macduff, occur for the first time in this account. The kinbot is also of a different nature from that specified in the previous statements.

Notices occur in some of our early laws which give a wider scope to the "law of Clan Macduff" than elsewhere appears. Thus, among the early "fragmenta collecta" is one "Quibus casibus potest remitti duellum," which sets forth that there are three cases, of which one is "Item per legem de Clan-Makduff, pro morte progeniei scilicet, si progenies alterius partis venire poterit in platea inter probatorem et lauceam suam."[6]

A statute of King Alexander II., made at Perth in 1220, "De forisfactis absencium ab exercitu," in the hosting at Inverness against Donald Nelson, provided "Nullus vero comes, aut serviens comitis, in terram alicujus de Rege tenentis ad hoc forisfactum exigendum venire debet, nisi tantum comes, de Fyffe, et ille, non sicut comes, sed sicut unus marus restat Regi comitatus de Fyffe, ad rectitudines suas exigendas."[7]

It appears from thence that while the earls and their sergeants were prohibited from entering the lands of any one holding of the king to exact the penalty within their earldom, an exception was made in favour of the Earl of Fife, who could recover the dues from all throughout his earldom, not as earl, but as the maor of the king, "of his rychtis to be rasyt wythin the erledom of Fyffe," thus receiving a share of the fine.[7]

We have several notices of the operation of this law which correspond with the account of it given by Boece, and show that the privilege conferred, at all events, on the Earl of Fife the right of repledging from any other court to his own parties accused of unpremeditated slaughter, who could show a title under some law of which we do not know the terms, but of which one of the conditions seems to have been a certain relationship to the Earl of Fife.

Of this "law," according to Wyntoun, the Black Priest of Wedale, the Thane of Fife, and the Lord of Abernethy, were "thre capytal"—apparently chief judges.

[1] Cronykil, b. vi. c. xix.
[2] Scot. Histor. lib. xii. fol. 265.
[3] Rer. Scotic. Hist. fol. 746. Edin. 1582.
[4] De verborum Significatione, *sub voce* "Clan-Makduf."
[5] For a notice of "the nine degrees of kin," see under "The Kin" in Robertson's Scotland under her Early Kings, vol. ii. p. 315. Edin. 1862.
[6] Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. i. p. 382.
[7] *Idem*, p. 68.

He adds, in regard to the proceedings under the law—

"Gywe thare be ony that lykis
The Lawch for to se led of this
Quhen be crye the day is set
As fallis to be done of dete
To Cowpyr in Fyfe than cum he
Welle led that Lawch thare sall he see."

So that the courts, under the law of Clan Macduff, were held at Cupar[1] on a certain day after proclamation.

Sir John Skene says that he saw "ane auld evident bearand that Spens of Wormestoun beand of Makduffe's Kinne injoyed the benefite and immunitie of this law for the slauchter of ane called Kynnymmounth."

Skene's traditional account of the Law was, as we have seen, that any man-slayer, being within the ninth degree of kin and blood to Macduffe, sometime Earl of Fife, on giving nine cows and a colpindach at the cross of Macduffe, was free of the slaughter.

The first recorded case in which we can trace the working of the "law" is that of Sir Alexander de Moravia, who being tried in the court of the King's Justiciaries, sitting in judgment at Fowlis in the year 1391, for the slaughter of William de Spaldyne, protested that inasmuch as he had been already indicted for that crime "et replegiatus ad legem de Clanmacduff per dominum Robertum Comitem de Fyf, non tenebatur coram quocunque alio (judice) de dicta interfectione respondere, quousque dicta lex de Clanmacduff suo (gauderet) priuilegio de ipso ut predicitur ad ipsam legem replegiato." The judges declined to discharge the accused, but respited him until the question should be set at rest by the Lord of Brechin, the principal justiciar.[2]

There is no reference here to the degree of relationship of the accused to the Earl of Fife, although Crawfurd, in quoting this instrument, states that this plea was on the ground of his "standing in the ninth degree of kin to the Earl of Fife;"[3] and Douglas, in his Baronage, repeats the statement.

The next deed relating to this subject is dated 1st September 1421, and shows that Hugh Arbuthnot, George Barclay, Alexander Falconer, William the Graham, Gilbert Midleton, Patrick Barclay, and Alexander of Graham, are received "to the lawes of Clane Macduff for the deid of quhillome John the Malaville, Laird of Glenbervy;" also "certaine and sicker burrouise—that is to say, David Barclay of Collarnis, the first broych that they ought of the lawes; David the Barclay of Leuchry, the second broych that they ought to have the lawes; Robert Barclay of Tonch or Towy the third burghe that they shall fulfill the lawes as the law will. Quhairfore to all and sundrie that it effeirs, firmly wee forbid on the King's halfe of Scotland and our Lord Mackduff, Duke of Albany, Earle of Fyfe and Monteith, and Governor of Scotland, that the said lawes hes in keeping, that no man take in hand to doe, molest, grieve, or wrange the foirsaid persons in their bodies, or in their geire, because of the deid of the said Johne of Malavill, and the payne that after lyes and forfaulting of the laws forsaid, and this present letter."[4]

From this instrument setting forth the replegiation of the accused parties to the court of the Earl of Fife, we gather that they had been required to find securities that they would establish—(1) their law-worthiness; (2) their title to the law of Clan Macduff; and (3) that they would fulfil that law as it might be declared.

In the case of Sir Alexander de Moravia it appears that he had been admitted to the benefit of trial by the law; but in the case of the slayers of the Laird of Glenbervy they had only claimed the privilege and were taken bound to establish their right to it.

We cannot therefore discover the grounds which were recognised as sufficient for this purpose, and which would emerge in the subsequent proof, but it would hardly be the test, for the first time brought forward by Skene, of the accused parties being in the ninth degree of kindred to the first Macduff, Earl of Fife. A charter quoted by Skene, by which David II. disponed the earldom of Fife, with all privileges, "et cum lege quæ vocatur Clan-Makduffe," to William Ramsay, who married Isabel, Countess of Fife, and his heirs, goes to show that the privilege of the "law" could be exercised by its possessor although of a different name and family from Earl Macduff; while the replegiation of the slayer of John Melville, which was made on the part of Robert, Duke of Albany and Earl of Fife, shows the same thing.

It is enacted by an assize of William the Lion that "nouther bischopis na abbotis na yit erlis na barounis na ony fre haldaris sal hald thar courtis bot giff the Kingis schireff or his serjand be thar or sommond to be thar for to se that the court be rychtuisly led And in ilke ane of thir courtis the four hede mutis sal be reservit to the Kingis oyse the quhilk pertenis til his croun that is to wyt of revising of women of reff of byrning and of murther."[5] It would seem, however, from the document now quoted, that the Earl of Fife could

[1] In the account of the issues of the lands and tenements of the Earl of Fife in 1293-95, the salary of the constable of the earl's castle of Cupar is entered. Duncan, Earl of Fife, who was slain in 1289, was buried in the abbey of Cupar (Chronicon de Lanercost, pp. 127, 478).

[2] Liber Insule Missarum, App. to Pref. p. xlix.

[3] Peerage of Scotland, p. 154. Edin. 1716.

[4] Analecta Scotica, vol. ii. p. 30. Edin. 1837. The document is printed from a copy, of which it is said the original is in the charter-room of Lord Arbuthnott.

[5] Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. i. p. 53.

repledge even from the court of the king. He was thus equal, in some respects, to the king, and his territory like a little kingdom.[1] Such a privilege must have been regarded as one of great importance in these tronbled times. It conferred on the Earl power and conseqnence, and entitled him to protect his followers, not merely from the judges of other conrts, hut from the bloody hand which wonld often have followed up the slaughter with another more cruel than the first. He was also ahle to act on the principles of that rude polity which valned life hy an equivalent in cows or money.

The nnmber of cows specified in Sir John Skene's traditional account of the "law" as kynbot, is the same as was payable to the king in the case "gif ony man plenzies of ony qnerel that pertenis til the kingis croune quhar for that batale may ryse, and gif he that is chalangyt falyhe in batale, the borowis of hym sal ansuer til the king of *ix ky and a colpyndouch*, and thai sal make assyth to the folowar of his chalange als mekyl as pertenis til his eschaipe."[2]

The earliest notice of the Cross Macduff, as we have seen, is in Sir John Skene's account, who says that it "divides Stratherne from Fife, and had the priviledge and libertie of girth," so that if a manslayer "within the ninth degree of kin to Makduffe, sometime Earl of Fife, came to that cross and gave nine cows and a quey, he was free of the slaughter committed by him."

No reference to this girth-stone occurs in the account of the law preserved by Fordun, Wyntown, Major, Boece, or Buchanan.

Sir John proceeds: "In the stanes of this cross I saw sindrie barbarous words and verses written quhilk here willingly I pretermit, and yet sum of them appearis to be conforme to this purpose; '*Propter Makgidrim et hoc oblatum, accipe smeleridem super lampade limpida labrum.*'"

Sir James Balfour informs us that the cross itself was destroyed by some of the "Congregation" on their way from Perth to Lindores in 1559, and he adds that even at that time the inscription was so "outworn, that he who copied the samen (given to Sir James by his son) had much ado to make words of some dispersed and outworn bare characters, these remaining to view being Roman, betwixt intermingled with Saxon, as appeared to Sir James's view."[3]

Sir John Skene saw the stones of the cross, on which he says were written sundry barharons words and verses, and in the first edition of Sibbald's work,[4] a drawing is given of a cross with the socket in which it is inserted. The inscription is made to extend across the transverse arms of the monument, and down the face of the shaft. This part of the inscription begins with certain letters obviously intended to represent the year 1059, the cio being on one arm, and lviiii on the other. Some nnintelligible letters occur on the shaft, and at its base the date is repeated.

The rest of the inscription is represented as on the pedestal in eleven lines, many of which are incomplete. The heginning of the first line is marked with asterisks, the first words heing "sive nek Faec." The seventh line hegins—

Et propter macgdrnm * * * . . . . . .
Et hoc oblatnm * . . . . * * *
Acipe.
Smeleridem snper limpada lampada
Labrum.

In the map of the sheriffdom of Fife prepared for Blaeu's Atlas by James Gordon, parson of Rothiemay, "Cross Mack Duff" appears; and his father, Robert Gordon of Straloch, in the accompanying description, refers to the monument as "Moles lapidea antiqui operis—Clan-Mac-Duffes Crosse—id est crnx familiæ Macdnff." On which he adds, "extahat vetns inscriptio nunc erasa tempore."[5]

Gordon assmnes that the inscription had heen upon the pedestal. Of the inscription, or its position on the cross, we should know nothing except from the copy said to have heen made hefore the alleged destrnction of the shaft in 1559. The person who made this copy "had much ado to make words of some dispersed and outworn characters." The son of this person gave the copy to Sir James Balfour, among whose papers it was found by Sihbald. From it Sibhald made the engraving which is to be found in the first edition of his History of Fife, and gave the reading which was "approved" hy Sir James. The same Plate contains a representation of the sculptured cross at Docton in Fifeshire, which does not serve to impress us with much confidence in Sibbald's accuracy. This monument has on each side a sculptured hoss, which Sibbald calls a "heast's head prominent." On one face is a man on horse-back. The horse is in a standing position, and the man, whose outline is very indistinct, and of the character commonly found on the early sculptured monuments of Scotland, carries a spear in his hand.[6] Sibbald represents the horse in a prancing attitude, and the man as in coat-armonr of the fifteenth century, with helmet and plnme, brandishing a weapon like a cutlass.

[1] Fife is called a *kynrick* by Wynton, *supra*, p. lxviii.
[2] Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. i. p. 72.
[3] Sibbald's History of Fife, p. 219. Cupar, 1803.
[4] Edin. 1710.
[5] Blaeu's Atlas of Scotland, p. 89.
[6] Sculptured Stones of Scotland, vol. i. Notices of the Plates, p. 16.

From Gordon's statement it appears that all traces of the inscription seen by Skene (who died in 1617) had disappeared before 1648, when the Laird of Straloch completed his descriptions and surveys for Blaeu's work.

Gordon applies the term "Cross-MacDuff" to the supposed pedestal, and makes no reference to the shaft. This portion still remains in its original site. It is a rough block of freestone somewhat of the shape of the pedestal to the cross at Mugdrum, having a very slight depression on the top, which it would be unsafe to take as the mark of a socket, if we had not been assured by Alexander Gordon[1] that, on his inspecting the pedestal in the early part of last century, he found "a large cavity where the cross anciently stood." So completely have the marks been obliterated, that in all recent notices of the pedestal it is taken for granted that there never was a socket. The material of which it is formed is of white sandstone, the nearest locality of which is the Lomonds, about eight miles south, with the hilly ridge of the Ochils intervening. The cross at Mugdrum is of the same material,[2] as well as the round tower of Abernethy. Nodules of iron pyrites occur in the stone, some of which have fallen out, leaving small holes in the sides. In the progress of tradition these were represented as nine in number, and as having each contained an iron staple and ring, to which the nine cows supposed to be payable to St. Magridden by the culprits were fastened. It was also alleged that they had to wash nine times, and that these ablutions were performed at springs called the Nine Wells, which still bubble up on the hill-side a short way westward of the cross.

The pedestal would naturally continue to be called a cross, although the cross itself might have been destroyed. In the Actes de Saint Josse, Pretre et Confesseur, who died about 668, it is recorded that, on the spot where he gave sight to a blind girl, a wooden cross was erected, which was afterwards removed to his monastery; "locus tamen isdem, in quo prius posita erat, usque in præsens, crux dicitur."[3] On the other hand, a pillar, or even a cairn, might have been called a cross, as we find in a boundary of certain lands of the monastery of Roton, fixed by King Solomon of Brittany about the middle of the ninth century, in which the line, after coming to certain great stones, proceeds: "Sicut vadit in via publica, ad acervum, id est crucem, ad quadrivium juxta ecclesiam Selefiac."[4]

Skene's expression appears to refer to something distinct from the pedestal, and yet Sir Robert Sibbald would seem to have expected inscriptions on the pedestal; for, writing of the verses, he says:—"When I saw them, time had so defaced them I could discern none upon the pedestal of the cross; the rest of it is gone" (p. 219). And Cunningham, whose work was published in 1678, says the inscription is now quite worn off the stone, at least altogether illegible[5]—thus taking it for granted that the inscription had been made on the stone then remaining, and taking no notice of the cross.

The reading of the supposed inscription, which, as we learn from Sibbald, was "approved" by Sir James Balfour, was—

"Maldraradum dragos, mairia, laghslita, largos,
Spalando spados, sive nig fig Knighthite gnaros
Lothea leudiscos laricingen lairia liscos
Et colovurtos sic fit tibi bursia burtus
Exitus, et bladadrum sive lim sive lam sive labrum
Propter Magridin et hoc oblatum
Accipe smeleridem super limthide lamthida labrum."

Sibbald also tells us that Sir James Dalrymple gives another version of the inscription in his second edition of Camden's Description of Scotland, pp. 134, 135, procured from "one Douglas in Newburgh, near to Cross Macduff"—

"Ara, urget lex quos, lare egentis atria lis, quos,
Hoc qui laboras, hæc fit tibi pactis portus,
Mille reum drachmas muletam de largior agris
Spes tantum pacis cum nex fit a nepote natis
Propter Macgidrum, et hoc oblatum accipe semel
Hæredum, super lymphato lapide labem."[6]

It is sufficiently obvious that, with the exception of the last two lines, these inscriptions are entirely fanciful, and could not have been copied from the same original.

Of the first version Cunningham says that it is Saxon "as to the main, aped in a Latin dress as to the main, with perhaps some words which might savour of a Danish or old French extract," and on this principle he reads it. He says that he got his copy from an ingenious gentleman, who told him that he got it from the clerk of Crail, where it had been engrossed as a true copy in their books for a considerable time. Sibbald conceives the inscription to be

[1] Itinerar. Septent. p. 164. Edin. 1727.

[2] New Stat. Acc. of Perthshire, p. 69.

[3] Morice, Memoires pour Servir de Preuves a l'Histoire Ecc. et Civil. de Bretagne, tom. i. p. 207.

[4] *Idem*, p. 309.

[5] An Essay upon the Inscription of Macduff's Crosse in Fyfe, by J. C., Edin. 1678. Reprinted in Scotia Rediviva, p. 261, Edin. 1826.

[6] History of Fife, pp. 220, 221.

a mixture of Latin, Saxonick, Danish, and old French words, with some which seem to be feigned for the matter's sake (p. 219).

It is impossible to believe that a monument with any such inscription could have been erected in Celtic Scotland in the middle of the eleventh century, or that any such gibberish was sculptured on a cross at a later time.[1]

It seems difficult, however, to doubt that Sir John Skene saw the lines in which the words "Propter Makidrim[2] et hoc oblatum" occur, while it appears that the rest was mostly unintelligible to him; and therefore that the version preserved by Sibbald is almost wholly fanciful.

It is remarkable, however, that the last two lines of the versions both of Balfour and Douglas are much alike, and that they also agree with the part of the inscription preserved by Sir John Skene. Except on the testimony of the latter, who asserts that he saw certain barbarous words and verses on the "stones of this cross," I would have been inclined to regard the whole account as apocryphal, as much of it undoubtedly is; especially from its unprecedented character, and from the absence of any notice of the stone in our early chronicles.

On the whole matter, there is clear evidence that the "law" of Clan Macduff included an unusual privilege in favour of the Earl of Fife and his posterity, in the case of unpremeditated slaughter, and that it was in operation in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, while it is said by Buchanan, writing after the middle of the sixteenth century, to have existed "usque ad ætatem patrum nostrorum quandiu scilicet ex ea familia superfuit quisquam."

This privilege entitled the Earl to repledge his kinsmen from all other courts to the judgment of his own officers, and to set them free on payment of a specified fine.

It is not said that the fine was payable to the injured party, and the words seen by Sir John Skene rather imply that it was offered to St. Magridden. This would require us to suppose that the privilege had a religious as well as a civil sanction, and that with the right of regality there was combined a right of girth, which was attached to Cross Macduff. And when we remember the general secularisation of the early monasteries—that Ethelred, the first known Earl of Fife, was also abbot of Dunkeld, while the second, Constantine, was "magnus judex in Scotia," and that tradition represents Macduff to have been the progenitor as well of the Macintoshes as of the Abernethys, both of them families of spiritual descent[3]—we need not be surprised at such a combination, or refuse to believe that the first Macduff may have represented a line of ancient abbots, on whom a privilege of girth had been conferred.

Cross Macduff is in Fifeshire, about one-third of a mile from its boundary with Perthshire. The boundary of the counties also comes near to the Cross of Mugdrum, which stands about a mile N.E. from Macduff's Cross.

The territory given to the church by Nectau included Abernethy, and extended "a lapide in Apurfeirt, usque ad lapidem juxta Cairfuil, id est Lethfoss, et inde in altum usque ad Athan."[4]

It has generally been supposed that Apurfeirt may be identified with the modern Aberargie, a village situated on the Farg, where that stream issues from the hills. It has also been suggested that "Cairfuil" is to be identified with Carpow, near to which the second stone was placed.

Whatever may have been the boundary of the territory on the east, we may gather that its southern limit was the watershed of the Ochil Hills, denoted by the expression "in altum." Of the concluding boundary, "usque ad Athan," I can say nothing; but my friend Mr. Alexander Laing, banker in Newburgh, who has devoted much attention to the subject, is inclined to think that it means the ford at Greenend of Aberargie.[5]

If this conjecture be correct, the territory of Abernethy would extend about four miles in length by about three in width, having the natural boundary of the Ochils on the south, the Earn and Tay on the north, and the Earn on the west. Near the west end of the territory the Earn makes a sudden bend to the south, which narrows the limits at that point. If we could suppose that the eastern limits of the territory came to be defined by the crosses of Mugdrum and Macduff, it would only be an instance of what is recorded of other early boundaries of ecclesiastical

[1] It is now impossible to test the supposed inscription by a comparison of the form of its letters with the character of contemporary writings. The uneven surface of some of our sculptured stones has on more than one occasion suggested the existence of inscriptions where not a trace of a letter can be discovered. I learn from Dr. Hibbert's Notes, that some observers found out a Gaelic inscription on the stone at Keilor (Sculptured Stones, vol. i. Plate CXII.), which Mr. Donald Gregory read as "The burying-place of the slain." A very careful examination of the stone (which is of rough gneiss) satisfied me that this inscription was entirely imaginary, and that some part of the pig-like animal at the top had been mistaken for letters. Some faint traces of ornament in one of the panels of the cross at Fordoun have at times been taken for remains of alphabetic writing (Arch. Scot. vol. ii. p. 317).

[2] "Old people at Newburgh, from the tradition of their fathers, say that it [the cross at Mugdrum] was dedicated to a great saint named Magrin; and the lands of Mugdrum where it stands were dedicated to his church; and they show a cairn, three miles east from the cross, on an eminence, on which is an obelisk of rough stones or nodules, which is called Magrin's Seat" (Letter from Mr. James Cant in 1774, printed in Letters to George Paton, p. 150. Edin. 1830). Mr. Skene suggests that Makidrim is a corrupted form of the word, under which St. Odran is referred to (Proc. of Antiqs. of Scotland, vol. iv. p. 318). A chapel in the parish of Dron, called "Ecclesmagirdle," was dedicated to him, and it has been said that the parish of Flisk was also dedicated to this saint (*Idem*).

[3] Mr. Joseph Robertson on Scholastic Offices in the Scottish Church in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, in Miscellany of the Spalding Club, vol. v. p. 75.

[4] Chron. Pict. in Innes' Critical Essay, p. 778.

[5] The word "ath" enters largely into the topography of Ireland, where it means a ford.

territories. In that case it may be supposed that these crosses would also have marked the limits of the girth of Abernethy.[1]

If Cross Macduff was really the girth of the "law" of that clan, its position on the boundary between the "kingdom" of Fife, and the territory granted by Nectan, and possibly between the latter and the territory of another monastery, may suggest some of the possible causes why the Lord of Abernethy is one of the "thre capytal" persons connected with "the law."

In later times, the attempts to penetrate the haze in which the privilege took its origin, may have been embodied in the alleged inscription.

The lands of Denmill, which comprehend the greater part of the parish of Abdie, formed a portion of the earldom of Fife, and near the village of Lindores are the vestiges of an ancient castle said to have been one of the residences of the old Earls of Fife. This parish adjoins Abernethy. It seems not improbable that we are to recognise in the name "Abdie," the lands of one of our early monasteries, which, as we know, came to be designated by the terms Abthen and Abden.[2] Both the cross at Mugdrum and that of Macduff, are popularly associated with St. Magriden, to whom, as we learn from Mr. Skene, the churches of Lindores or Abdie, and Flisk, were dedicated.[3] In the taxations of the thirteenth century the parish is written "Ebedy."[4] The church of Lundores, with the land belonging to it, was granted by David, Earl of Huntingdon, to the monastery which he founded on the banks of the Tay about the year 1178.

This church, as well as those of Abernethy and Forteviot, seems to have shared the general fate of the early ecclesiastical establishments, and to have become secularised. It was doubtless from his brother, William the Lion, that Earl David received the grant of Lundores or Ebedy, and we know that he granted the church of Abernethy to Arbroath, as he did that of Forteviot to Cambuskenneth.

By an indenture between the Abbot of Lundores and his burgesses of Newburgh, dated 4th July 1457, the abbot conveyed to the latter his land which is called Vodrufe, and the adjacent hill on the south, within the shire of Fife. In this is included the site of Cross Macduff, which would seem to have formed part of the land of the church of Lundores or Ebedy, conveyed in the original grant of Earl David to his new foundation at Lundores.[5]

The old church of Abdie stood on a hillock near the loch of Lindores. Two great pillars, called Lecker-stanes, stood, one on each side of the footpath leading from Glenburnie to the church, and were removed about sixty years ago to form part of an outhouse near the manse. Echoes of what may have been an earlier state of things have floated down in names such as "*the lecturer's inch*," which still remain.[6] A pillar-stone sculptured with a "crescent," and fibula, is figured in vol. i. Plate CII. It is now built into the wall of a house in the village of Lindores, and I learn that its original site was on a height immediately above the present one. A stone with the "crescent" and other figures (vol. i. Plate XLIX.) is built into a garden wall at Abernethy, and on the road from the town of Abernethy to Invernethy are "the Lecker-stanes."

Traces of the early importance of Abernethy, and of its married priests, occur in the notice of a donation, by Ethelred, Abbot of Dunkeld and Earl of Fife, of the lands of Admore, to the Culdees of Lochleven. This gift was confirmed by David and Alexander, the granter's brothers, in presence of Constantine, Earl of Fife, Cormac, son of Macbeath, and Malnethte, son of Beollan, priests of Abernethy, Berbeadh, rector of the schools of Abernethy, "et coram cetibus totius universitatis tunc de Abyrnethin ibidem degentibus."[7]

It has been supposed that the house of the old lords of Abernethy stood at Carpow, where foundations of ancient buildings have been discovered, some of the apartments of which appear to have been paved with tiles.[8]

[1] Since this was written I have been favoured with a communication from Mr. Laing, informing me that a large stone near the foot of the hill, standing on a boundary-point between the lands of Carpow and Clunie, is more likely to be the stone of the chronicle "juxta Cairfuil."

[2] In the charter of foundation of Arbroath, William the Lion grants to it the church of St. Mary of Old Munros, with the land of the same, which in Scotch is called Abthen. It is afterwards called "terra abbacie de Munros" (Registr. de Aberbrothoc, pp. 4, 67. See Notices of the Plates, pp. 10, 11).

[3] Proceedings of the Soc. of Antiquaries of Scotland, vol. iv. p. 318.

[4] Regist. de Dunfermelyn, p. 208.

[5] Liber S. Marie de Lundores, p. 5.

[6] The Lecturer, or Ferleiginn, was an officer in the early Scoto-Irish Church. See Miscellany of Spalding Club, vol. v. App. to Pref. p. 72.

[7] Registr. Priorat. Sancti Andree, p. 116.

[8] New Stat. Acc. of Perthshire, p. 851.

X. ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE SYMBOLS.

The symbols on the ancient sculptured stones of Scotland admit of the following classification :—

They appear on sixty-seven rude undressed pillars, generally of granite or whinstone, and on these monuments they are invariably *incised*, and almost universally only on one face. When the symbols appear on the crosses, they sometimes continue to be incised, while the rest of the sculpture is in relief.[1]

Of these sixty-seven pillars, three occur in the district between the Forth and the Tay ; six between the Tay and the Dee ; thirty-six between the Dee and the Spey ; and twenty-one in the country to the north of the Spey. One is at Edinburgh.

In the same districts, there are forty-three upright slabs, of which both faces are sculptured ; most of them are more or less dressed, and they are generally of sandstone. On these, the symbols are figured along with crosses of varying design and art. Twenty-seven occur between the Forth and the Dee ; six between the Dee and the Spey ; and ten are found to the north of the Spey. None occur south of the Forth.

The comparative numbers of the symbols, on the monuments of both kinds, may be thus stated :—

Crescent	5	
Do. with sceptre	48	
	—	53
Elephant		33
Spectacles	8	
Do. with sceptre	34	
	—	42
Comb		20
Mirror		35
Mirror-case		7
Serpent[2]	6	
Do. with sceptre	7	
	—	13
Fibula		8
Fish[3]		11
Oblong object	1	
Do. with sceptre	8	
	—	9
Horse-shoe figure	10	
Do. with sceptre	1	
	—	11

The relative number of instances in which the symbols occur on the pillar-stones and cross-slabs will be seen from the following table :—

	Pillar-stones.	Cross-slabs.
Crescent	2	3
Crescent with sceptre	28	20
Elephant	13	19
Spectacle ornament	5	5
Do. with sceptre	18	14
Comb	12	8
Mirror	21	14
Mirror and comb on same stone[4]	9	8
Mirror-case	5	2
Serpent	1	5
Serpent with sceptre	3	4
Fibula	5	3
Fish	7	4
Oblong object	0	1
Do. with sceptre	6	2
Horse-shoe figure	10	0
Do. with sceptre	0	1
Birds	4	2

Flowers occur six times ; four times on crosses and twice on pillar-stones. The dog's or other animal's head appears five times—in all cases on the cross-pillars. It is also found on the Norrie's Law silver ornament, and in one of the caves in Fife. Men, with heads of birds or beasts, occur ten times—always on the crosses.

The geographical distribution of the symbols will be gathered from the following abstract :—

	Crescent.	Elephant.	Spectacles.	Comb.	Mirror.	Mirror and Comb together.	Serpent.	Fibula.	Oblong Object.	Horse-shoe Ornament.
Between the rivers Forth and Dee	15	15	17	8	11	6	7	3	1	1
Between the rivers Dee and Spey	18	12	14	7	12	7	4	4	5	6
North of the Spey	19	6	10	5	11	4	2	1	3	4
South of the Forth	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0

	Fish.	Birds.
Between the Forth and Dee	3	1
Between the Dee and Spey	4	4
North of Spey	4	1
South of Forth	—	—

[1] Aberlemno, Plate LXXIX. ; Fordoun, Plate LXVII.

[2] I exclude ten serpents which are not associated with symbols.

[3] I exclude fish where they appear pictorially.

[4] The mirror and comb also occur together on the comparatively modern slab at Keils.

The symbols appear on a stone at Edinburgh, but they are not found on the pillars or crosses in the country lying on the south of this. They occur once in Galloway, not on a pillar, but on an exposed surface of rock in the parish of Anwoth.

Although the same symbols are repeated on the different stones, there is generally a difference in the arrangement. In only three cases are they repeated in exactly the same order.[1] Occasionally the same figure occurs twice on the same stone, as on the slab at Dunfallandy, where the elephant, and crescent with sceptre, occur twice, but differently disposed, and as if applicable to different groups of individuals in the picture. At times, the symbols appear in panels, separated from the other figures, as at St. Madoes, where three symbols are figured in three panels at the base of the slab, and three mounted horsemen are represented above.

Twice the crescent is double—viz. at Kintore and Ulbster. On the cross-slab at Ulbster, there appear both a crescent and a double crescent. On a pillar at Kintore there is an elephant on each side of the stone, the figure in one case being inverted (vol. i. Plate CX.) On the stone at South Ronaldshay a crescent occurs on each side (vol. i. Plate XCVI.) On the cross-slab at Glenferness are two elephants (vol. i. Plate XXIV.) On the stone at Daviot are two crescents. At Rosemarkie there are three crescents and two mirrors on the same face. On one of the pillars at Logie the spectacle ornament appears to have been twice cut—in one case with the sceptre. The upper sculpture has been partially erased, and in place of it the crescent with sceptre has been substituted.

At Monifieth, the spectacles occur twice on the same face—one of them with the sceptre. On this stone the comb and mirror also appear (vol. ii. Plate LXXXI.)

The symbols occur in all sorts of juxtaposition. On one rude pillar are found the mirror, comb, and two crescents.[2] On another a fibula, spectacle ornament, and mirror.[3] Then the mirror, serpent, and spectacles are found together at Insch.[4] At Inveravon are the mirror, comb, and bird, with a mirror-case, which is of the same shape as the mirror.[5]

On the cross-slab called "The Maiden Stone,"[6] we have the mirror and comb, elephant, and oblong figure with crescent. On the cross-slab at Dyce[7] are the crescent, spectacles, fibula, and oblong figure. On that at Elgin[8] the spectacles and crescent. On the cross-slab at Brodie[9] are the elephant and spectacles. On that at Golspie[10] are the spectacles, crescent, fish, elephant, and object like a case. On the cross-slab at Dunfallandy[11] are two crescents, two elephants, and the spectacle ornament. At Migvie[12] the spectacles with sceptre, horse-shoe with sceptre, and shears, occur together.

The stone at Deer[13] was an unhewn pillar, with the cross cut on one side, and the symbols on the other. The stone at Migvie[14] is also an unhewn pillar, on which the cross and symbols appear on the same side.

The two floriated lines, called a sceptre, occur only with four of the symbols—viz. the spectacle ornament, the crescent, the horse-shoe, and oblong figure.

The floriated terminations of the sceptres are in almost every case different.

Besides the oft-recurring symbols, a figure occurs occasionally which, in some of its forms, resembles a case or cover.[15]

Double combs are seen on the Maiden Stone, vol. i. Plate XI.; at Kirriemuir, Plate XLIII.; at Meigle, Plate LXXIII.; at Kingoldrum, Plate LXXXIX.; and at Dunrobin, Plate CXII. The single comb, with ornamented back, occurs at Daviot, vol. i. Plate IV.; at Dunrobin, Plate XXXIII.; and at Dunnichen, Plate XCII.

On the forty-three cross-slabs where the symbols occur, they are thus disposed :—

Twenty-four cross-slabs have the symbols sculptured on the side opposite to that on which the cross is figured.

Twelve cross-slabs have the symbols on the same side as the cross.

In three cases, the cross appears on both sides, with the symbols on one side. In other three, the symbols are given on both sides, and the cross on one side. In one case, the cross and the symbols appear on both sides.

In the first class, the cross generally occupies the centre of the face, each side of which is filled up with grotesque animals, or ornamental patterns, while the symbols occur on the other face amid pictorial representations

[1] The figures on the pillar at Logie, vol. i. Plate IV., are repeated on that at Crichie, vol. i. Plate X. Those on the Bruceton Stone, vol. i. Plate CXI., are repeated on that at Congash, vol. ii. Plate CVII. The figures on the pillars at Tyrie, vol. i. Plate XIII., and at Birnie, vol. i. Plate XVII., are similarly arranged.

[2] Daviot, vol. i. Plate IV.

[3] Clatt, vol. i. Plate V.

[4] Insch, vol. i. Plate VI.

[5] Inveravon, vol. i. Pate XV.

[6] Maiden Stone, vol. i. Plate II.

[7] Dyce, vol. i. Plate IX.

[8] Elgin, vol. i. Plate XVI.

[9] Brodie, vol. i. Plate XXII.

[10] Golspie, vol. i. Plate XXXIV.

[11] Dunfallandy, vol. i. Plate XLVII.

[12] Migvie, vol. i. Plate LXXVIII.

[13] Deer, vol. i. Plate XI.

[14] Migvie, vol. ii. Plate LXXVIII.

[15] Vol. i.—at Old Deer, Plate X.; at Golspie, Plate XXXIV.; at South Ronaldshay, Plate XCVI.; at Sandness, Plate CXXXVIII. Vol. ii.—at Strathmartin, Plate CI.; at Firth, Plate CIV.; near Granton, Plate CVI.; at Keils, Plate LVII.

of the chase or the like. In the second, the symbols appear at the sides of the cross, in place of, or alongside the grotesque animal forms ; in some cases, where the cross is short, the symbols are represented beneath it.

The illustrative Plates of symbols here given, have been prepared with the view of indicating their development from the outline form in which they first appear on the rude pillars, to that in which the outline is filled up with the ornamental devices of the cross-slabs. The differences of form which occur in some of them may thus be traced, while the drawings at the same time preserve the varying position of the symbols on the stones.

The facts connected with the sites of the symbol monuments may be thus stated :—

Forty-four symbol pillars have been found on sites unconnected with any ecclesiastical foundations.

Twenty-five symbol pillars have been found in or near to churches, most of them on early ecclesiastical sites.

Fourteen cross-stones, with symbols, have been found on sites unconnected with churches, and twenty-nine cross-stones have been found in, or in connection with churches.

Seven pillar-stones, with symbols, have been found on cairns or mounds ; five in connection with cists, four in connection with stone circles.

Two cross-stones with symbols, and two crosses without symbols, have been found in connection with cists.

Of the symbol pillars connected with churches, five have been found in the foundations of old buildings, and three of the cross-stones with symbols have been found in the like position.

The figures in the pictorial representations of the crosses have been already enumerated (p. xviii.)

XI. THE ART OF THE SCULPTURED STONES.

The symbol-figures on the pillar-stones are formed by a single incised line, and are generally destitute of any ornamental accessories of a definite style of art.

The floriated terminations of the "sceptre" appear, however, in considerable variety. An attempt is sometimes made to represent the feathers of a bird by a set of angular lines;[1] at other times the plumage is indicated by long flowing lines and circular figures.[2]

Sometimes the crescent and fibula,[3] as also the mirror and case and spectacles,[4] are filled up with ornamental patterns. These are formed at times of simple curved lines, and circles with dots in the centre; but in some of them[5] we can detect traces of the spiral ornament which came to form so prominent a feature on the pillars, both in the symbols there introduced, and in the decoration of the crosses, as well as in the illuminations of early Celtic manuscripts, and the bronze ornaments of what has been styled "the late Celtic period."[6]

As we have not yet discovered any examples of sculpture agreeing with that of the symbol-figures of the Scotch pillars, we are unable to associate the style by which they are characterised with any other.

But when these symbols are introduced on the cross-pillars, where they frequently partake of the same ornamental patterns as the crosses themselves, we at once recognise an identity of style between these ornamental patterns and the illuminations of early Irish manuscripts of the Gospels.

The date of some of these manuscripts being sufficiently ascertained, it is of importance to notice the harmony between their illuminations and the ornamentation of our Scotch crosses, as we thus obtain an aid towards fixing the date of the latter.

"The peculiarities of the Irish style consist, first, in the entire absence of foliage or other phyllomorphic or vegetable ornament—the classical acanthus being entirely ignored; and secondly, in the extreme intricacy and excessive minuteness and elaboration of the various patterns, mostly geometrical, consisting of interlaced ribbon-work, diagonal or spiral lines, and strange monstrous animals and birds, with long top-knots, tongues, and tails intertwining in almost endless knots. The most sumptuous of the manuscripts—such for instance as the Book of Kells, the Gospels of Lindisfarne and St. Chad, and some of the manuscripts at St. Gall—have entire pages covered with the most elaborate patterns in compartments, the whole forming beautiful cruciform designs, one of these facing the commencement of each of the four Gospels. The labour employed in such a mass of work must have been very great; the care infinite, since the most scrutinising examination with a magnifying glass will not detect an error in the truth of the lines or the regularity of the interlacing; and yet with all this minuteness the most harmonious effect of colouring has been introduced."[7]

As an instance of this intricate minuteness, Mr. Westwood, from whose paper on Celtic Ornament I have just quoted, adds that in one of the illuminated pages in the Gospels of St. Chad which he copied, he found not fewer than 120 of the most fantastic animals; while in the Book of Armagh he counted no less than 158 interlacements of a slender ribbon pattern, in a space measuring scarcely three-quarters of an inch by less than half-an-inch in width.

Mr. Westwood elsewhere says, that "the principles of these most elaborate ornaments are, however, but few in number, and may be reduced to the four following—1*st.* One or more narrow ribbons diagonally but symmetrically interlaced, forming an endless variety of patterns. 2*d.* One, two, or three slender spiral lines, coiling one within another till they meet in the centre of the circle, their opposite ends going off to other circles. 3*d.* A vast variety of lacertine animals and birds, hideously attenuated, and coiled one within another, with their tails, tongues, and top-knots forming long narrow ribbons irregularly interlaced. 4*th.* A series of diagonal lines, forming various kinds of Chinese-like patterns. These ornaments are generally introduced into small compartments, a number of which are arranged so as to form the large initial letters and borders, or tesselated pages, with which the finest manuscripts were decorated."[8]

[1] As at Inveravon, vol. i. Plate XV., and at Tyrie, *idem*, Plate XIII.

[2] Near Dingwall, vol. i. Plate CVIII.

[3] At Dunrobin, vol. i. Plate XXXIII.; Abernethy, Plate XLIX.; South Ronaldshay, Plate XCVI.; Lindores, Plate CII.; Inverury, Plate CXIII.; Kintore, Plate CXX.

[4] At Arndilly and Inveravon, vol. i. Plate XV.; at Fordoun, Plate LXVII.

[5] At Dunnichen, Plate XCII.; South Ronaldshay, Plate XCVI.; Inverury, Plate CXIII. No. 2.

[6] Kemble's Horæ Ferales, p. 172.

[7] Grammar of Ornament, by Owen Jones, under "Celtic Ornament," p. 3.

[8] Palæographia Sacra Pictoria, "Book of Kells," p. 2. See also Archæol. Journal, vol. x. p. 283, *et seq.*; and Jones's Grammar of Ornament, "Celtic Ornament," p. 4.

Mr. Westwood, after describing the excessive intricacy of the ornaments, says that it is the more extraordinary "because the attempts to represent the human figure, or to depict events, made by the same artists, are entirely puerile and barbarous."[1]

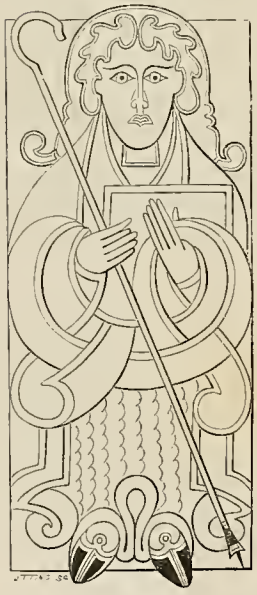
Dr. Keller has, in the same way, remarked: "As regards the representation of the human figure, it strikes the observer at the first glance that the designer of these drawings aimed chiefly at symmetry, which is manifest not only in the flow of the drapery, but in the disposition of the hair, the feet, hands, and other parts of the body. In most cases the left side of the figure corresponds exactly with the right; and in consequence of this, the picture has very much the appearance of carved work unskilfully executed, such as is frequently to be seen on wainscotting and furniture of the middle ages. In order to attain this architectural uniformity, the figures, therefore, are nearly all given in front view. They are human figures, but stiff and lifeless; and as the painter did not aim at truth and correctness, still less at elegance of delineation, the proportions of all the parts of the body are quite neglected. Sometimes the head is immoderately large in proportion to the body; sometimes the feet and hands much too small, and the legs too short. The latter, as well as the arms, are indeed mostly covered by the drapery, but their existence is not indicated by any disturbance of the folds; and wherever they do appear visible, they are badly drawn and deformed. The hands, with their long fingers extended parallel to each other, are devoid of all articulation, and are merely treated as portions of an ornamental design; they are often so incorrectly drawn that the inside seems turned outwards. The toes of the two feet have frequently their extremities turned in the same direction, and by the manner in which they are drawn show that the painter was totally ignorant of the art of foreshortening. The face, usually round, is quite devoid of expression. The eyes are almost always too large, and the nostrils are drawn as if seen from below. The mouth and ears have no character, and are merely like ornaments. The hair of the head is long, and flows down over the shoulders, usually divided into snake-like ringlets; and the beard is often treated in a similar style."[2]

Dr. Waagen writes to the same effect of the Irish illuminations: "The total absence of a proper conception of the forms of men and animals, and the inability to reproduce them, joined to the remarkably perfect taste in arabesque ornaments, and a rare knack in executing them, has here called forth deformities of a hideousness which no one can form an idea of without having seen them."[3]

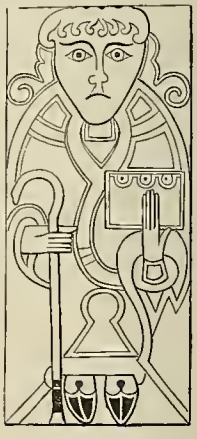
This style is observable not only in ancient MSS. still to be found in Ireland, or in English collections, but in the libraries of those early monasteries founded by Irish missionaries, such as that of St. Gall by St. Gall, and of Bobbio and Luxieu by St. Columbanus.

The following examples serve to illustrate the remarks just quoted:—

The two figures below are inteuded for the Evangelists St. Matthew and St. Luke; they are copied from the Gospels of MacDurnan, a work of which the ornamental illuminations are exquisitely drawn, as will be seen from the specimens in the Illustrative Plates, Nos. III. and IV., where the human figures may be contrasted with the ornamental patterns of the surrounding borders. The Evangelists are here represented as ecclesiastics, St. Matthew holding in one hand a long pastoral staff, and St. Luke the short episcopal cambutta, while each bears in the other hand a volume, probably his own Book of the Gospels.[4]



ST. MATTHEW.



ST. LUKE.

The next drawings are copied from a manuscript of the Psalter in the British Museum, attributed to the ninth or early part of the tenth century. The first of these, according to Mr. Westwood, "represents the combat between David and Goliath, the former of whom holds in his left hand his shepherd's staff, terminated appropriately in a dog's head, whilst in his right haud, suspended from the little finger, he holds one end of his sling, from which he has just discharged a stone, which is seen about to strike the head of Goliath. The figure of the latter, although very strange, is sufficiently expressive. By figuring him kneeling upon one knee, the artist has contrived to introduce him into the picture of a larger size; whilst this attitude, combined with his shut eye, and his hand held up to protect his face, indicate his fear of the coming stone. He wears a conical helmet, his beard is long and plaited, and he carries a small circular shield ornamented with concentric rings variously coloured. Across

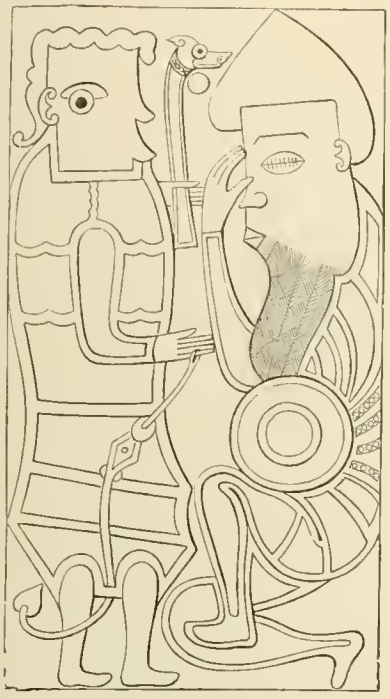
[1] Archæol. Journal, vol. x. p. 279.

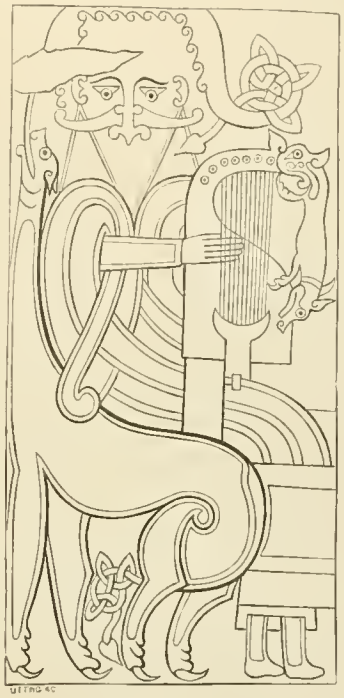
[2] "Illuminations and Facsimiles from Irish Manuscripts in the Swiss Libraries," translated, with notes, by Dr. Reeves, in Ulster Journal of Archæology, vol. viii. p. 227.

[3] Article in German Art Journal, No. xi., translated in Ulster Journal of Arch. vol. viii. p. 306.

[4] The volume is described by Mr. Westwood in Archæol. Journal, vol. vii. p. 22, where the woodcuts here given first appeared. See also Palæographia Sacra Pictoria, by the same author, under "Irish Manuscripts," where he describes a Psalter in the library of St. John's College, Cambridge, as agreeing with the first in style and date.

the middle of his body is apparently a representation of plate-armour, indicated by rows of round rivet-heads. As a representation of an Irish, or rather Celtic warrior, of the ninth century, this drawing is extremely valuable."[1]





"The other drawing, from the same manuscript, represents David playing on the harp, and will be equally interesting to the Irish antiquary, as the earliest pictorial representation of that favourite instrument, the form of which, although curious, is not very elegant. It is furnished with twelve strings, although there are only seven pegs round which they are fastened. The long plaited and curled hair, the long moustachios, and the pointed beard, will be noticed, as well as the curious seat, formed of an animal with a long neck, on which the Psalmist is seated."

Mr. Westwood and Dr. Waagen have pointed out that the style differed from that of any other then known in Europe. The latter remarks: "It may be assumed as a settled fact that the style of ornamentation, consisting of artistic convolutions and the mingled fantastic forms of animals—such as dragons, snakes, and heads of birds—of which we discover no trace in Græco-Roman art, was not only invented by the Celtic people of Ireland, but had obtained a high development." Mr. Westwood reminds us, that of the copies of the Holy Scriptures sent into England by St. Gregory with the mission of St. Augustine, two are still preserved, and that they are different in the character of the writing from the Irish, as well as remarkable for their wanting the ornamentation which is so prominent in these. "All the most ancient Italian manuscripts are entirely destitute of ornamental elaboration."[2]

Mr. Digby Wyatt also says: "Thus we have the Gospels of St. Columba, the Leabhar Dhimma or Gospels of St. Dhimma MacNathi, and the MacRegol Gospels, in the Bodleian Library. All of these are anterior to the ninth century, and are distinguished by an elaborate style of ornament unlike any other European type."[3]

Mr. Westwood has treated the question of the age of these Irish manuscripts, and concludes that the Book of Kells, the Gospels of St. Dhimma Mac-Nathi, and the Bodleian Gospels written by MacRegol, have been satisfactorily assigned to periods not later than the ninth century.[4] The writer of the Book of Armagh, or Gospels of St. Patrick, died in 845, having completed his compilation from earlier materials about the year 807.[5]

The Gospels of the Irish St. Kilian, the great apostle of Franconia, who was martyred towards the end of the seventh century, were found in his tomb A.D. 743, and are still preserved at Wurtzburgh. They are described by Mr. Wyatt and Mr. Noel Humphreys as adorned with designs similar to those of the early Irish MSS.[6]

A catalogue by the monks of St. Gall of their library, compiled in the first half of the ninth century, contains

[1] Mr. Westwood on "Irish Illuminated Manuscripts," Archæol. Journ. vol. vii. pp. 24, 25.

[2] Grammar of Ornament, "Celtic Ornament," p. 2.

[3] Art of Illuminating, p. 14. Lond. 1860.

[4] Palæographia Sacra Pictoria, "The Gospels of Mæiel Brith MacDurnan;" Grammar of Ornament, under "Celtic Ornament," p. 2.

[5] Dr. Reeves in Adamnan's Life of St. Columba, p. 142, *note*; and Ancient Churches of Armagh, p. 45.

[6] Art of Illuminating, by Wyatt, p. 16.

the titles of many works in the early Irish character ("*Scottice scripti*"), whose illuminations are identical with those in the Irish Gospels.[1]

The Book of the Gospels of St. Cuthbert, known as the Durham Book, was written in honour of God and St. Cuthbert, by Eadfrith, a monk of Lindisfarne, who became the successor of Cuthbert in the see, in 698. This manuscript was greatly enriched by Bishop Æthelwald, who succeeded Eadfrith in 721, and caused St. Cuthbert's book to be richly illuminated by the hermit Bilfrith, who prefixed an elaborate painting of an Evangelist to each of the four Gospels. In addition to the illuminated title-pages, each of the five divisions of the volume is preceded by a page completely covered with coloured tesselated patterns of the utmost intricacy, generally disposed so as to form a cruciform design in the centre of the page. "This elaborately beautiful feature," says Mr. Westwood, "is entirely peculiar to MSS. executed in Ireland, or by the Irish scholars." We shall not be much surprised at this conformity to Irish models when we recollect that Lindisfarne was a daughter of Iona, and had doubtless formed and diffused a school of art, as well as religion, among the Saxons; while we are prepared to recognise a different air in the portraits and some of the designs, as well as in the arrangement of the written lines, from the concurrence of another school of art in the work.

From various facts noticed by Mr. Westwood and Mr. Ferguson,[2] it may be gathered that such works as the Book of Kells and the Book of Durrow were of an earlier date than the eighth century, and might even be of a date contemporary with St. Columba, by whom they are traditionally said to have been written. We may be sure that the Irish style of ornamentation was practised about the beginning of the eighth century, when the Book of the Gospels of St. Cuthbert was illuminated. "The Book of Armagh comes nearest in point of date to this work, and it is impossible to contrast the illuminations of the former [the Book of Armagh] with those of the latter, published by Strutt, Astle, and Shaw, and these again with the illuminated page represented in my second plate, without being convinced of their striking resemblance, and at the same time of their want of resemblance to the ornaments of the Irish manuscripts executed after the tenth century."[3]

This style of ornamentation, so characteristic of the illuminations of early Irish manuscripts, is to be found also on the ornamental metal-work of the period, and is reproduced on the cross-pillars of Scotland, and on some of the Irish crosses. Of these Mr. Westwood says, the designs "are, in many cases, so entirely the counterparts of those of the manuscripts as to lead to the conclusion that the designers of the one class of ornaments supplied also the designs for the other. So completely, indeed, is this the case in some of the great stone crosses, that we might almost fancy we were examining one of the pages of an illuminated volume with a magnifying glass."[4]

And again: "The ornaments with which a considerable number of these monuments are sculptured correspond almost entirely with those which are found in the finest Irish and earliest Anglo-Saxon MSS. The interlaced ribbon pattern, the interlaced lacertine or other zoomorphic pattern, the spiral pattern, and the diagonal pattern, are all found on these [the Scotch] stones, as elaborately and carefully executed as in the Book of Kells or the Gospels of Lindisfarne; occurring sometimes as surface decorations of the cross, or at others as marginal borders or frames to the design, being arranged in panels, just as in the MSS. The reverse, for instance, of the Nigg Stone, might also be supposed to have been designed by the artist who composed the decorations of that most beautiful frontispiece to the MS. of the Commentaries on the Psalms, by Cassiodorus, in the cathedral library at Durham."[5]

The remarkable coincidence of the style of ornament of the MSS. and the decorated cross-pillars, concurs with other circumstances in leading us to believe that the period of the execution of these cross-pillars may probably have been in the seventh and eighth centuries. The difference, however, in the mode of representing the human figure, as well as the forms of animals, is equally remarkable, and seems to point to some foreign influence as the source of the truthful and spirited portraiture of both which is found on the Scotch stones. This difference will be recognised by comparing the human figures in the preceding woodcuts with those on the fragment at Drainie (Plate CXXX. vol. i.), which seems to represent David in conflict with the lion, and on the slab at St. Andrews (Plate LXI. vol. i.), where, among other scenes, David and the lion again occur; in both of these, the figures, the drapery, and accessories, are represented with equal grace and freedom, while many of the horses and deer in the hunting scenes of the Scotch stones are also sculptured with great spirit and naturalness.[6]

The harmony between the ornamentation of the Irish illuminations and the Scotch crosses will be understood

[1] Palæographia Sacra Pictoria, Anglo-Saxon Gospels, p. 3.

[2] Notes on Ornamentation in "The Cromlech on Howth," p. 10, Lond. 1861.

[3] Palæographia Sacra Pict., "Gospel of MacDurnan," pp. 7, 8; Book of Kells, p. 2.

[4] Grammar of Ornament, "Celtic Ornament," p. 3.

[5] Arch. Journal, vol. xiv. p. 186.

[6] Dr. Wilde has remarked of the figures on our Scotch cross-slabs:—"We find many examples of costume that serve to illustrate in a remarkable manner the dress of the ancient Irish, or the Celtic race generally. The hooded cloak or cochal, in particular, is so well represented as to leave no doubt respecting its shape and the way in which it was worn. See in particular the plate of the pillar-stone at St. Madoes, near Perth. On that monument there are three equestrian figures, not unlike those from the Book of Kells, represented at p. 300 of this work: each is in the same attitude, with the legs projected forwards, and the body covered with a short triangular cloak, the hood of which is carried up over the head" (Catalogue of the Antiquities in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, p. 311).

by a reference to the illustrative facsimiles at the end of this article (Plates III. and IV.), from the Books of Durrow and MacDurnan, as specimens of the former.

The first of these, Book of Durrow, now one of the treasures of the library of Trinity College, Dublin, is a copy of the Gospels, formerly preserved in the monastery of Durrow, founded by St. Colnmba. It has been said by one well qualified to give an opinion, that this manuscript approaches, if it does not reach, to the Columbian age.[1] An inscription on the silver case in which this book was kept shows that it was venerable in age, and a reliquary, in 916.[2]

The volume of the Gospels of MacDurnan is in the library of the Archbishop of Canterbury at Lambeth. It contains the four Gospels in Latin, written in minuscule Irish characters, and its illuminations resemble those of the other Irish Gospels of early date. MacDurnan, the writer, died in the year 927; and it appears from an inscription in Anglo-Saxon characters, written on a blank leaf of the volume, that it was presented by Athelstan, king of the Saxons, who began his reign in the year 925, to the church of Canterbury.[3]

It is interesting to compare these Irish illuminations with those of the Book of Deir, which may be presumed to be a work of Scotch art, of a period not later than the volume of MacDurnan, and it will be remarked in the specimens here given (Illustrative Plates, Nos. V. VI. VII. and VIII.), that the ornamental patterns composing the surrounding borders are identical with those on many of the crosses, and that the design of the latter is, in some cases, the same as that of a page of the manuscripts, showing a rich border round the margin of the stone, with pictorial representations inside. The peculiar art of the Irish illuminations and the Scotch crosses is found in many bronze relics of the early Christian period, as well as in those of an earlier age.

Mr. Franks has engraved several beautiful bronze specimens of this period in the "Horæ Ferales" of the late lamented Mr. Kemble, where he has styled it "the late Celtic." The trumpet, or double spiral pattern, is one of the most prominent features of the ornamentation of these bronzes, and of it Mr. Kemble thus spoke, in his admirable address to the members of the Royal Irish Academy, in 1857 :—

"There is a peculiar development of the double spiral line, totally unknown to the Greeks, the Etruscans, and the nations of the Teutonic North, which is essentially characteristic not only of the Scoto-Keltic, but the Britanno-Keltic populations of these islands. If the lines are allowed to diverge, instead of following one another closely in their windings, they produce that remarkable pattern which since a few years we have been in the habit of calling the trumpet pattern, and which, from one of its peculiarities, is sometimes called the *thumb* pattern. When this is represented in a plane surface, in the illuminations of MSS., you have that marvellously beautiful result which is familiar to you in the 'Book of Kells;' to us in the 'Book of St. Cuthbert,' or 'The Durham Book,' in the British Museum; and in the equally beautiful records of Scoto-Keltic self-devotion and culture in the MSS. of St. Gall in Switzerland. When, as is often the case in metal, this principle of the diverging spiral line is carried out in *repoussé*—when you have those singularly beautiful curves—more beautiful perhaps in the parts that are not seen than in those that meet the eye—whose beauty, revealed in shadow more than in form—you have a peculiar characteristic—a form of beauty which belongs to no nation but our own, and to no portion of our nation but the Keltic portion." "The trumpet pattern is neither Greek, nor Roman, nor Oriental. There is nothing like it in Etruscan art; there is nothing like it in German or Slavonic art; there is little like it in Gallic or Helvetian art; it is indigenous, gentlemen;—the art of those Keltic tribes, which forced their way into these islands of the Atlantic, and, somewhat isolated here, developed a peculiar but not the less admirable system of their own."[4]

The drawings on next page are good illustrations of the principle of the spiral ornamentation in early manuscripts. The first is copied from the heading of one of the large initial letters of the Gospels of St. Gall; while the second "is the magnified representation of one of the small compartments (about three-quarters of an inch square) in one of the grand tesselated pages in the Gospels of Lindisfarne, in which great variety is produced by separating the spiral lines in the centre of each whorl, and giving them various terminations, sometimes having very much the appearance of the head of an animal with gaping jaws. I believe I may safely affirm that such a design is not to be found in the ornamental work of any ancient people except the Irish, British, and early Anglo-Saxons."[5] They are both probably of the eighth century.

Mr. Westwood has also described the spiral ornament as peculiarly characteristic of the early works of art of these islands, and described its appearance on many of their remains. He informs us that "the spiral ornament is not found on any of the carved stone-crosses of Wales, while it occurs on those of Scotland;" and he gives a solitary instance of its occurrence in sculpture in England on the font of Deerhurst Church, adding: "Judging from the

[1] Dr. Reeves in Adamnan's Life of St. Columba, *notes*, p. 276.

[2] *Idem*, p. 327.

[3] Westwood's Palæographia Sacra Pictoria, "The Gospels of MacDurnan," p. 10.

[4] "An Address delivered to the President and Members of the Royal Irish Academy, at their meeting, February 9, 1857" (Dublin 1857, pp. 24, 27).

[5] See a paper by Mr. Westwood on "Early British, Anglo-Saxon, and Irish Ornamentation," in the Arch. Journ. vol. x. pp. 297-300, where the woodcuts here given first appeared.

figure, and bearing in mind that this style of ornament was not used in MSS. in England after the ninth century, this may be the oldest ornamented font in England."[1]

The peculiar art of the bronzes, manuscripts, and crosses, appears on the silver ornaments found at Norries Law figured on next page, and in vol. i. Plate CXXXI. The same style characterises a silver pin, found with other silver relics within a stone circle at Gaulcross, in Banffshire, represented on Plate IX. of the Illustrations to this article.[2]

As a specimen of its appearance on a bronze relic of the early Christian period, I give a drawing (Plate X. of the Illustrations) of a Crucifixion in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, showing many of the patterns of the Scotch crosses. The style of this object suggests its very early date, and I am glad to record the opinion of the late Dr. Petrie, given very shortly before his lamented death, that it is a thousand years old.[3]

The ornamentation of the bronze mirror and plate found at Balmaclellan in Galloway (figured in Appendix to the Preface, p. x.), connects these objects with the same early period.

The ornamentation of the casket or reliquary at Monymusk, as will be seen from the drawings on Plate XI. of the Illustrations, has much in common with that of the sculptured crosses, and it may well be the work of the same hands by which the intricate patterns of the crosses were formed. Unfortunately, nothing of the early history of this relic is known; but the circumstance of its having been found in the house of Monymusk, which was erected on the ruins of the monastery of that name, an early Culdean foundation, by one of a family who got possession of the monastic lands, and its conformity in style to that of the Scotch crosses, render it probable that the casket may have been a reliquary of this early monastery.[4]

The two ornamented discs of bone represented on next page also belong to a very early period of native art, probably approaching that of the cross-pillars. The first is one of about thirty or forty pieces of horn, found in a ruined crannog in the loch of Forfar,[5] and the second was found in the ancient cemetery of the Kirkheugh at St. Andrews (Notices of the Plates, p. 4). They were probably used as table-men in one of those games which seem to have been common among the Celtic people of Scotland, as they were among their Irish brethren. The third object represented is an ornament of jet, which was dug up in a garden on the site of the old castle of Forfar. It has been intended for suspension, and may also be ascribed to an early date.

Mr. Westwood has remarked the dissimilarity, in many respects observable, between the *early* Irish manuscripts and those executed after the tenth century; and to some extent a departure from the early ornamental forms also took place in Scotland, but it must be remarked that some of these forms continued to be used in works

[1] Archæological Journal, vol. x. p. 300.

[2] Descriptions of the deposits at Norries Law and Gauldcross are given in Notices of the Plates.

[3] "My dear friend Dr. Petrie told me almost the last day I was with him that this work was from Clonmacnoise—the central seat of art in Ireland—and brought to the Academy from Athlone, and that he believed it to be 1000 years old" (Letter to me from Miss Stokes, Dublin). I am indebted to Miss Stokes for the use of a most careful drawing made by her of this relic, and to Mr. Clibborn for procuring a photograph of it for me. The mantle of the early illuminators has fallen on Miss Stokes, who has reproduced, among others, one of the marvellous pages of the Book of Kells with wonderful fidelity.

[4] The Monymusk reliquary is referred to in "Notices of the Plates." Mr. Worsaae gives an engraving of a reliquary greatly resembling that of Monymusk in his "Nordiske Oldsager i Det Kongelige Museum i Kjöbenhavn," p. 139, Copenhagen, 1859.

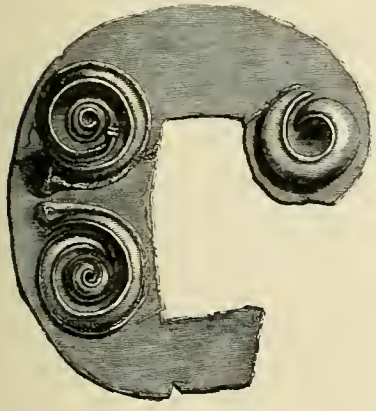
[5] Prehistoric Annals of Scotland, vol. i. p. 101.

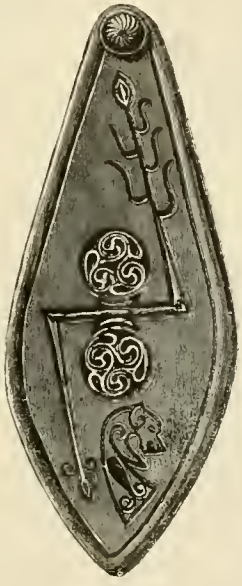
of art till comparatively recent times. Some of the early patterns appear in metal bell-cases and brooches of a date greatly later than that of the crosses, of which specimens are given on Plate XII. of the Illustrations.

A Scotch brooch[1] of early date is represented on Plate XIII. of the Illustrations, and on the same page is figured a Highland target, probably of the seventeenth century, from the collection at Castle Grant, on both which the early interlacing forms appear. These continued to be a prominent feature in the ornamentation with which our Celtic people enriched their weapons, and personal ornaments, so long as these continued to be made, while new forms came to be mixed up with them. Other specimens of a similar character are figured on next page. The brooch is one of a common type, and was in the collection of the late Mr. Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe. The powder-horn is a fine example in the collection of Mr. James Drummond, R.S.A.

In the present volume I have included drawings of crosses from sites of early Christian settlement in Northumberland and other places in the north of England, so as to afford the means of contrasting the art of these Saxon monuments with that of the Celtic crosses of North Britain, and historical accounts of them will be found in the "Notices of the Plates."

The cross at Ruthwell,[2] in Annandale, although it stands on ground which has long formed part of Scotland, is the work of Saxon hands, and was erected at a time when that part of the kingdom was subject to the princes of Northumbria. Its date may probably coin-

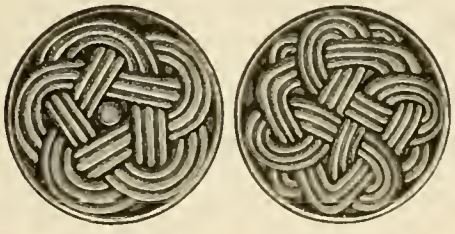




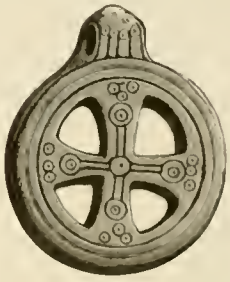
NORRIES LAW ORNAMENTS.

cide with that of many of our Scottish crosses, but in form, and style of art, these monuments widely differ from

FROM A CRANNOG AT FORFAR.



AT KIRKHEUGH, ST. ANDREWS.



CASTLE OF FORFAR.

each other. The tree, bearing leaves and fruit, with birds and animals on its branches, is a feature almost unknown

[1] This beautiful brooch belongs to Mr. Henry Frew of Banchory-Ternan on the Dee, and was found near the village of Banchory in digging. It is made of bronze, and had originally been adorned with precious stones, of which the enclosing sockets remain.

[2] Vol. ii. Plates XIX. XX.

on the Scotch crosses, while it recurs on the cross at Bewcastle,[1] on the Monk's Stone at Tynemouth,[2] and on a fragment at Jarrow.[3] It is somewhat remarkable that the solitary Scotch cross on which this Saxon design occurs, is far removed from any obvious Saxon influence. The stone to which I refer is at Hilton of Cadboll, on the north shore of the Cromarty Firth, and is one of three fine monuments in that neighbourhood.[4] On this stone, a rich border, surrounding one of its faces, is composed of scroll-work of branches with leaves, into which birds are introduced, some of them pecking the bunches of fruit with which the branches terminate. It may be indicative of a different influence from that which designed most of our Scotch crosses, that the spectacle symbol is here introduced into the ornamental border, instead of being placed in the central group, while the "crescent" is of a different design from the common one, its "sceptre" being, not a separate object, but obviously an integral part of the crescent itself.[5]

BROOCH AND POWDER-HORN REFERRED TO IN THE LAST PAGE.

The design of the Ruthwell cross is repeated on that at Bewcastle, and on both monuments the treatment of the human figures is entirely different from that adopted on the Scotch crosses. The nimbed head which appears here and on other Saxon monuments, is unknown on the Scotch stones.

The fragments at Jarrow and the Monk's Stone[6] are ornamented with foliage of delicate sculpture. The cross at Rothbury[7] was a magnificent piece of art when complete. There are appearances of fruit on it, but the principal ornamental feature is that of lacertine forms and grotesque animals, resembling those on fragments at Norham and Gainsford.

The design and execution of the crosses at Hexham, Dilston, and Spittal,[8] with their bunches of grapes and ears of wheat, are unusually excellent, and nothing so fine occurs elsewhere, except on one of the fragments from Jarrow, now in the museum at Newcastle.[9] The fragment from Coldingham[10] associates itself with parts of the cross at Rothbury, and with some of the pieces in St. Oswald's Church.[11] The fragment from Jedburgh resembles the stone at Jarrow, which is ornamented with foliage and birds.

The crosses at Lindisfarne[12] seem to have been destitute of foliage, and to have been covered with interlaced work in geometrical patterns. The human figure is here treated in a way different from that in which it appears on any of the other monuments.

On the crosses at Chester-le-street[13] the interlacing work is carried along the face without division.

At Norham[14] the fragments also show interlaced work, and here the foliage and fruit, so common on the Saxon monuments, appear prominently, as might have been expected, from the early history of the place. At Aycliffe[15] the foliage is replaced by lacertine designs, and the human figures here are very peculiar, as they also are on the crosses at Billingham, where the interlacing forms prevail.

The crosses in Galloway are of a peculiar type. They are ornamented with interlaced work, running along the face, from the top to the base of the shaft, which consists of a thin slab surmounted by a

[1] Plates XXI. XXII.
[2] Plates LXXXIII. LXXXIV.
[3] Plate LXXXII.
[4] Vol. i. Plate XXV.
[5] Notices of Plates, p. 10.
[6] Vol. ii. Plates LXXXIII. LXXXIV. CXIII.
[7] Vol. ii. Plates LXXXV. LXXXVI.
[8] Vol. ii. Plates LXXXVIII. XCII. XCIII. XCIV.
[9] Bunches of grapes form a prominent feature in the ornamentation of one of the silk robes found in St. Cuthbert's tomb (Raine's St. Cuthbert, p. 194, Plate V.)
[10] Vol. ii. Plate CX.
[11] Vol. ii. Plate CX.
[12] Vol. ii. Plate XXVI.
[13] Vol. ii. Plate CXI.
[14] Vol. ii. Plate XXVII.
[15] Vol. ii. Plates LXXXIX. XC.

circular disc. They occur at Whithorn, and the neighbouring parishes of Kirkmaiden, Kirkinner, and Wigton.[1]

Most of the crosses on the west coast of Scotland, and in the islands, are of the end of the fifteenth and early part of the succeeding century. They are distinguished by a graceful form of foliage which is not found on the earlier monuments. The same style appears on the *slabs* of the period, as at Keils and Kilmichael Glassary.[2]

On a few crosses of earlier date the interlaced work *in compartments* is found, as at Keils and Canna.[3] The cross at Kildalton is of the Irish form and type, as is also Martin's Cross at Iona.[4] On these, and on other monuments at Iona, are many rich bosses, with serpents, spirals, and pellets.

[1] Vol. i. Plate CXXII. ; vol. ii. Plates XCVI. XCVII.
[2] Vol. ii. Plates LVII. LIX.
[3] Vol. ii. Plates XXXII. L.
[4] *Idem*, Plates XXXVI. XL.

XII. OUTLINES OF THE SCULPTURED CROSSES.

A CONSIDERABLE variety occurs iu the form of the Scotch crosses, which will he hest understood by referring to the illustrative-Plates Nos. XXVI. XXVII. XXVIII. and XXIX., of which the last Plate represeuts the crosses which are cut *in relief.*

The Latin form of cross occurs on some of the rude symbol-pillars, as at Dyce (vol. i. Plate IX.) ; at Deer (vol. i. Plate XI.) ; and at Migvie (vol. ii. Plate LXXVIII.)

The Greek form appears on a pillar with symbols at Monymusk (vol. i. Plate VIII.) ; at Ulbster, with symhols (vol. i. Plate XI.) ; with symhols, on a slab now at Abhotsford (vol. I. Plate XCIX.) ; and on both sides of an ornamented slab at Rosemarkie (vol. i. Plate CV.)

In many cases the design is that of a Greek cross, with a prolonged shaft, the shaft being narrower than the cross, as at Monymusk and Ulbster ; or distinguished by the use of a different ornamentatiou, as at Nigg (vol. i. Plate XXVIII.) ; Dunfallandy (vol. i. Plate XLVIII.) ; Glammis (vol. i. Plate LXXXIII.) ; and at Rossie Priory (vol. ii. Plate XCIX.)[1]

On the decorated slabs a Latin cross frequeutly covers the whole face, as at Forres (vol. i. Plate XXI.) ; and at Brodie (vol. i. Plate XXII.)

The Christian monogram occurs on the stoncs at Kirkmadrine (vol. ii. Plate LXXI.), and in a less observable form on the stone near Whithorn (vol. ii. Plate XCVI.)

The variety of design in minor details of the crosses will be more readily gathered from the outline illustrations, than by descriptiou.

Both Greek and Latin crosses occur among the cave sculptures. The stoue at Farnell has a Greek cross on one face and a Latin cross on the other (vol. i. Plate LXXXVI.)

Some hasty conclusions have been at times drawn from the mere shape of the cross, as if the Greek cross could be held to mark an earlier time, and a different school, from that which used the Roman form of the cross.

It has, however, been shown by M. Didron,[2] that both types were originally common to both churches, and it is plaiu that both forms were in use at the same time hy the sculptors of the Scotch stones, just as we find that Greek and Latin characters were used in the same inscription on early monuments[3] and coins.[4]

The same couclusion may he drawn from other early remains. The cross of St. Cuthbert is of the Greek form, but the crosses on the altar found in his tomb, which are of greater age, are of the Latiu form.

Some of the cruciform pillars iu Brittany of the Latiu form, have a Greek cross sculptured on their face.

In Cornwall, where the Greek form of cross preponderates, are occasional instances of both forms on the samc monument (at St. Michael's Mount, Plate XXIX., and at Noon Creeg, Plate XXXII., of Blight's "Ancient Crosses in the West of Cornwall," Lond. 1856).

In the Isle of Man, where thc Latiu form of cross appears most frequently, we find on the monument at Kirk Anchan a Latin cross on one side, and a Greek one on the other (Cumming's "Runic and other Monumeutal Remaius of the Isle of Man," Lond. 1857, Plate X.)

In many of the early monuments of Ireland an equal-limhed cross appears within a circle. On thc pillar-stone at Kilnasaggart,[7] in thc county of Armagh, are eleven such crosses within circles ; while a larger one, which has no circle, approaches to the Latin form.

The use of the surrounding circle prohably determined the shape of the cross ; au early example of this kind of cross occurs at Dunecht (vol. ii.), and later instances are the crosses on the stone at Bressay (vol. i. Plates XCIII. XCIV.), and the Skeith Stone (vol. ii.)

[1] "The Breton crosses have almost all of them the form of Grcek crosses—crosscs patées—and are supported by a slender shaft" ("On the Early Inscribed Stones and Crosses of Brittany," in Archæologia Cambrensis for 1857, p. 370).

Some of the Cornish crosses are of a similar design (as at Boswharton, Plate XXX., and at Cury, Plate XXXV., of Blight's Ancient Crosscs on the West of Cornwall, Lond. 1856).

[2] Christian Iconography, p. 337. London, 1851.

[3] Raincs' St. Cuthbert, p. 201 ; Simeon Dunelm. "De Gestis Regum Anglorum," col. 101 ; Burgon's Letters from Rome, p. 222.

[4] Akerman's Rare and Inedited Roman Coins, vol. ii. pp. 422, *et seq.*

[5] Raiues' St. Cuthbert, p. 201, Plates I. and VI.

[6] Introduction a l'Histoire de France, par Achille de Jouffroy et Ernest Breton, Paris 1838, Plate XXVIII.

[7] "Kilnasaggart," by the Rev. W. Recves, D.D., in Ulster Journal of Archæology, vol. i. p. 222.

XIII. SCULPTURED CAVES.

The subject of cave habitations has of late occupied much of the attention of the archæologist, in connection more especially with the remains of extinct races of animals which have been found in them, associated with relics of man's handiwork, both in England and France.

Within the last few months, circumstances have attracted notice to a group of Scottish caves on the coast of Fife, the interest in which mainly arises from the remains of human art sculptured on their rocky walls.[1]

The custom of living in caves in the early ages of Christianity was far from uncommon. St. Martin of Tours, who exercised a conspicuous influence on the religious thought of western Christendom, had a little cell at Marmoutier, in which he lived for the sake of greater retirement. Some of his followers took up their abodes in narrow holes which they dug in the side of the rock: one is still shown in which it is said St. Martin lodged for some time.[2] Of this cave the Abbé Bourasse writes, that it is said to have been first used by St. Gatian, the first bishop of Tours, and then enlarged by St. Martin.[3]

St. Cuthbert, in the year 676, on one occasion determined to quit Lindisfarne, and devote himself to a solitary life. Bede says that in the first instance he retired to a secluded place, somewhere upon the borders of the territory more immediately connected with Lindisfarne. There is on the south slope of a long ridge of hills near the village of Howburn, a natural cave which has invariably been called St. Cuthbert's Cave, or, in the words of the villagers, Cuddy's Cove, and which, according to uniform tradition, was at one period inhabited by the saint.[4]

On the side of the hill of Dod Law, near Wooler, is a projecting mass of red sandstone, in which is a small cave also called "Cuddy's Cove," from some traditional association with the great saint of Northumbria. On the top of the rock are carved some of the curious concentric figures so common in this neighbourhood; and on its west face, among other sculptures, there appears a cross, resembling in outline some of those in the cave at Caiplie, in Fifeshire; there is also a figure like a case, which also occurs in the "sloping cave" at East Wemyss.[5]

St. Columba "is said to have built the chapel of Cove, on the west coast of Lochcaolisport. "Near the end of this church is a consecrated cave, which gives name to the farm in which it is situated. Its altar and font still remain, and over them a cross, cut in the solid rock by no unmasterly chisel."[6]

St. Kiaran is said to have lived in a cave near Campbelton, which still retains his name. "Here a fountain of pure water supplied almost one-half of the wants of nature; and the figure of the cross which he had cut upon the rock furnished his soul with subjects of meditation."[7]

[1] There is reason to believe that some of these caves were places of human abode at an earlier period than that of the sculptures. In one of those at Wemyss ("The Gaswork Cave"), a mass of debris like a "kitchen-midden" appeared, containing bones of the sheep, ox, hare, pig, deer, and bones of birds. Many of the bones had been split up in extracting the marrow, and some of them were sharpened at one end. There were shells of the limpet and the whelk, and several circular discs of stones with holes through the centre, like those so frequently found about early forts and graves.

In a cave on the opposite coast of the Firth of Forth, at Seacliff, near North Berwick, similar remains were discovered—viz. bones of the horse, dog, pig, sheep, and limpet-shells. It is said that human bones were also found, and it is certain that there were portions of urns or jars.

Near to this cave, on a rock almost insulated at high-water, similar remains have recently been found. The kitchen-midden here occurred within a surrounding wall which had given protection to the early settlers. It contained immense quantities of bones of the ox (longifrons), pig, goat, deer, shells of limpets, horns of the red deer, bone-pins, bone-needles, a bone-comb, querns, bones, and fragments of pottery. The bones had been split up for the extraction of marrow, and some of them were sharpened at one end. Teeth of the ox appeared, and the arm-bone of a man. Many small pebbles were found which had been in the fire, and were always very brittle. At a little distance inland from the cave several spots were discovered having similar remains. These appear to have been the floors of huts, as double pavements were found, one above the other, and between the two a stratum of bones, charcoal, and ashes, mixed with sand, and shells of the periwinkle. In the floor of the circular keep, in the centre of the great fort at Laws, near Dundee, there were several pavements, and under them bones of the boar, wild ox, and deer were found.

A curious burial-ground has recently been discovered near to the house of Seacliff, at a depth of about five feet under the surface. It consisted of a square chamber, formed of stones, vaulted like a "Pict's house," and containing seven or eight skeletons.

[2] Sulpicii Severi De Vita, B. Martini, cap. vii. Amstel. 1665.

[3] La Touraine, pp. 189, 190, Tours, 1856.

[4] Raines' St. Cuthbert, p. 21.

[5] See Mr. Tate's Ancient Sculptured Rocks of Northumberland, p. 18, Alnwick, 1865.

[6] Old Stat. Acc. of S. Knapdale, vol. xix. p. 314

[7] *Ibid.* vol. x. p. 534.

St. Ninian is said to have occasionally inhabited a cave which is still shown on the sea-shore of Glasserton, adjacent to the house of Physgill.[1]

On the opposite shore of the Bay of Luce is a cave to which a building has been added, and is known as St. Medan's Chapel.[2]

St. Gernadius settled at Kenedor in Moray, where he lived in a cell partly natural, to which an addition was built "quo in loco lectulum habebat lapideum in quo artus lassos oracioni fatigatos refoueri solebat.[3]

Several of the Fife caves are associated in the early traditions of the Scottish church with members of that numerous band of missionaries who, from the fifth to the ninth centuries, were engaged in the work of Christianising the rude tribes of Pictland, as their places of abode or occasional retreat, and their walls, are covered with memorials of their devotion, in the shape of numerous small crosses of early form.

These crosses were well known, and a description of those in the cave at Caiplie was prepared by the late Mr. John M'Kinlay in the year 1839.[4]

In the course of last autumn, Professor Sir James Simpson, with a party of friends, was led to inspect the neighbouring caves at East Wemyss, when it was found that on the walls of some of them were sculptures, among which were several of the symbols of the Scottish pillar-stones, and crosses of varying form. It afterwards appeared that the existence of these figures had been known in the neighbourhood for many years, but were not thought worthy of notice. As this most interesting discovery seemed to have a direct bearing on the history of the symbols, I lost no time in getting drawings made of the whole sculptures. The walls of the caves are in some places covered with marks of a different character, and there are exfoliations which at times render it difficult to determine whether a figure is natural or artificial, but with regard to all the more important sculptures there is no difficulty, and I may add that after the drawings were completed, they were compared by myself with the original figures. I was induced at the same time to examine other caves on the coast of Fife and in the isle of Arran, but did not discover any additional examples of the "symbols," although, as will be seen, there are interesting sculptures in some of them.

At several places on the coast of Fife, from St. Andrews on the north-east to Dysart on the west, groups of caves are found in the soft sandstone rocks. Midway up the cliff at St. Andrews are two connected cells, which are believed to have sheltered St. Rule or Regulus. The crumbling surface of the sandstone here shows no remains of sculpture. At Kinkell, a few miles to the south, is a small cave, on the walls of which crosses are yet to be seen.

At Fifeness, a promontory which has been fortified by a strong wall called the "Danes' Dyke," carried across its neck, is a cave formed in a rock on the north side of the point. It is called Constantine's Cave, from a legend that the Scotch king of this name, after a defeat by the Danes, was carried by his captors to the cave, and there put to death about the year 881. It is of small dimensions and irregular shape, being about fifteen feet in depth and twelve in width. There are small crosses cut on the rock in all directions; some are on the wall on the right side of the entrance, both on the lower ledge of rock and on that above. On the last, about eight feet from the ground, are still to be seen six crosses cut in a broad shallow line, and with rough marks like those of the pickaxe; other crosses

[1] Old Stat. Acc. Glasserton, vol. xvii. p. 594.

[2] Notices of the Plates, p. 51.

[3] Breviar. Aberd. Part. Estiv. fol. cxlviii.

[4] In the parish of Portpatrick, near Dunskey Castle, on a precipice on the edge of the sea, is a cave which is held in great veneration by the people. According to the Old Statistical Account—"At the change of the moon (which is still considered with superstitious reverence) it is usual to bring even from a great distance infirm persons, and particularly ricketty children, whom they often suppose bewitched, to bathe them in a stream which pours from the hill, and then dry them in the cave." In the New Statistical Account it is said of this cave, "that it is obscurely reported to have been the residence of a hermit or monk." In answer to my inquiries, Mr. Balmer, the parish clergyman of Portpatrick, writes—"I have made a careful examination of the cave, and cannot find the smallest trace of a human hand upon its rude and unchiselled walls."

On the coast of the parish of St. Vigeans are several caves. One of them is called the Maiden Castle Cave, the entry to which is about ten feet above high-water mark. In the further end is a spring of fine water, but excessively cold. The Mason Lodge of Arbroath built a gate to this cave; they walked in procession to it every year on St. John's day from Arbroath, and there admitted members. Above the cave are the vestiges of a fort, the remains of the fosse and rampart being still visible. There is another cave which appears as if it had been cut out of the face of the rock, the entry to which is about forty feet above the sea. It is about twelve feet long, ten broad, and eight high.

A recent examination of these caves has been made for me by Mr. P. A. Fraser of Hospitalfield and Mr. Jervise, who found no trace of sculpture on the walls. The rock here is of a soft friable nature, and the surface is much wasted by exposure to the weather; so that even if sculptures had originally been on the wall, they would probably have disappeared.

At Kilmuir Wester and Suddy are a cave and spring, resorted to on the first Sunday of every quarter for the cure of diseases. At West Kilbride, Little Cumbray, are seven caves, two of which only are remarkable. One is a square room of thirty-two feet, and seems to have been artificially formed. The other is so deep that it has never been explored. "Superstitious tales of their use are told, too ridiculous to deserve notice" (Old Stat. Acc. of Scotland, vol. i. p. 47; *Ibid.* vol. xii. pp. 182, 274, 415; New Stat. Acc. Wigtonshire, p. 133).

remain on a shelving slab on the south-west end. On a ledge in the roof of that end are six crosses arranged in lines, four and two. On a lower ledge in that corner, are six or seven crosses in a row. The rock is much worn and honeycombed, especially on the south side, but here also vestiges remain of small crosses all along the ledge overhead. The mouth of the cave was at one time closed by a wall, which has been entirely removed, and it is now open to the wasting effects of the east winds, which, with clouds of spray on their wings, beat with unbroken fury into this rude shelter of early devotion.[1]

Caiplie.

A few miles southwards from Fifeness, a ledge of rock juts like a promontory from the sloping bank, which runs nearly parallel with the sea-beach. This rock is on the farm of Barnsmuir, in the parish of Kilrenny, which seems at one time to have formed part of the lands of Caplawchy (now modernised into Caiplie), and the caves in the rock are known as the Caves of Caiplie. The sea has washed out the soft parts of the rock so as to leave a group of cavities, some of which pierce quite through the rock. One of the largest of the caves has been enlarged and adapted by art. It is of irregular shape, and upwards of forty feet in depth, from the entrance to the extremity of a pointed recess on the west end. It has a lofty roof, on parts of which, as on the side walls, are marks of the pickaxe. The opening to the sea had at one time been closed up by a wall, of which the foundations remain. A doorway of pointed shape is cut through the rock on the south side, and opens upon an outer narrow cave, through which the entrance to the main cave had passed. On the north wall of the latter are several crosses of the Latin form, within a border, and below this are several smaller crosses, varying in size, from two to six or eight inches in height. A little nearer to the mouth, on this side, is a cross of the Greek form, within a surrounding line, beside a great many others of the Latin shape. On the same side, and still nearer to the mouth, are six small crosses in two lines, of rather a different cut from the last—not so broad, and pointed at the extremity of the limbs. On this side, at the base, a small niche is cut out in the rock, and many crosses are around it. Many small crosses cut with a broad line are on the ledges of the roof. On the west, near to the point where the cave begins to contract, is a cross within a circle, about seven inches in diameter, about ten feet from the floor. On the south wall, near the door, is cut a cross about fifteen inches long, surrounded by modern names, and occasionally modern crosses occur, but are easily distinguishable from those of archaic character. Near the mouth of the cave, on the south side, a space of three or four feet in length is cut in the rock near to the ground, and forms a kind of seat.

In various parts of the cave a curious contrivance is seen, which, as it is found in most of the caves at Wemyss, it will be necessary now to describe. It is formed by two holes made in the rock (very frequently on the *edge* of a projection), carried through, so as to leave a short intervening neck of rock. Where the holes are formed in the *face* of the rock, they are found in all directions, horizontal, perpendicular, and oblique. In some cases they are of great size, but generally the holes are about two inches wide, and the neck of rock between them, two or three inches in length. In some cases, this neck bears obvious marks of having been worn, as if by a rope passing round it. The holes occur at all points, some close to the floor, and others in the roof. In some of the caves at Wemyss they are very numerous, and close to each other. In the cave at Caiplie, these perforations or "holdfasts" are frequent in *ledges* of the rock, especially in the narrow recess on the west end. They also occur in the adjoining cave, on the east side of the one just described.

This is the appearance which the cave at Caiplie now presents. About thirty-six years ago, when it was surveyed and described by the late Mr. John Mackinlay, it was in various respects more complete. In particular, there was a small chamber in the rock above, partly cut out of the rock and arched over, which was reached by steps cut in the rock, beginning near the mouth of the passage or cave, into which, as I have said, the door of the principal cave opened. In the inner end of this upper chamber a bench was cut in the rock, which Mr. Mackinlay conjectured might have been used for a bed. This cell, he says, "had at a subsequent period been fitted up as a pigeon-house. Owing to the wasting of the rock, the front wall had long since fallen down. The arch was entire within the last fifty years, but the rock which formed its abutment on the east side having wasted away, a great part of it has fallen down."

In the year 1841 the rubbish accumulated on the floor and in the neighbourhood of the caves was removed by Mr. Fortune, on whose farm of Barnsmuir they are situated, and the results are detailed in Mr. Mackinlay's paper, for the use of which I am indebted to Mr. Fortune.

They may be thus stated :—

(1.) The flanking rock, which projects on the east side of the space in front of the caves, has been scooped out into a niche or small grotto, with a seat in the inner end.

(2.) The cave on the east of the principal one was found to be paved partly with rough flags, and partly by levelling the rock. On the east side of the mouth of the cave the rock was scooped out as if for a cistern, above

[1] Wyntoun's Cronykil of Scotland, b. vi. c. 8 ; Bellenden's Boece, book x. cap. xvii.

which is a kind of step or shelf. The inside of this cave showed marks of having been partly shaped by the pickaxe, and it contains several "holdfasts;" but there is no appearance of its having been walled up in front, nor are there any crosses cut in it.

(3.) The adjoining cave, on the walls of which the crosses just described are cut, and which Mr. Mackinlay calls the Chapel Cave, was cleared to the clay floor. The doorway, which had been walled up, was opened, and the wall at the mouth was uncovered. It is about $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet thick, and 2 feet high. Outside this wall is another and lower foundation of three courses of large stones, about 4 feet high, forming a terrace 4 feet broad, in front of the cave, and joined on to the rock on each side.

(4.) The passage on the west of this cave was cleared out, and several of the lower steps leading to the chamber above were exposed.

(5.) In front of the east cave about 10 feet from it, and about 2 feet below the surface, a human skeleton was discovered, as if thrown head foremost into a hole; and a little nearer to the sea, other four skeletons were found, as if they had been regularly buried east and west—the heads to the west, but without any appearance of coffins. The human bones, from being in various states of decay, appeared to have been buried at several times. An offensive smell was felt on opening the graves.

(6.) In front of the "Chapel" and adjoining caves, and within the latter, were found a great many bones of cattle, boars' tusks, pieces of deer's horns, etc., mixed with earth and stones.

In the cave and chamber thus described we may picture to ourselves the "establishment" of one of the early heralds of the gospel to the rude tribes of Alba. Adrian is the saint who, according to the traditions of the Scottish church, made a settlement on this part of the coast of Fife, about the middle of the ninth century. Of him and his "company" or fellow-labourers, we are told by Wyntoun in his Cronykil, that on their arrival in Fife—

"At the Kyng than askyd thai
Leve to preche the Crystyn Fay.
That he grantyd with gud will,
And thaire Lykyng to fulfille,
And Leif to duell in-to his Land,
Quhare thai Couth ches it máyst plesand.
Than Adriane wyth hys Cumpany
To-gydder come to Caplawchy.
Thare sum in-to the Ile of May
Chesyd to byde to thare Enday.
And sum of thame chesyd be-northe
In steddis sere the Watter of Forth."

(B. vi. c. viii.)

Pittenweem.

Proceeding southerly along the coast from Caiplie, we arrive at the burgh of Pittenweem. On the seaward side of the town, where the coast rises to a considerable height, there is a mass of soft sandstone rock, in which is a weem or cave of considerable size, from which the locality seems to have been named. The cave looks out on the Isle of May, which lifts up its rocky brow at no great distance in the Firth of Forth, and it is probably one of the "steddis" which gave shelter to Adrian's "company." If so, they have not left any of the devotional sculptures which are so prominent on the walls at Caiplie. There are a few "holdfasts" in ledges of rock on the west side of the cave, generally at the height of a few feet from the ground, and a well of water is found towards the east end of the cave where it becomes narrow. At a point about the middle of the main cave, another smaller one branches off, and on the east side of this offshoot are several "holdfasts."

St. Monans.

According to Wyntoun, one of St. Adrian's followers settled at St. Monans, of which the earlier name was Invery:

"At Invery Saynct Monane
That of that Cumpany wes áne,
Chesyd hym sá nere the Se
Til lede hys lyf: thare endyt he."

(B. vi. c. viii.)

The cave which tradition has assigned to this recluse has now been almost completely destroyed, the rock in which it was placed having apparently been quarried away. The end of the cave alone remains.

Macduff's Cave.

This cave, which derives its name from a traditional occupation by Macduff "Earl of Fife," occurs in a lofty mass of trap-rock, about a mile west of the town of Elie. The surface of this kind of rock is liable to frequent disintegration, and if there ever had been any sculptures on the walls of the cave they would have been obliterated long ago. Another cave, called "Devil's Cave," is about a mile farther to the west. It is also formed in a mass of trap, but as the sea rushes into it at every tide, it is not likely that it was used for habitation.

Dysart.

Proceeding westward along the coast, the next group of caves is found at East Wemyss. Before describing them I may state (so as to complete the circuit of the coast) that a cluster of caves occurs in a mass of soft sandstone-rock close to the sea at Dysart, about three miles west from the caves at Wemyss. The main cave is of an irregular shape, with little of the original surface left, most of it having scaled off from the effects of damp. On the east side are several spaces scooped out in the wall, somewhat like seats, and of different sizes. On the wall between these seats are a few marks of cutting, without much apparent design. To the east of this cave are other two of irregular shape. In the walls many holes are cut at various heights, but of uncertain age or use. The rock runs out towards the sea, and on its west front several seats are hewn, like those in the inside of the first cave.

From the legend of St. Serf, preserved in the Breviary of Aberdeen, it appears that the saint occasionally retired to this cave. On one occasion he was here assaulted by the devil, who dared the saint to a theological discussion.

According to Wyntoun—

> "Quhil Saynt Serfe in-til a stede
> Lay aftyre Maytynis in hys bede
> The Devil come, in full intent
> For till fand hym wytht argument."
>
> (Cronykil, b. v. c. xii.)

The chronicler records minutely the details of this meeting. The devil asked a great many questions at St. Serf—such as, Where was Adam after he was put out of Paradise? How long was he in Paradise after his sin? Where was Eve made? Why did God allow Adam and Eve to sin in Paradise?

At the last the devil had to confess that he was vanquished, and said to the saint—

> "He kend hym for a wys man;
> For-thi he thare gave hym qwyte
> For he wan at hym ná profyte."

To which St. Serf replied—

> "Thou Wrech ga
> Fra this stede and noy ná má
> Into this stede, I byd the."

On which the devil departed and was never seen again in that place, which, according to the Breviary, continued ever after to be held in reverence in honour of St. Serf.[1]

We read in the Life of St. Kentigern that he also was wont to retire to caves during the time of Lent, in order that, being free from the tumults of the world, and the strife of tongues, he might hide himself in the presence of God, and while lifting up his heart to things heavenly, he might mortify his members which were upon the earth.[2]

Such retreats in the ecclesiastical language of the day were termed "Deserta," and the district of Dysart takes its name from the *Desertum* of St. Serf. The saints of the early Irish church were wont in the same way to retire to secret spots for mortification, at seasons of peculiar devotion, and their *deserta* appear to have been little cells erected for the purpose. Their number may be gathered from the frequency with which the word "Disert" or "Desert" is found in combination with the names of churches in the topography of Ireland.[3]

East Wemyss.

The soft sandstone of the coast in this neighbourhood is perforated by many caves, and the feature is so remarkable and prominent as to have suggested the name of Wemyss—which in Gaelic means caves—by which the barony and parish have been known from early times.

The caves now to be described occur in rocks on the seashore, which are in most cases situated about 100

[1] Part. Estiv. fol. xv.

[2] Vita Kentigerni, cap. xvii.; MS. in Marsh's Library, Dublin.

[3] Petrie's Inquiry into the Origin and Uses of the Round Towers, p. 36.

yards back from high-water mark. They are nine in number, and of these eight are on the east side of the town of East Wemyss, and one on the west side.

Beginning at the east, the first cave is in the rock at the gaswork, and, for convenient reference, may be called the "Gaswork Cave." It was recently opened up in the course of quarrying operations, but there were two old entrances to it which had been closed up for a long time probably by landslips from above.

A ledge of rock runs along the west side of the cave for some distance, like a low table. On one part of the flat surface two basons are cut out. One measures 10 inches in diameter, by 8 inches in depth. The other is rather less, while a hole about the size of a large cup is scooped out a little farther to the north. Along the edge of this table of rock, towards the back of the cave, also on the opposite side and at the roof of the cave, are many "holdfasts." On the floor was a quantity of earth mixed with shells and bones. The bones were those of the sheep, ox, hare, pig, deer, and birds. Many of the bones had been split for the extraction of the marrow, and some tines of the deer had been sharpened. Among the rubbish on the floor were several circular stone discs with holes in the centre. There were also many water-worn boulders and sea-shells.

Proceeding westward, the next is the "White Cove." It had been long covered up with quarry rubbish, but after some days' excavation I got access to it. It was found to be large, and to run in a northerly direction. The old entrance is still blocked up with rubbish, which extends some distance into the cave, and the walls do not appear to have been exposed to the weather. They are without any sculpture, except two or three "holdfasts" on the west side towards the entrance. There may be sculptures on the walls near the old mouth of the cave, but if so, they are hid by the rubbish.

The next cave is at an angle of the rock, and is entered by a steep slope over a mass of earth, the result of a landslip, from which it has been called the "Sloping Cave." It is narrow and rugged, and about 40 yards in length. There are many "holdfasts" on the ledges along the wall. The "spectacle ornament" on the west is cut with a broad shallow line (Plate XXIX.) Opposite to this, on the east side, on a sloping surface near the ground, is a broken "holdfast," and near to it are marks like letters. Farther in, on an exposed ledge, are two figures like the "cases" which occur on the sculptured pillars, cut with a broad shallow line. The holdfasts are not found beyond the range of daylight from the mouth. The cave terminates in a narrow dark point, but there is no sculpture here, except one holdfast at the point where the contraction begins. Some holes are cut in the walls as if they might have been designed for receiving the end of a beam. There is much clay and rubbish on the floor.

The next cave is known as "Jonathan's Cave," from a man of that name having resided in it with his family for some time. It is of an irregular shape, and measures about 23 yards in length by 9 yards in width at its broadest point. There are many "holdfasts" and holes in the wall, at all points of height from the floor, and the walls are in many places coated with green lichen. The figures begin on the west side near to the mouth of the cave, and occur on groups on the walls in the order represented on the Plates (XXX. XXXI.)

The figures onwards to the "elephant" are cut in a rather broad and shallow line. The "elephant" and "spectacles" are incised with a narrow and sharp line. There are no crosses among the groups on the west side, but there are several in the extreme north end—some of them on a sloping ledge near the floor, where they have suffered from the feet of sheep in clambering up the incline. The crosses and trident-like figures are all of a broad and shallow cut. The holdfasts occur along the ledge of rock on the west and north, also in the roof and on a ledge near the floor on the north. There are also some on the east, but no other sculpture is found on this side. On the floor are rounded boulders and fragments of sandstone.

The two caves which next occur were at one time used as pigeon-houses,[1] for which purpose various internal erections were made, and holes cut in the rock. They are called the East and West "Dovecot Caves."

The first contains no sculptures nor holdfasts, so far as can be seen. The surface of the rock is soft, and in many places holes for the pigeons have been cut in it. In others, brick ranges have been erected, which hide the wall.

The West Dovecot Cave is roundish in shape, measuring about 90 feet in length by 70 feet in diameter, with a hard floor of decomposed sandstone.

The sculptures occur principally on a ledge of rock on the west side, and on the north end (Plates XXXII. XXXIII.) There are "holdfasts" all round.

The figures on the north (group ix.) are cut with a broad, shallow, and ragged line, as also the "spectacles," cross, and other figures, which occur in a small recess on the east side (group vi.) The "spectacles" with "sceptre," and dog's head, on the north end (group iv.), are cut in a sharp distinct line. The crosses (group i.) are shallow and broad, while the birds in the same group are cut with a sharp line, although less so than the figures in group iv. There are three groups of ledges on which the figures occur, with "holdfasts" above.

[1] It is said that four of the caves were fitted up as pigeon-houses, and continued to be used as such in the end of last century (Sinclair's Stat. Acc. of Scotland, vol. xvi. p. 532).

There are many small holes in the walls which may have been cut for recent purposes.

The next cave is the "Well Cave" or "Castle Cave." The last name is derived from a popular belief that it communicates with a ruined building called "Macduff's Castle," on the bank above it. There is a well in the north-west corner, the water of which is said to be a specific for jaundice. In the end of last century it was annually visited by the young people of Easter Wemyss, with lights, on the first Monday of January old style.[1] Within the outer there is another cave, entered by a low opening in the rock. There are a few "holdfasts" in it; one near to the entrance of the inner cave is much worn, as if by the friction of a rope. In other places the "holdfasts" have been broken, and the walls of the caves have been disfigured by visitors, who have cut their names in recent times on the rock. No other sculpture appears.

The next cave is called the "Court Cave," from a belief that courts were formerly held in it. It is very wet and miry. "Holdfasts" appear at a great height, and again near the floor. On the east side are the figures in groups 1, 2, and 3 (Plate XXXV.) The natural surface is partially abraded, and it is difficult to be certain of the shape of some of the figures. A long line, with square figures on it, runs along the west side of the cave; but it is quite modern, although covered with green lichen. On the west wall, towards the middle from the entrance, a seat is cut out on the rock. At the east and west sides, at the mouth of the cave, seats are also cut in the rock. These are, however, nearer to the ground than the seats *in* the cave just described. Near the seat, on the east side of the entrance, is a long bench cut in the rock. There are many holes and "holdfasts" in different places.

The Court Cave is reached from the west by a tunnel in the rock, one side of which is part of an old cave. Here is a small cross formed of cups cut in the rock, and there are several cups cut out beside it, which Mr. Gibb has not represented in the Plate, from his doubt of their being old. "Holdfasts" also occur here. Opposite the cross, a seat is cut on the south-east wall.

These eight caves are all near to each other, and are on the east side of the town of Easter Wemyss. The next, or "Glass-House Cave," is formed in a rock westward of the town, and derives its name from having been used in former times as a glass manufactory.[2] It is probable that some of the sculptures originally on the walls may have been erased in the course of the uses to which the cave has been adapted. Two figures resembling the "horse-shoe" ornament still remain on the south wall, and higher up a small cross (Plate XXX.)

King's Cove.—Island of Arran.

This cave is one of several perforations in a sandstone cliff on the west side of the isle of Arran. It is situated under the shadow of the great fort of Drummidoon, placed on the adjacent rock above, and it looks out on the coast of Cantyre, which is very distinctly seen from its mouth.

King's Cove is large and of irregular shape, about 120 feet in length by 30 across. Towards the east end it is divided by a buttress of rock facing the cave, behind which it contracts to a point. The narrow part of the cave thus consists of two passages or aisles, separated from each other by the buttress of rock. On the side of the buttress, at the entrance of the north "aisle," is a row of small holes cut in the stone in a sloping line, and on both sides, towards the point, is a row of similar holes, about 5 or 6 feet from the ground, suggesting that they might have been the sockets of small bars of wood. Similar holes occur in the other passage or "aisle" at the same height; and at the outside entrance of the cave, on the south side, is a row of larger holes, running towards the roof, without corresponding holes on the opposite side.

There are figures of horses in the south aisle pretty far in; and on the wall of that side of the cave, opposite to the buttress, are deer and concentric circles. There are no sculptures in the north aisle. On the face of the buttress or pillar fronting the cave, are figures of a large cross, of a smaller one, and of a man with his hands joined above his head. There are here other indistinct lines, much obscured by the cutting of names on the rock; and modern mason marks appear.

A group of serpents occurs towards the entrance of the cave on the north wall, and on the opposite wall of the cave are two triangles. A seat is cut in the solid rock on the north side of the entrance to the cave, and on the other side of the entrance is a circular hole of built stones like a well, which has been filled up with rubbish. There are many water-worn boulders and shells on the floor and among the debris.

[1] Sinclair's Stat. Acc. of Scotland, vol. xvi. p. 531.

[2] According to Sinclair's Statistical Account it was fitted up by a tacksman, about 1730, as a glasswork, "but soon after the work commenced the man became bankrupt, and the buildings were allowed to go to ruins" (xvi. p. 532). The first glasswork in Scotland was established at the village of Wemyss by Sir George Hay, the Lord Clerk Register, in the time of James VI. Some interesting notices of it will be found in "Domestic Annals of Scotland," vol. i. pp. 506, 507.

Caves of Covesea.

Along the sea-coast of the parish of Drainie, on the Moray Firth, runs a bold ridge of sandstone, in which the ceasless action of the sea has worn out the softer parts, leaving a group of caves which are known as the "Caves of Covesea," some of them deep and lofty. One of these caves, near the town of Lossiemouth, as has already been stated, was used as a retreat by St. Gernadius, whose memory is still preserved by a well in the adjacent rock called "St. Gerardine's Well." The other caves have been used, at various times, for different purposes, and on many occasions have afforded convenient shelter to bands of wandering gipsies.[1]

One of them is said to have been occupied as a stable "to conceal the horses of the family of Gordonston from the rebels in the year 1745, and has the entrance built up into a neat door."[2]

The discovery of sculptures in the caves at Wemyss suggested an examination of those at Covesea for similar remains. This was undertaken by Lady Dunbar of Duffus, who was so good as to send me sketches of some figures on the walls which she did not think had much meaning in them. Among these, however, the "crescent" with the "sceptre" was tolerably distinct; and on further investigation there remained no doubt that the carvers of the symbols had left other marks of their labours besides this figure. Mr. Gibb, who was immediately sent to make the necessary drawings for this volume, reports that the symbols only appear in one of the caves, and that in it the surface of the rock is much abraded and wasted away from the effects of weathering and damp on the wall. In one of the caves to the westward of this there are cut two small crosses, each within a border formed by a single surrounding line. The first cave has a double entrance formed by a dividing mass of rock. The carvings are found on the sides of rock near to the entrances, and at no great height from the floor. Besides the figures here drawn, there are other markings of an artificial appearance, but so mutilated as hardly to permit of their outlines being recognised. There are also many inscriptions ranging from 1653 downwards. One of these reads :—

12 OF MAR . 1653
CVRSED BE TEY Y^{T} PLINDERS.

On the inner walls of the cave are many marks of chiselling, which sometimes assume the appearance of runes, but are not.

The figures on this Plate occur on the following parts of the cave :—Group No. 1 is on a broken mass of rock facing the entrance of the north-west branch of the cave, which separates it into two divisions.

Nos. 2, 3, and 4 are near the floor on the south side of the eastern branch of the cave, about 18 feet from the entrance.

Nos. 5 and 6 are on the opposite wall from the last, about 5 feet from the floor.

Nos. 7, 8, 9, and 10 are on the north wall of the cave, about 5 yards from the western entrance.

Nos. 10, 11, and 12 are on the same wall, but near the entrance.

[1] A Survey of the Province of Moray, p. 2. Aberd. 1798.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 122.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

CROSS AT RUTHWELL.

In the notice of the Cross at Ruthwell, reference is made to indistinct traces of runes on the fragment which formed the top of the monument (Notices of the Plates, p. 16).

Rubbings and casts of these having been submitted to Professor George Stephens of Copenhagen, he has read them as CADMON ME FAWED (made), and concludes that this is meant to designate the poet Cædmon as the "maker" of the runic verses on the lower part of the shaft.

In the general case of such inscriptions on works of art, the formula would apply to the "maker" of the *monument itself*, but if Professor Stephens' application of it should be adopted, it will establish a point of exceeding interest.

The Ruthwell Cross and its inscriptions form the subject of a learned and interesting dissertation, which will appear in the second part of the Professor's great work, "The Old Northern Runic Monuments of Scandinavia and England." I am indebted to his kindness for one of a few separate copies of this dissertation, which he has printed, and am thus enabled to notice the Professor's discovery, which he has illustrated with his usual copiousness and enthusiasm.

STONE MONUMENTS.

To the instances already cited, in which sepulchral deposits have been found within circles of pillars (Appendix to the Preface, pp. xxii. xxiii.), I have to add the following, communicated to me by Mr. C. E. Dalrymple :—

Within a circle of standing-stones near Castle Fraser, Aberdeenshire, there appeared a pavement of small stones, beneath which, in various places, were deposits of black mould, largely composed of charcoal, fragments of urns, and incinerated bones. These bones were only found within a small circle, defined by stones sunk in the soil, in the centre of the larger one.

A circle of standing-stones, near to the sculptured pillar at Edderton in Ross-shire formerly engraved (vol. i Plate XXXII., Notices of the Plates, p. 12), was recently opened up by Mr. Joass. The surface was paved with roundish boulders, and in the centre a short cist was found containing burnt bones and part of an urn.

To the notice of monuments with relative alignments of pillars (Appendix to the Preface, pp. xxiv. xxv., I have to add that, in Caithness, in parts of which the early structures remain undisturbed, there are examples of cairns with lines of stones.

Thus at Broch-whin, on the Clyth estate, at the base of a hill, the top of which is walled round as an ancient fort, there is a group of standing-stones of perhaps 100 or more, arranged in lines radiating from a central cairn, in which was found a short cist containing the fragments of an urn and bits of chipped flint. Many cists without cairns are near to it, and a little farther off is another group of standing-stones, in parallel rows, traceable for about half-a-mile, and leading to a cairn containing a larger cist. At Camster is a small cairn, with a like group of standing-stones in connection with it. Under the cairn was found a cist of from 4 to 5 feet long, containing a skeleton. There are other groups of pillars in Caithness where no cairn is now to be seen. One of the largest is at Bruan, on the estate of Ulbster, and consists of from 400 to 500 pillars in parallel rows.

In other parts of Scotland there were formerly cairns and stone circles, with lines of pillars leading up to them. A great cairn was to be seen till lately at Balnabroch, in Strathardle, surrounded by smaller cairns and hut-circles. In the end of last century, an observer describes two parallel stone "fences," extending from the east side of the cairn, nearly in a straight line to the southward, upwards of 100 yards. "These fences are bounded at both extremities by small cairns, and seem to form an avenue or approach to the great cairn, of 30 feet in breadth" (Old Stat. Account, vol. xx. p. 517). The avenue of stones was seen by the late Mr. Skene of Rubislaw in the year 1834. He describes it as stretching 100 feet to the south, and as 32 feet in breadth His sketch of the monument shows that the lines of pillars ran from two of the small cairns to the great one.

About the middle of last century Maitland describes a stone monument near Inverury, in Aberdeenshire. It

consisted of two parts : the smallest, lying towards the south, was surrounded by a ditch ; the largest was a small cairn surrounded by three rows of standing-stones. An avenue of pillars of about 200 yards long led from the south to the lesser circle, and after crossing it, continued its short course to the stone circle (History of Scotland, vol. i. p. 154.) The circle at Callernish, in the Lewis, is approached by an avenue of pillars of about 400 feet in length. Near the centre, two small chambers were discovered, in which, imbedded in an unctuous substance apparently of peaty and animal matter, fragments of human bones were found which seem to have been subjected to the action of fire.

EARLY MODES OF BURIAL.

In addition to what has been advanced on this subject (Appendix to the Preface, p. lix.), I have to record the discovery of a long cist, shaped like a common coffin, which may probably be assigned to a late period. In the mouth of April 1864, in ploughing a field between Bishopmill and Linksfield Limekilns, near Elgin, a cist was discovered 6 feet in length, 3 feet wide at the middle, and tapering to each end, where it measured about a foot in breadth. In the cist was found a quantity of black unctuous earth, and in it portions of a skin, apparently that of an ox, on which the hair remained ; also part of the blade of a bronze dagger.

As illustrative of what has been said of the contemporaneous use of burying and burning the dead in Scotland (Notices of the Plates, pp. liv. lv.), I have to notice an instructive example which I have recently examined.

In a cairn on the glebe of the parish of Edderton, Ross-shire, opened by Mr. Joass, there were found six cists all of small size. In one was a skeleton with an urn ; in the others were burnt bones, charcoal, pieces of flint, and fragments of urns. The central cist contained human teeth, charcoal, and bits of pottery, and it was encircled by a row of large boulders on the surface of the ground. The others were placed at various distances between the centre and the margin of the cairn, and on one side of it.

CORRECTIONS.

In a notice of the sculptured pillar at Deer (vol. i. "Notices of the Plates," p. 6) it is stated that its original site is uncertain, and that "when I saw it a few years ago it was placed at the end of a range of building which formed part of the Cistercian Abbey of Deer, founded in 1218 by William Cumming, Earl of Buchan, but I have been informed that since that time all the remains of the abbey have been removed."

Admiral Ferguson of Pitfour, the proprietor of the ground, informs me that the statement in the last paragraph is to some extent inaccurate, inasmuch as the ruined church only has been removed, and the walls of the conventual buildings remain as they were. I regret, however, to add that since the appearance of the former volume the sculptured stone at Deer has been broken up for building materials, without Admiral Ferguson's knowledge.

APPENDIX TO THE PREFACE.

"Objects Sculptured on the Stones."

Page iv.—In the passage quoted from Solinus, after *hominis* insert *incremento.*

„ „ —In the quotation from Wilkins' Concilia, for *Prudentis* read *Prudentio.*

„ ix.—In the quotation from the Book of the Maccabees, for *consuetude* read *consuetudo.*

„ x.—In the notice of the gift to the church of St. Andrew at Rochester, the word *them* is omitted before "XXX. mancas."

„ xii.—For *Muecrtac O'Brien* read *Murcertac O'Brien.*

„ xv.—In the quotation from St. Bernard's address to William, abbot of Thiery, for *corpera* read *corpora.*

„ xvii.—In the passage descriptive of Roman ensigns, for *acquila* read *aquila.*

„ „ —For *Manlia family* read *Manlian family.*

„ xx.—For *Mr. Algernon Herbert* read *The Hon. Algernon Herbert.*

„ xxi.—In note 2, for the words *anulrg yit nathe* read *angularly in the centre.*

„ xxxiii.—Note 4, for *O'Connor* read *O'Conor.*

„ „ —Note 5, for *Dinseanchus* read *Dinnseanchus.*

„ „ —Note 6, for *Leabhar-ne-Uidhri* read *Leabhar-na-Uidhri.*

„ xxxiv.—Note 6, to the reference to Colgan's Vita S. Molaggæ, add, i. p. 149.

„ xxxv.—Note 10, for *diva* read *dona.*

„ xliii.—For *Lugnaedan* read *Lugnaedon.* According to Dr. Todd, the word *Lugnaedon* is the Celtic genitive of *Lugnad* or *Lugna* (Memoir of St. Patrick, p. 365).

„ „ —For *Limenuah* read *Limenueh.*

At page lxxv. "Illustrations of the Symbols," it is stated that the "sceptre" occurs in connection with four of the symbols—viz. the spectacle ornament, the crescent, the horse-shoe, and oblong figure. It is also found with the serpent. (See Preface, p. 27.)

Since the Tables of Illustrations of the Symbols (p. lxxiv.) were printed off, the two stones at Newbigging and Tillytarment have been found, and have therefore to be added to the undressed pillars there given, making the number between the Dee and the Spey to be 38. In the comparative numbers of the symbols in the first table, the comb should be stated at 21 instead of 20; the mirror at 37 instead of 35; and the mirror-case at 8 instead of 7.

In the second table the comb should be stated at 13 instead of 12; the mirror 23 instead of 21; mirror and comb on same stone, 10 instead of 9; mirror-case, 6 instead of 5; birds, 5 instead of 4.

In the facts connected with the symbol pillars, it is stated (p. lxxvi.) that 44 have been found in spots unconnected with any ecclesiastical foundations. The two recently found should probably be added to this number, although their original sites cannot be ascertained with certainty.

Page xcii.—For Plate XXIX. read Plate XXX. For Plates XXX. and XXXI. read Plates XXXI. and XXXII. For Plates XXXII. and XXXIII. read Plates XXXIII. and XXXIV.

NOTICES OF THE PLATES.

Page 2.—After Aberlemno the word *have* should be *has*.
„ 12.—Note 1, for *Jubhar-Chinntrechta* read *Iubhar-Chinntrachta*.
„ 21.—Note 1, for *monarchi* read *monachi*.
„ 27.—For *see antea, p.* 27, read *pp.* 23, 27, 73.
„ 31.—For *Patrick* read *Mail-Patrick*. For *Conner* read *Connor*.
„ 31.—Note 3, for *O'Donnovan* read *O'Donovan*.
„ 33.—For *miniscule* read *minuscule*.
„ 35.—For *Bleau* read *Blaeu*.
„ „ —Delete *it has not been found on any other Scotch monument*, and refer to p. 53, where a second instance of the Christian monogram is noticed.
„ 53.—For *Plate LXVII.* read *LXVIII.*
„ „ —Note 3, for *verbos* read *verba*.
„ 57.—For *maormer* read *mormaor*.
„ 59.—For *Manghold* read *Maughold*.
„ 52.—For *Eboraceneis* read *Eboracensis*.

In describing the crosses cut on the walls of the cave at Caiplie (Appendix to the Preface, p. lxxxix.), it is stated that on the west, near to the point where the cave begins to contract, there is a cross within a circle about seven inches in diameter. The marks referred to are at a considerable height from the ground, and looking at them from the floor, they appear to be what my first inspection led me to call them, but having recently been able to examine the rock closely, I am satisfied that they are natural cracks in the surface.

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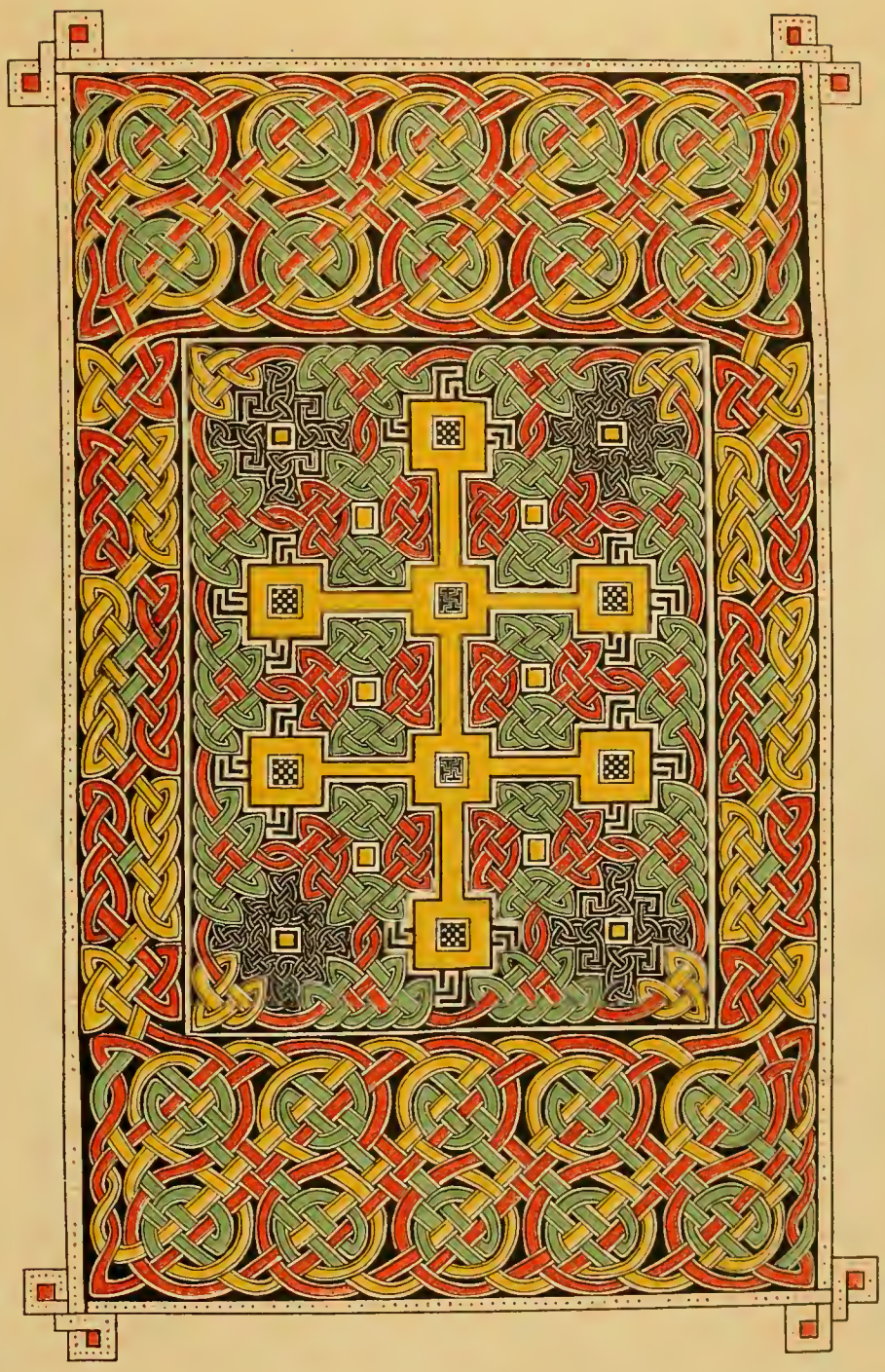

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FROM THE GOSPELS OF MAC DURNAN

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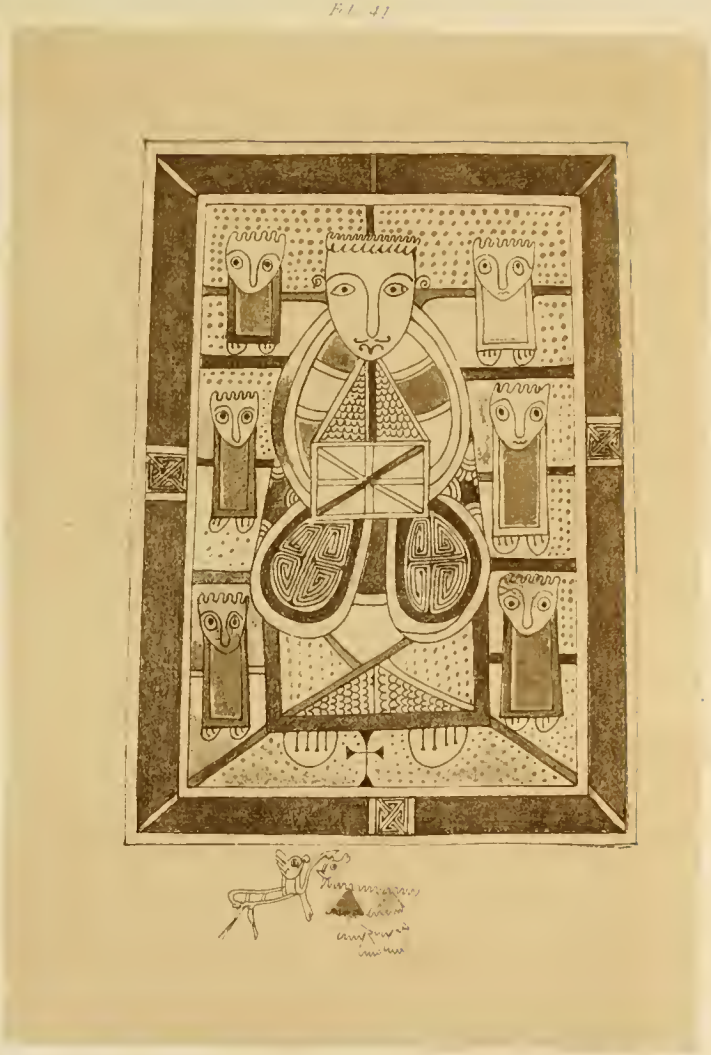

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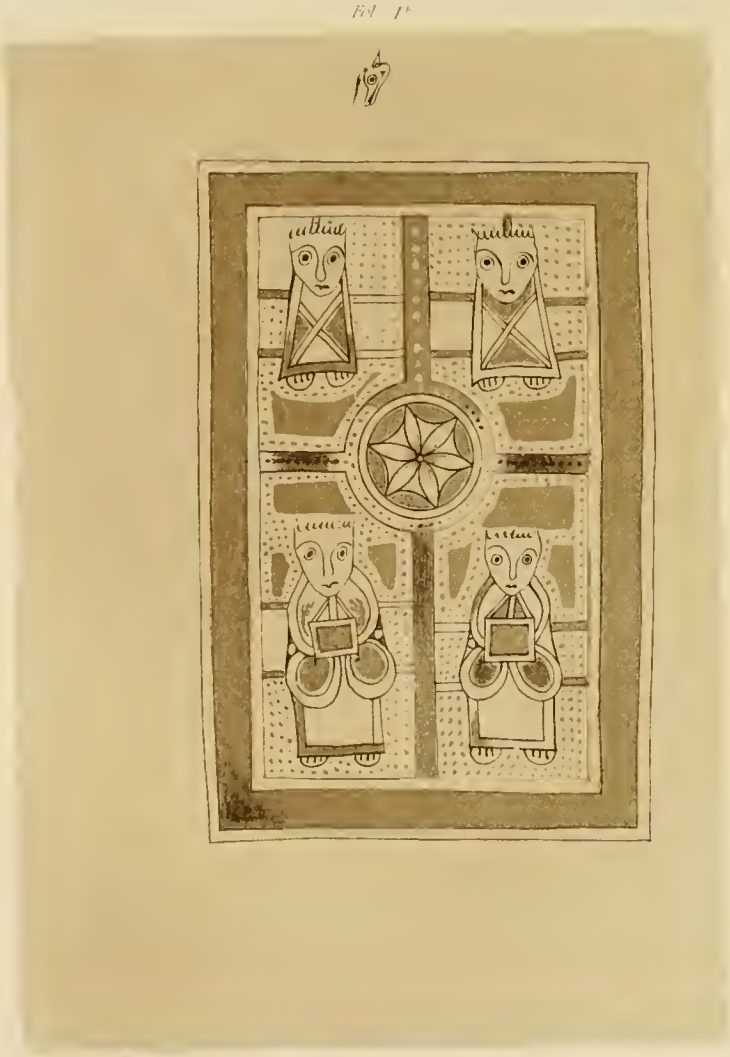

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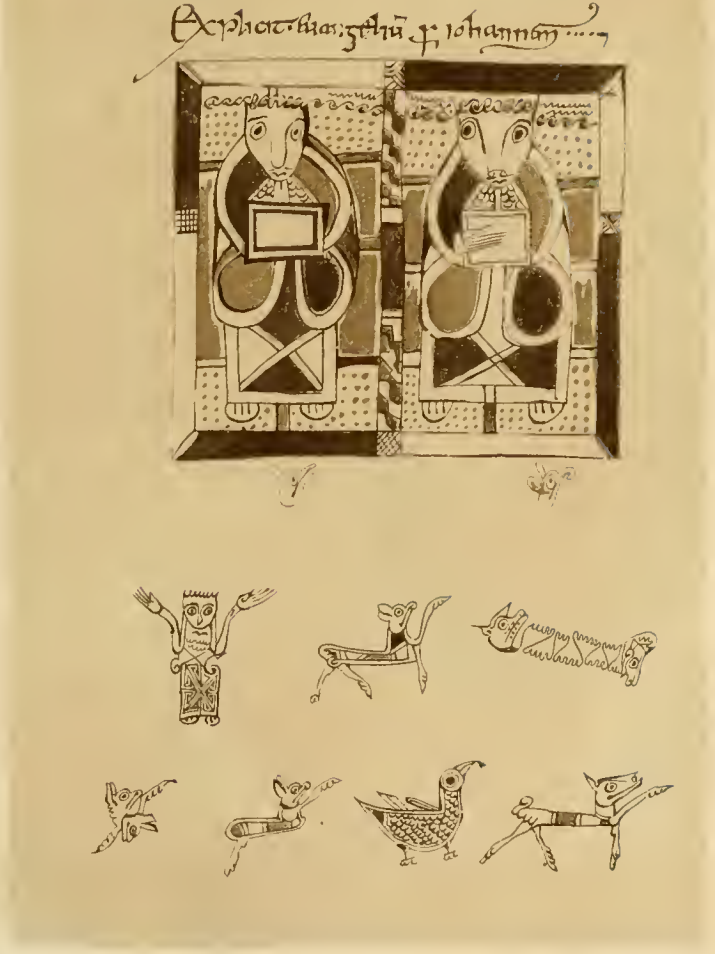

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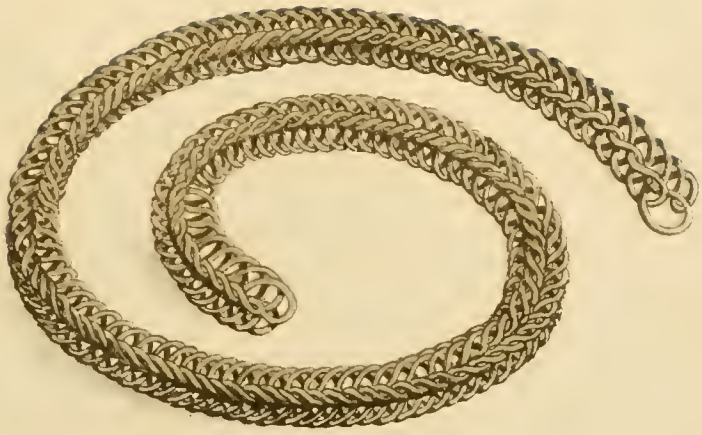
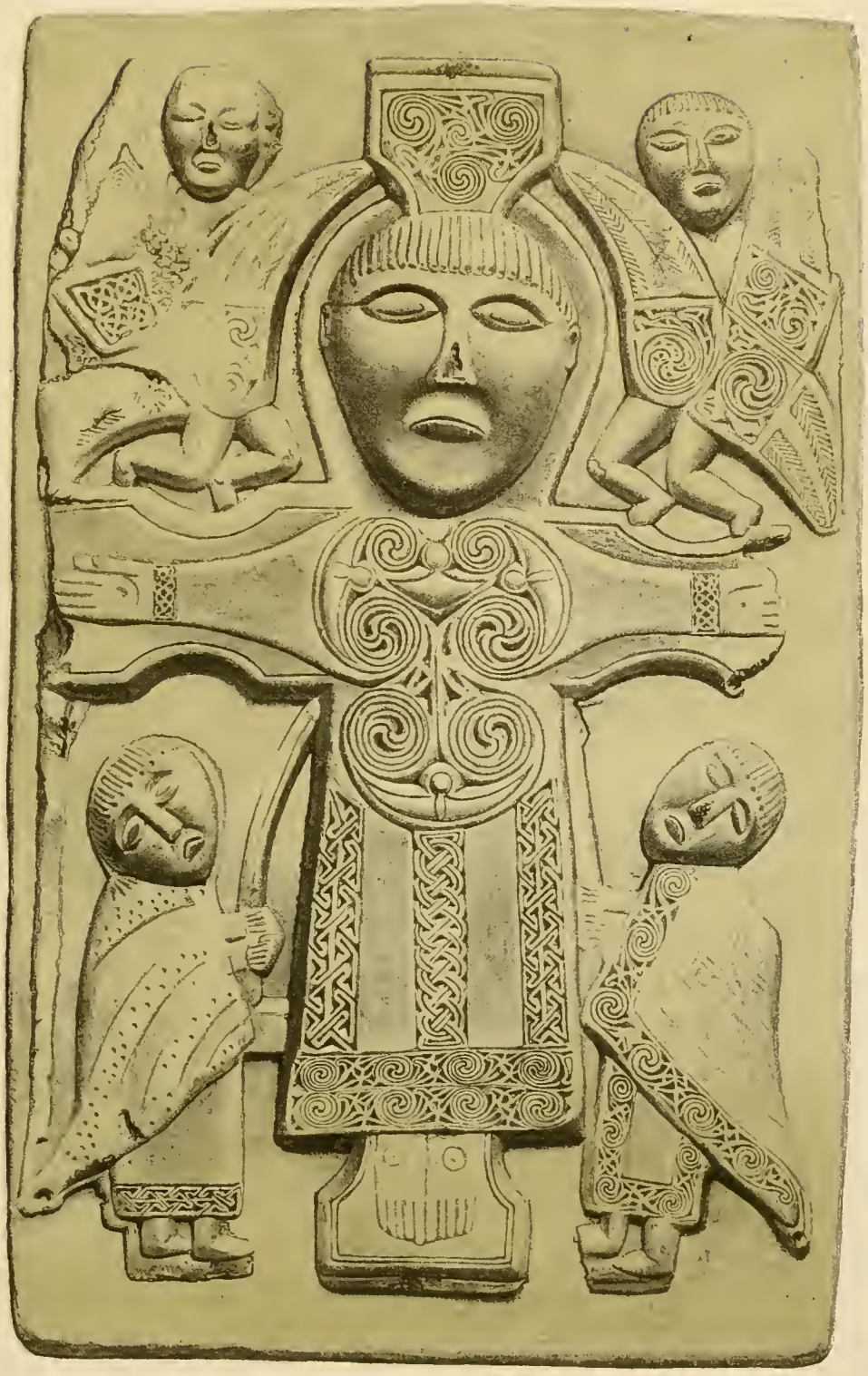
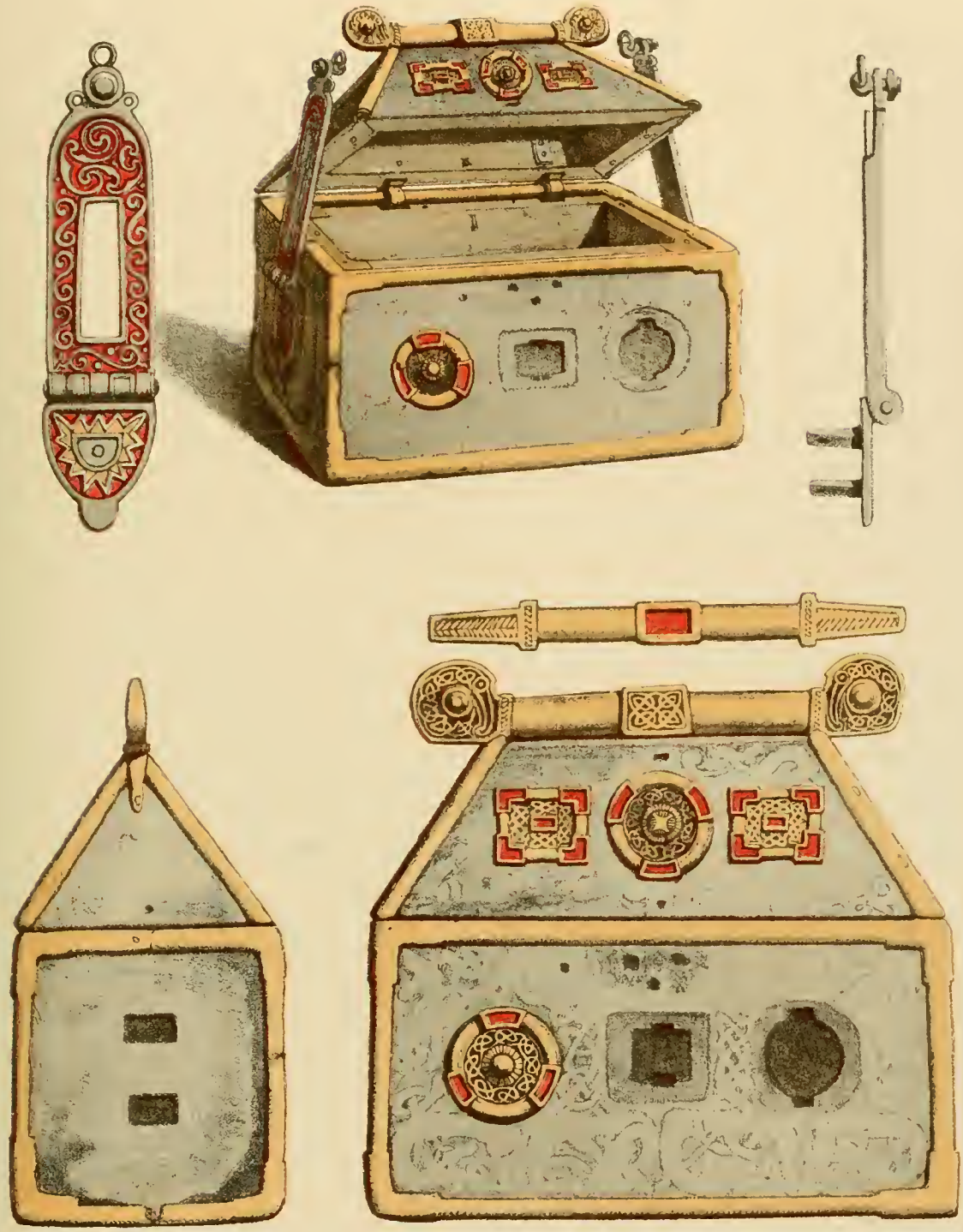




BRONZE CRUCIFIXION.

FROM THE MUSEUM OF THE ROYAL [illegible]

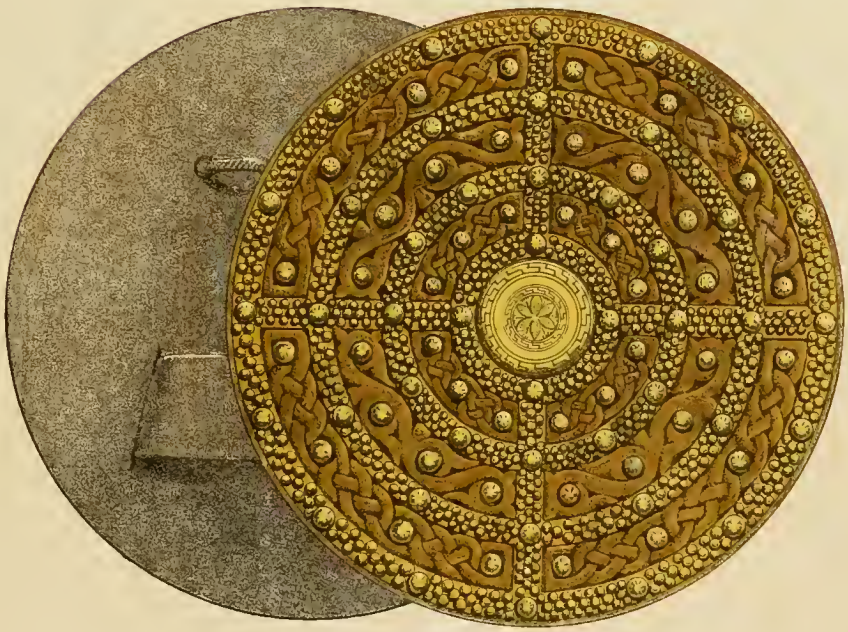


FULL SIZE

CASKET FROM MONTMURE HOUSE, ARGYLLSHIRE.

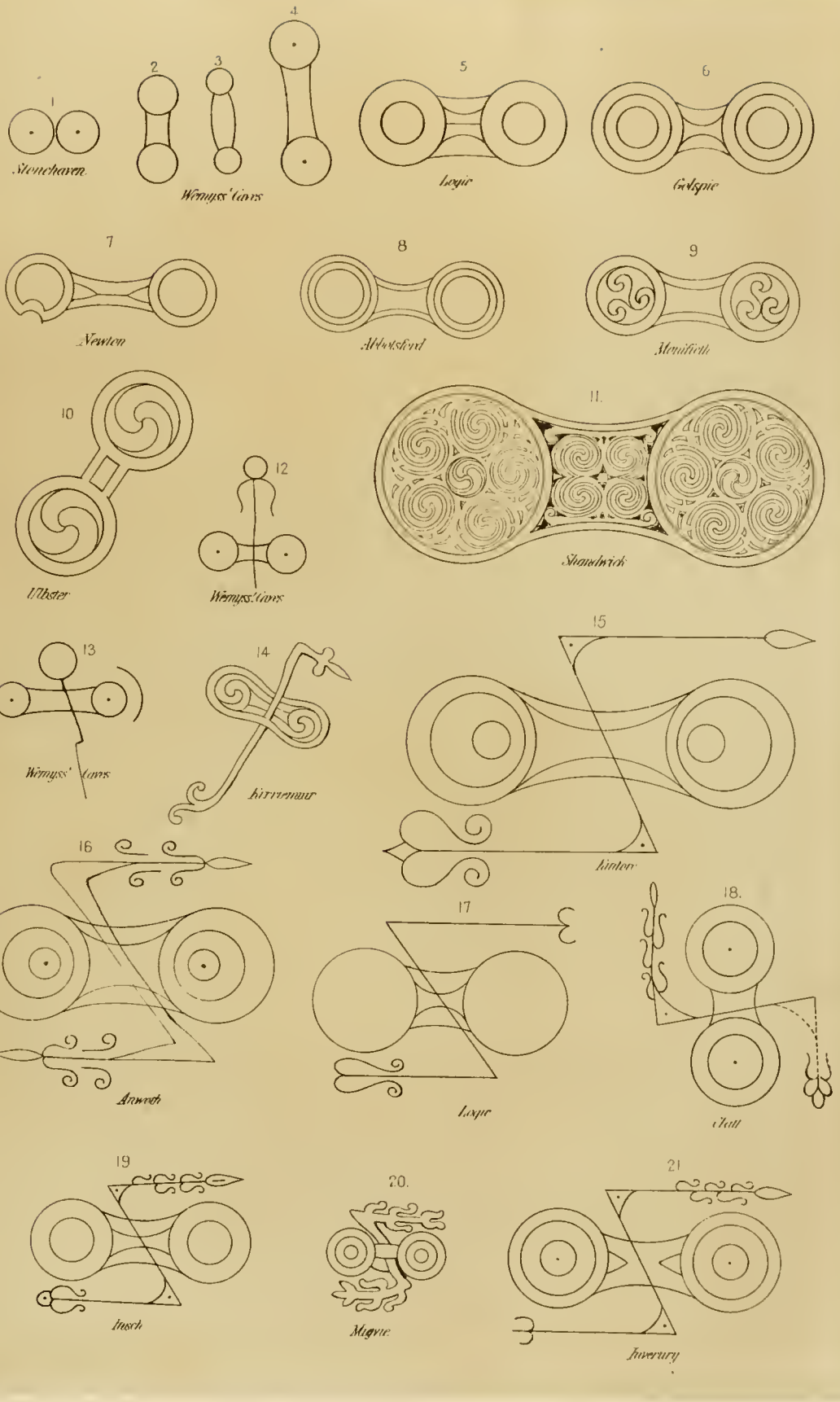
THE KILMICHAEL GLASSARY BELL

SCOTTISH BROOCH



HIGHLAND TARGET

Scale of one foot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Wemyss' Caves
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Logie
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Gelspie
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Newton
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Aldretsford
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Monifieth
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Ulbster
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Wemyss Caves
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Shandwick
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Wemyss' Caves
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Kirriemuir
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Linton
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Arroath
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Logie
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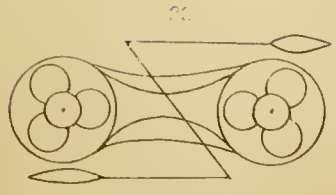
SYMBOLS.



Bourtie

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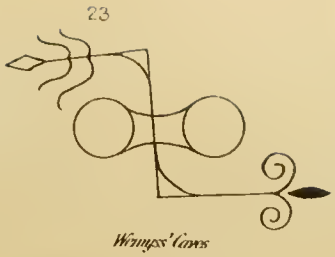

Wemyss' Caves

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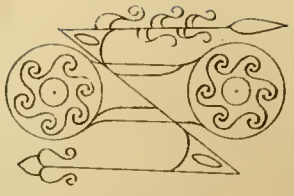

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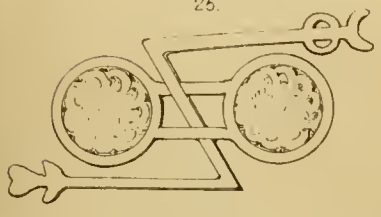

Elgin

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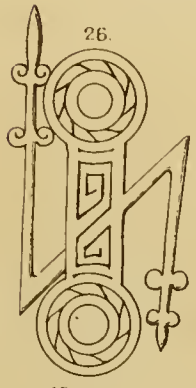

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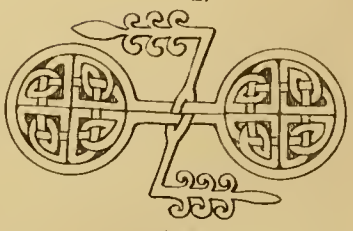

St Vigeans

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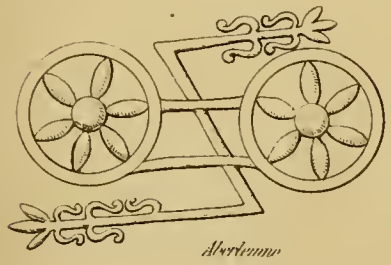

Aberlemno

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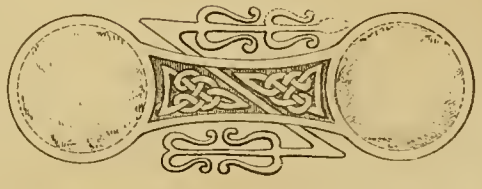

Hilton of Cadboll

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Dyce

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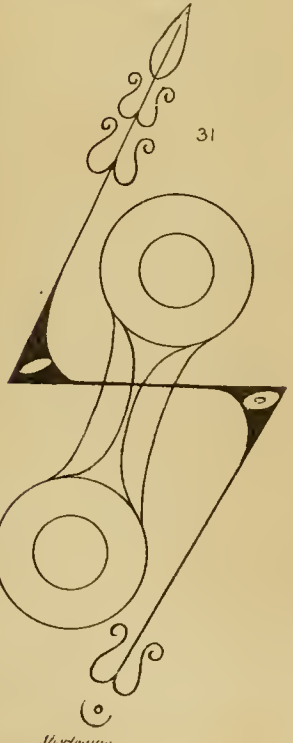

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Ravlie

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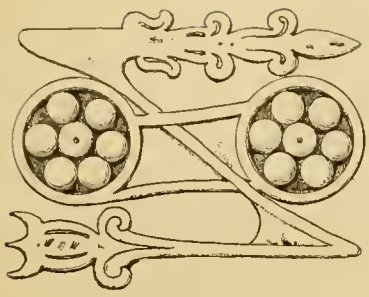

Glenferness

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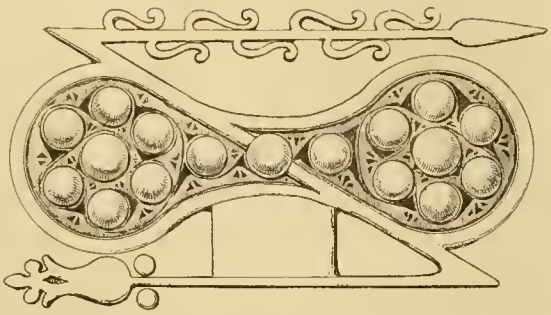

Rosemarkie

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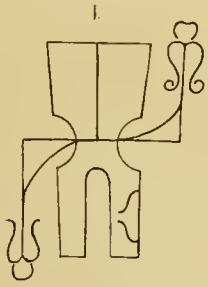

Logie Coldstone

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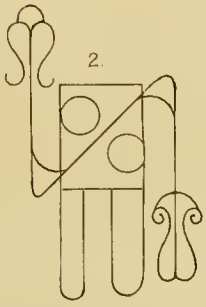

Birnie

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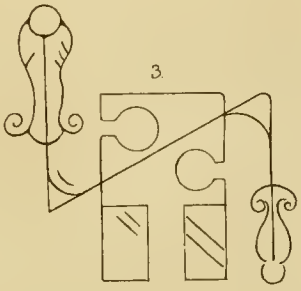

Tyrie

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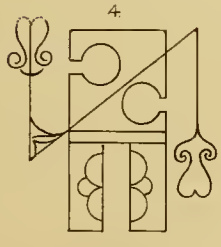

Dunrobin

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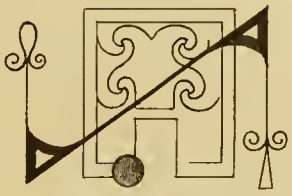
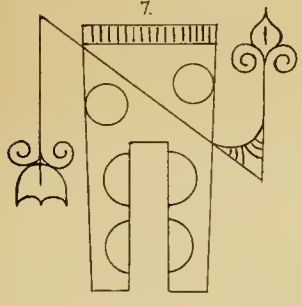


Aberlemno

6.

Maiden Stone

7.



Arndilly

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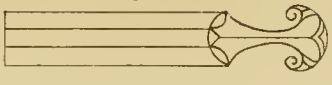

Dunrobin

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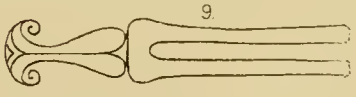

Fintore

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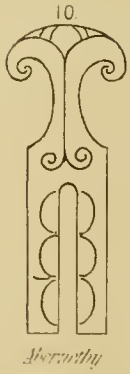

Aberarthy

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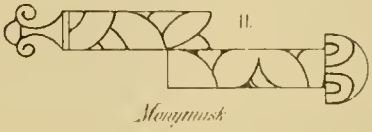

Monymusk

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Ulster

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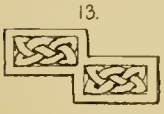
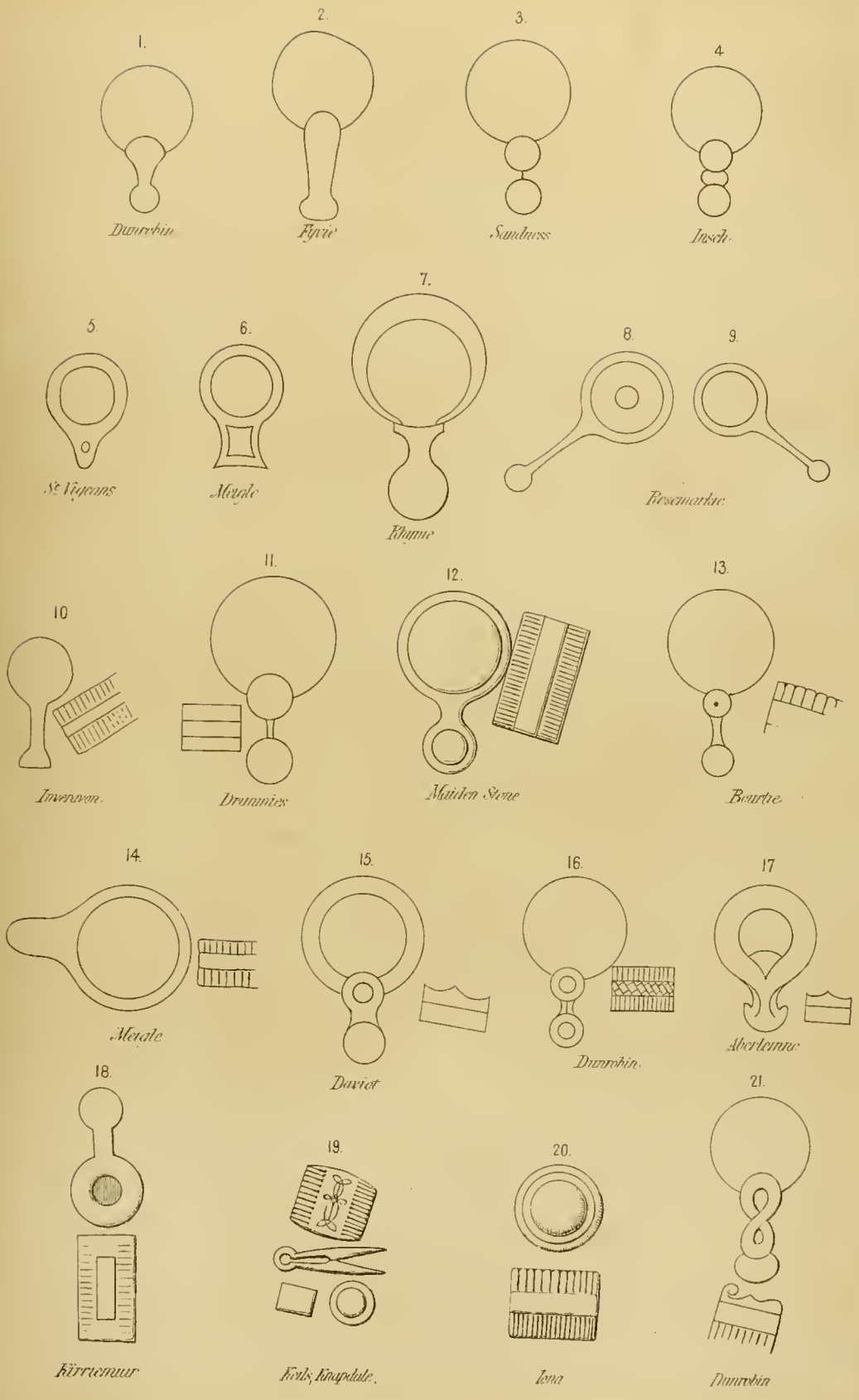


Bressay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Dunrobin
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Sandness
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Insch
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St Vigeans
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Mayde
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Rhynie
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9.
Rosemarkie
10
Inverurie
11.
Drummies
12.
Maiden Stone
13.
Bourtie
14.
Meyde
15.
Daviot
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Dunrobin
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Aberlemno
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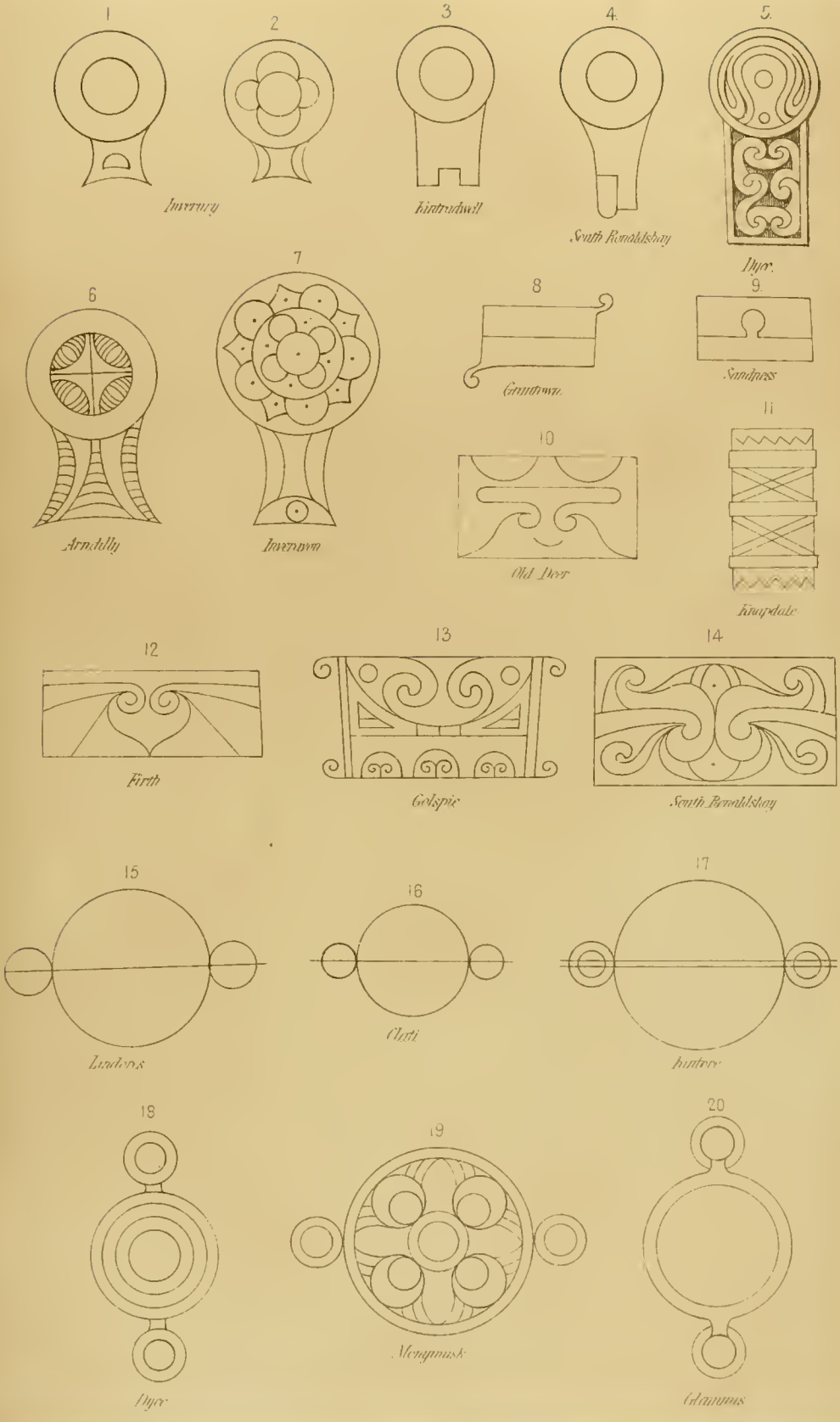
Kirriemuir
19.
Finls, Knapdale.
20.
Iona
21.
Dunrobin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Knapdale
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Firth
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Golspie
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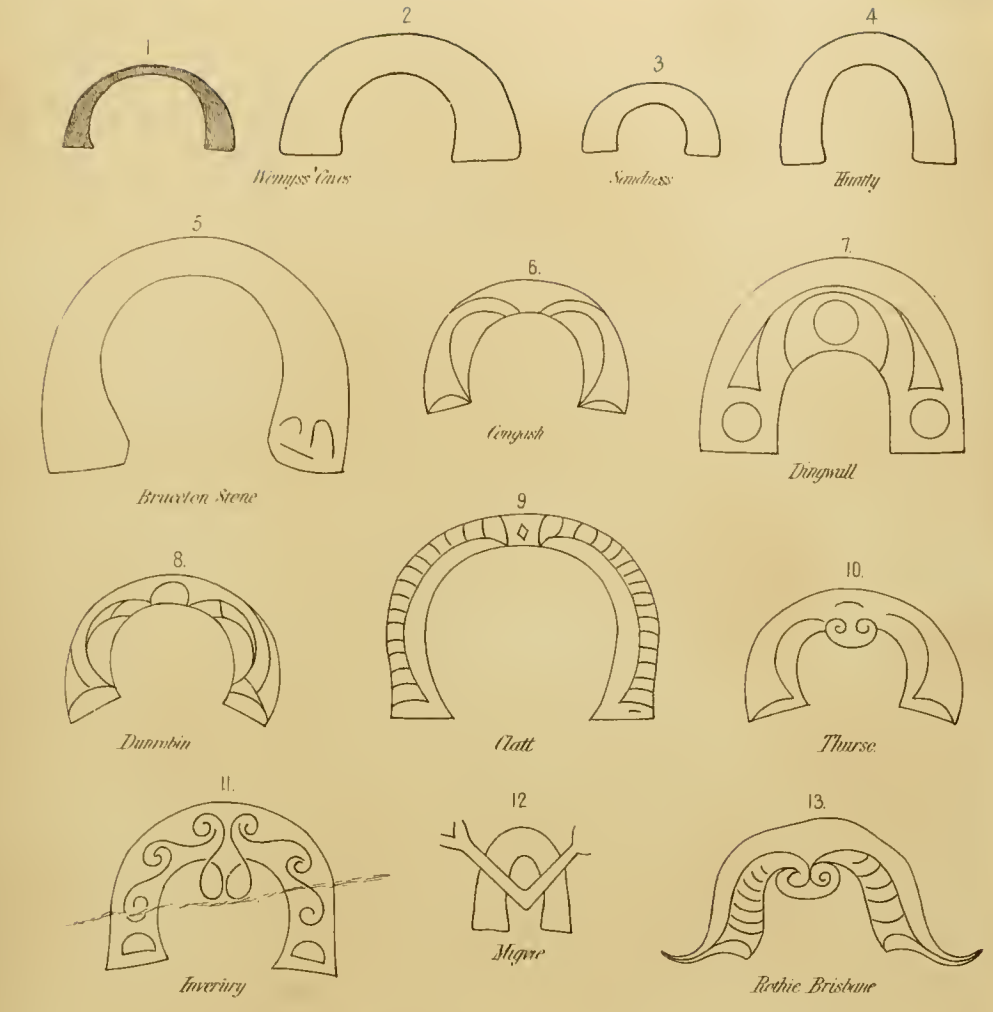
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Cengash
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Dingwall
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Dunnbin
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Thurso
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Inverury
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Migvie
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Rothie Brisbane
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Glammis
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Gask
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Dunrobin
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Wemyss Caves
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Golspie
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Dunnichen
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Ulster
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Wemyss' Caves
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Meigle
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Monifieth
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Restie Priory
25.
Glammis
26
Norries Law

1
Wemyss Caves
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Daviot
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Kingoldrum
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St Vigeans
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Stonehaven
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Edinburgh
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Golspie
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Old Deer
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Daviot
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Knockando
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Logie Gollstone
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Strathmartin
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Glenferness
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Bessie Priory
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Kinnellar
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Orkney
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Meiklleth
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Ulbster
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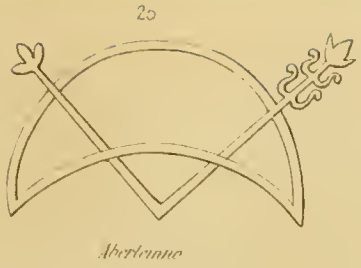
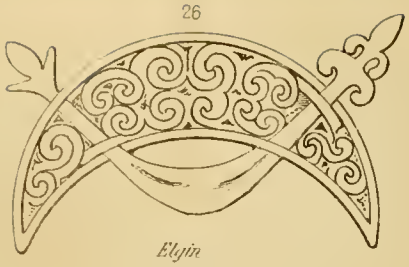
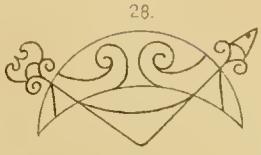
Eassie


25
Aberlemno


26
Elgin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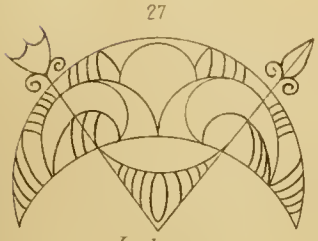
Dunrobin.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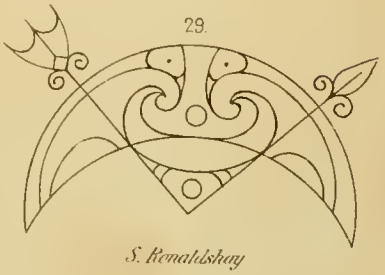
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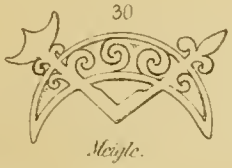
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Meigle.

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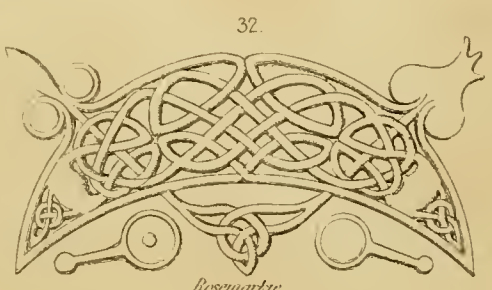
Hilton of Cadboll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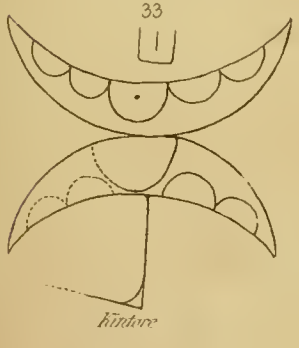
Rosemarkie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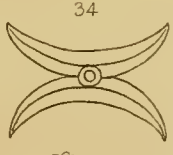
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Brodie

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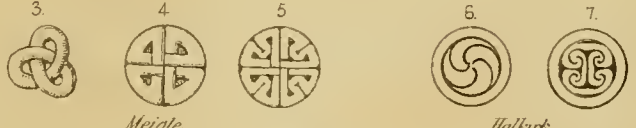
Clyne.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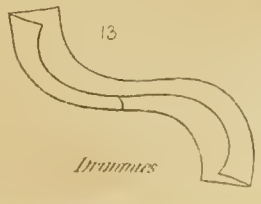
Meigle. Halkirk

8. 9. 10. 11.
Montrose. Brodie Killamuir Balquhidder.

12
Wemyss' Caves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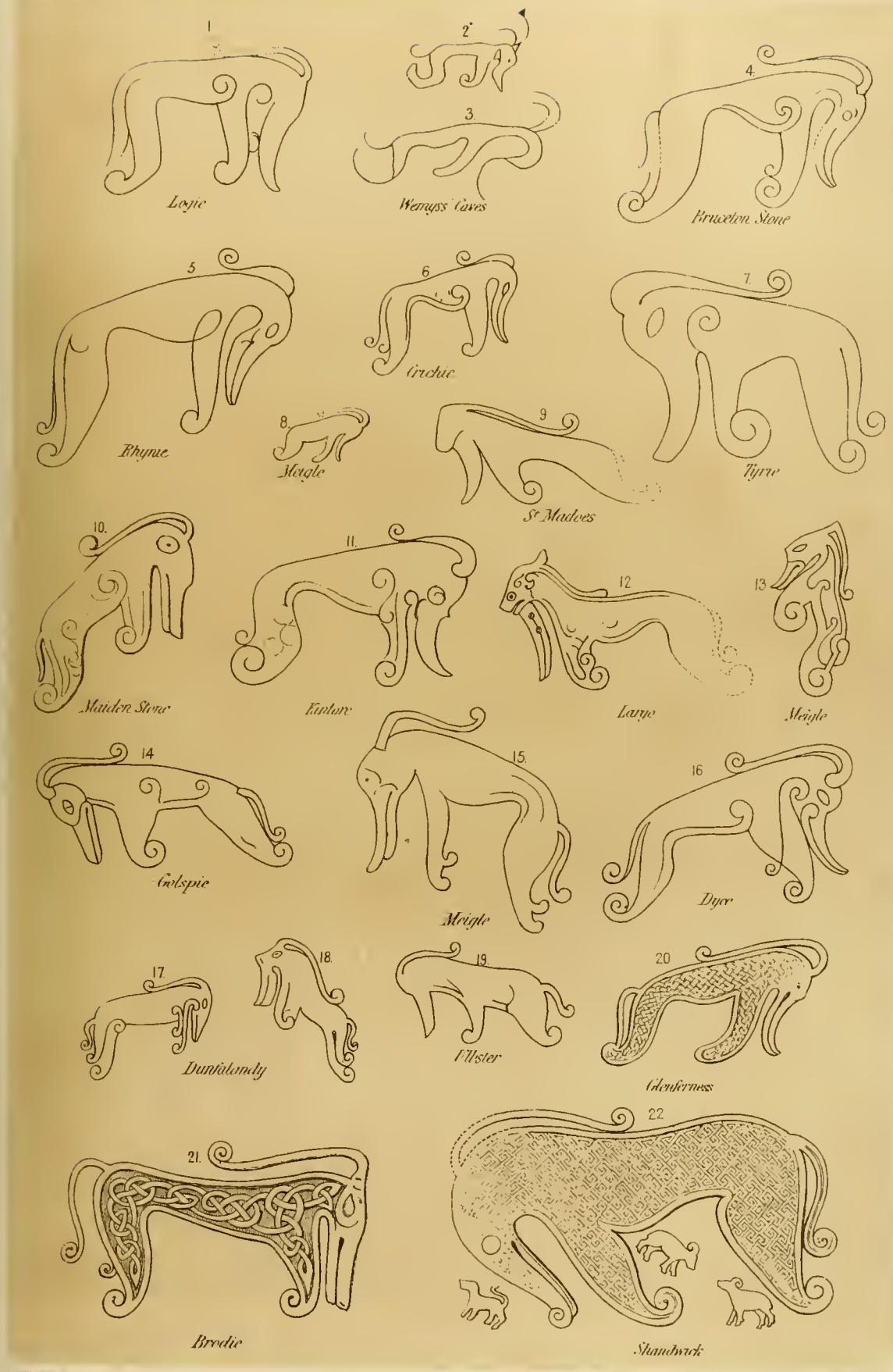
Drummies

14
Inchrabert.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Logie
2
3
Wemyss Caves
4
Brucelon Stone
5
Rhynie
6
Grichie
7
Tyrie
8
Meigle
9
St Madoes
10.
Maiden Stone
11.
Kintore
12
Largo
13
Meigle
14
Golspie
15.
Meigle
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Dyce
17
Dunfalandy
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19
Fillster
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Glenferness
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Brodie
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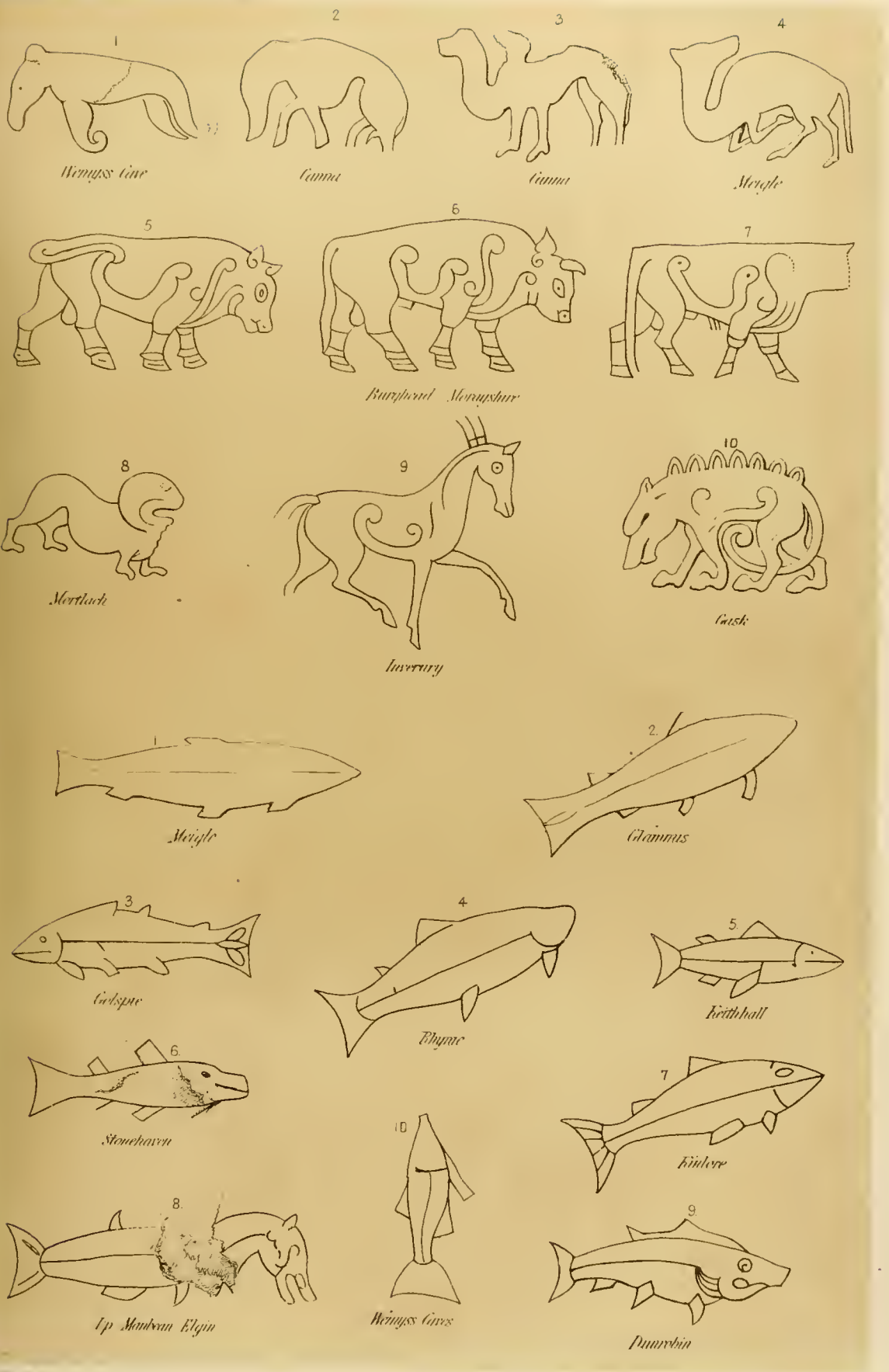
Shandwick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Wemyss Cave
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Cumra
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Cumra
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Meigle
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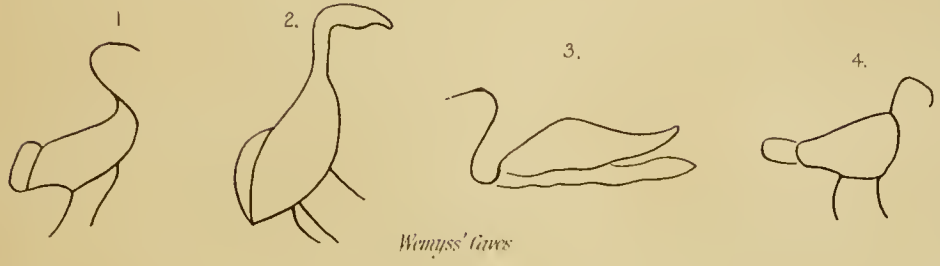
6
Burghead Morayshire
7
8
Mortlach
9
Inverury
10
Gask
1
Meigle
2.
Glammis
3
Golspie
4
Rhynie
5.
Keithhall
6.
Stonehaven
7
Kinlove
8.
Up Monboan Elgin
10
Wemyss Cave
9.
Dunrobin

1.
2.
3.
Ulster
Brodie
Mortlach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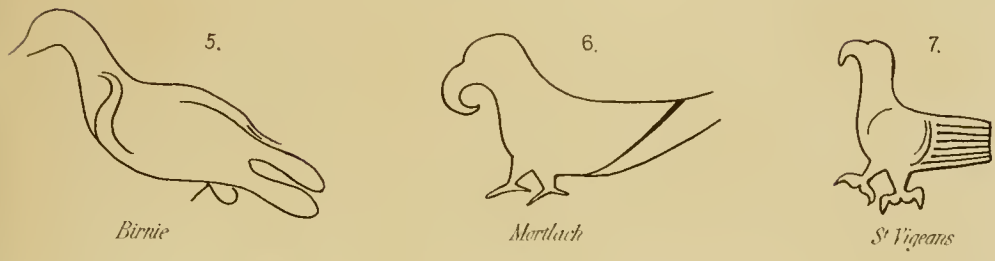
Wemyss' Caves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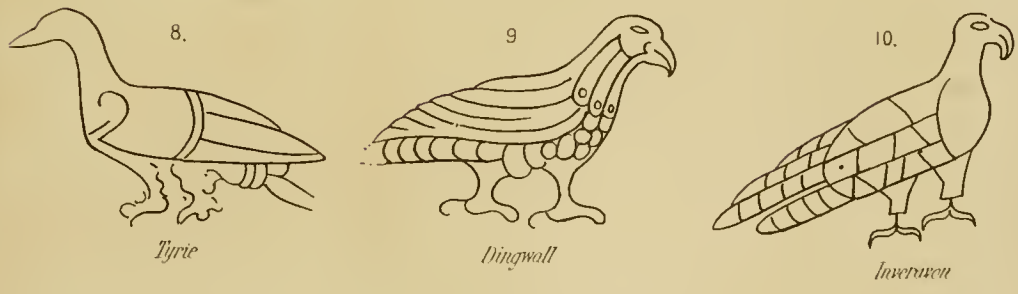
Birnie
Mortlach
St Vigeans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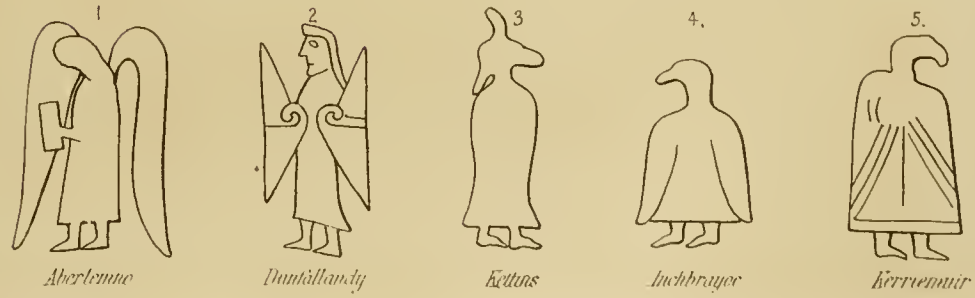
Tyrie
Dingwall
Inverurie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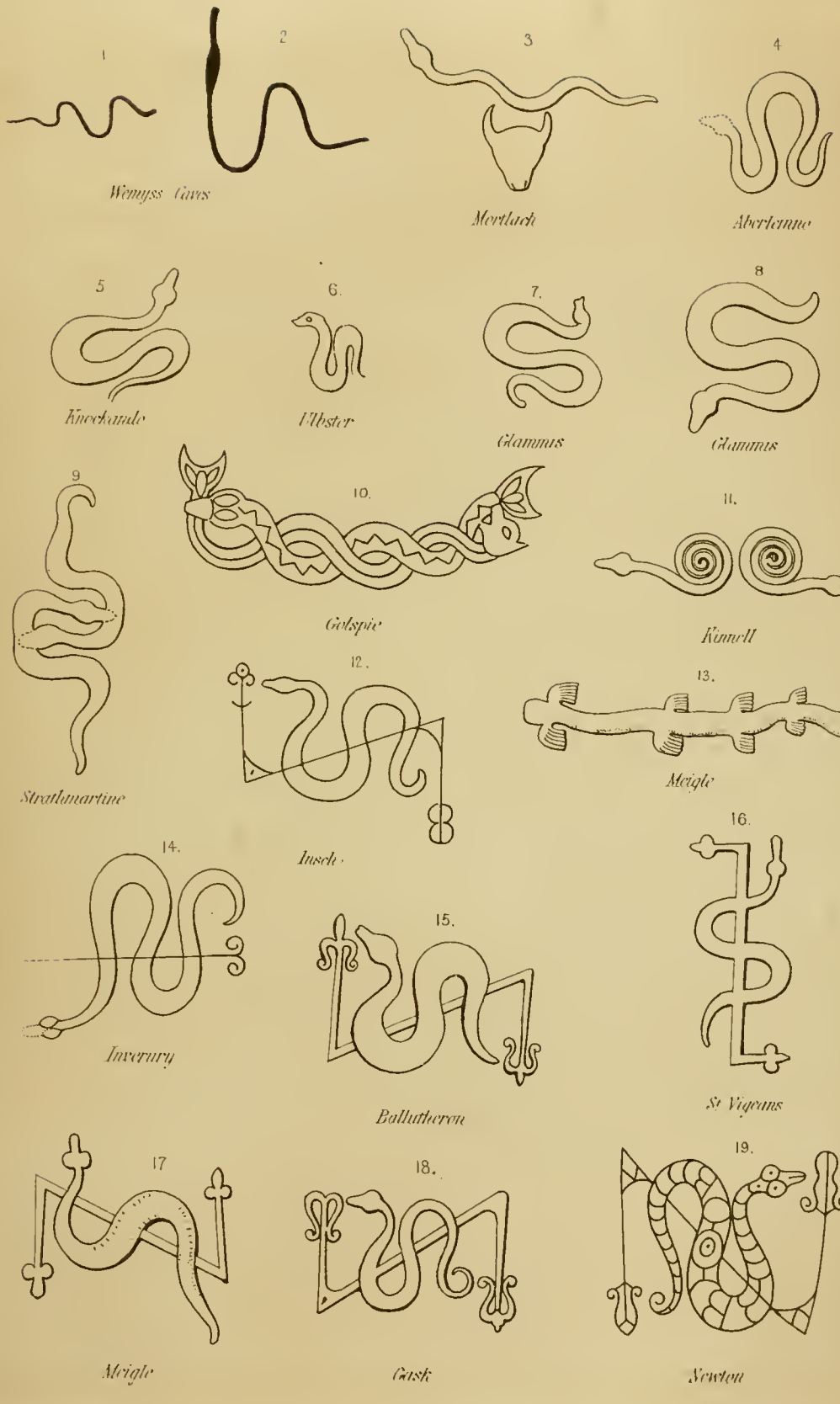
5.
Aberlemno
Dunfallandy
Kettins
Inchbrayoc
Kirriemuir


1
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Wemyss Caves
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Mortlach
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Aberlemno
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Knockando
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Ulbster
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Glamms
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Glamms
9
Strathmartine
10.
Golspie
11.
Kinnell
12.
Insch
13.
Meigle
14.
Inverury
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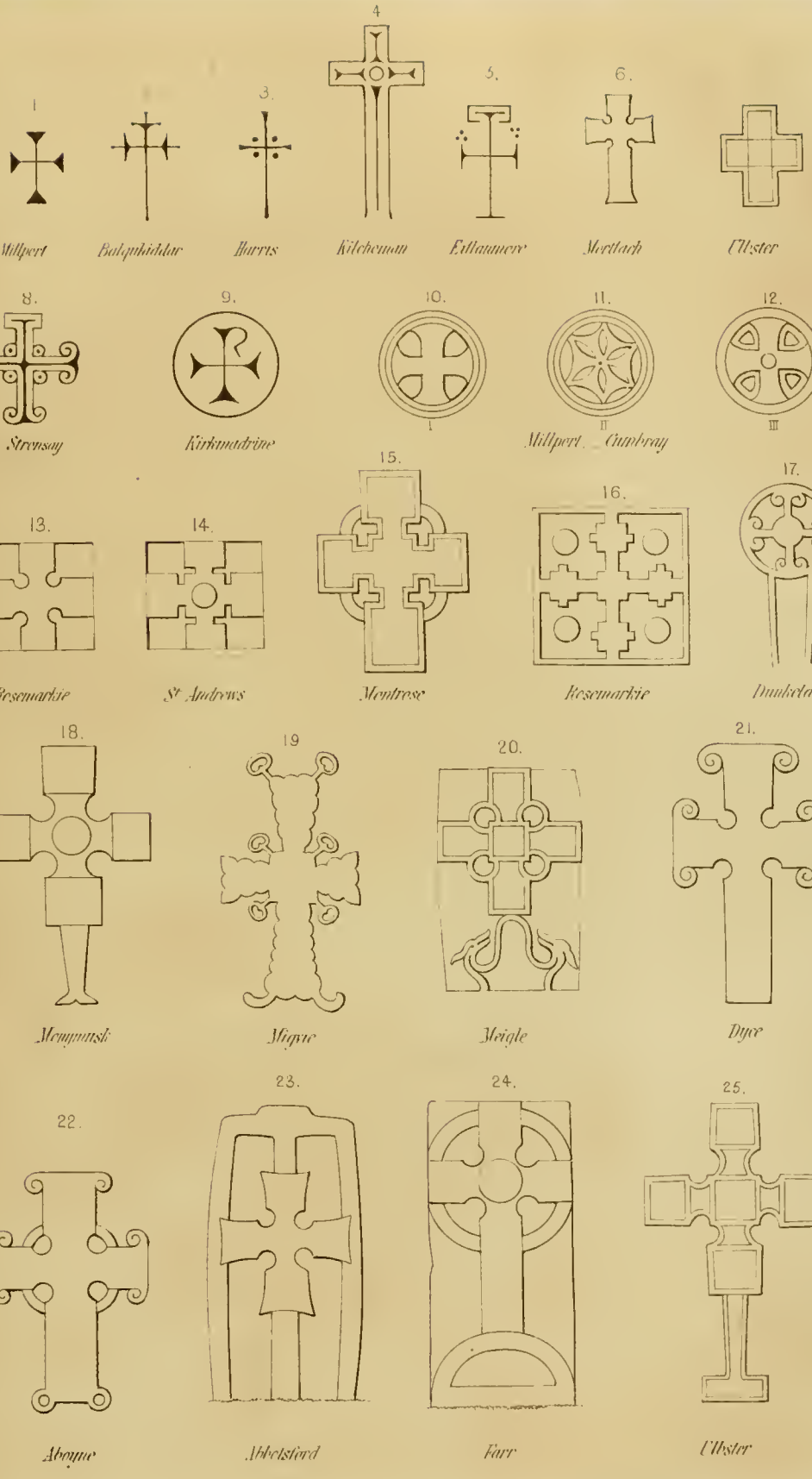
Ballutheron
16.
St Vigeans
17
Meigle
18.
Gask
19.
Newton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Millport
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Balquhiddar
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Burris
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Kilchoman
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Edlanmore
6.
Mertlach
Ulster
8.
Papa Stronsay
9.
Kirkmadrine
10.
I
11.
II
Millport Cumbray
12.
III
13.
Rosemarkie
14.
St Andrews
15.
Montrose
16.
Rosemarkie
17.
Dunkeld
18.
Monymusk
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Migvie
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Meigle
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Dyce
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Aboyne
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Abbotsford
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Farr
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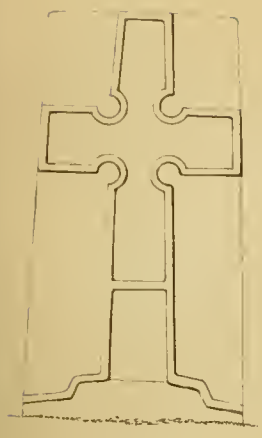
Ulster



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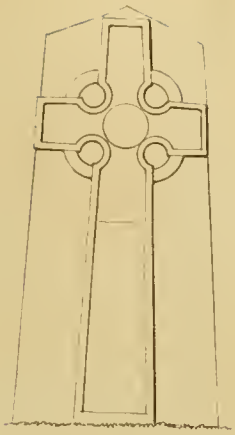
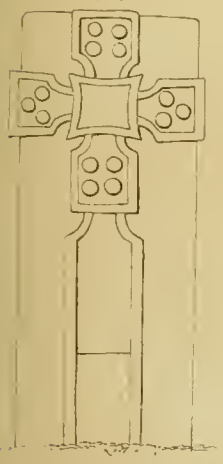
27 *Fowlis wester*



28 *Aberlemno*

29. *Kirkcolm*



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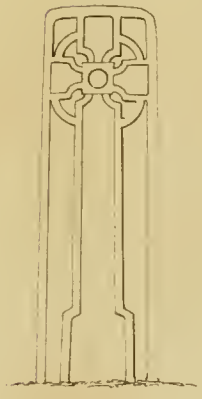

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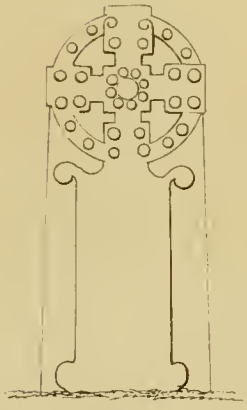

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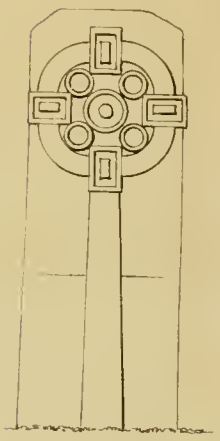
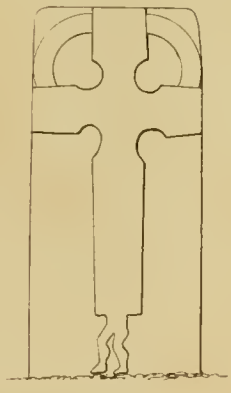


33 *Aberlemno*

34 *Rothesay*

35 *Halkirk*



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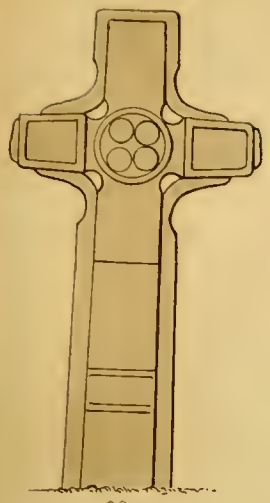
37. *Eddertoun*



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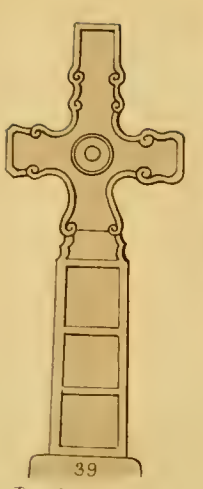
Ginna Restored



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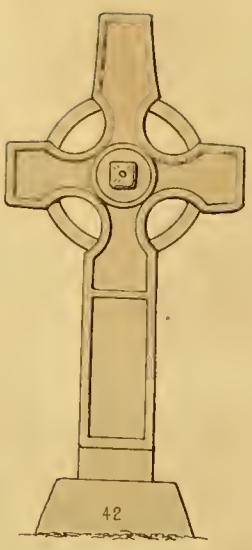
Dupplin Castle

40.
Monreith

41
Inverurray



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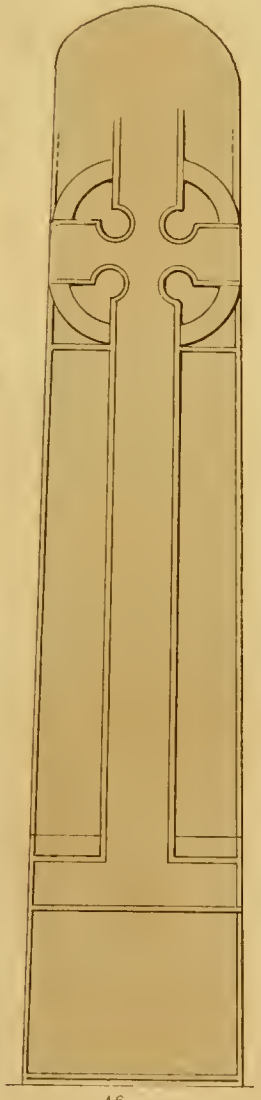
Kildalton

43
Camuston

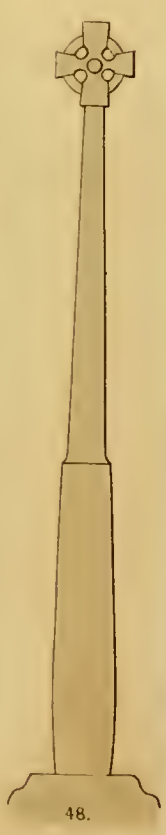
44
St Martins Cross

45.
Kirls Knapdale



46.
"Sunos Stone"

47.
Campbeltown



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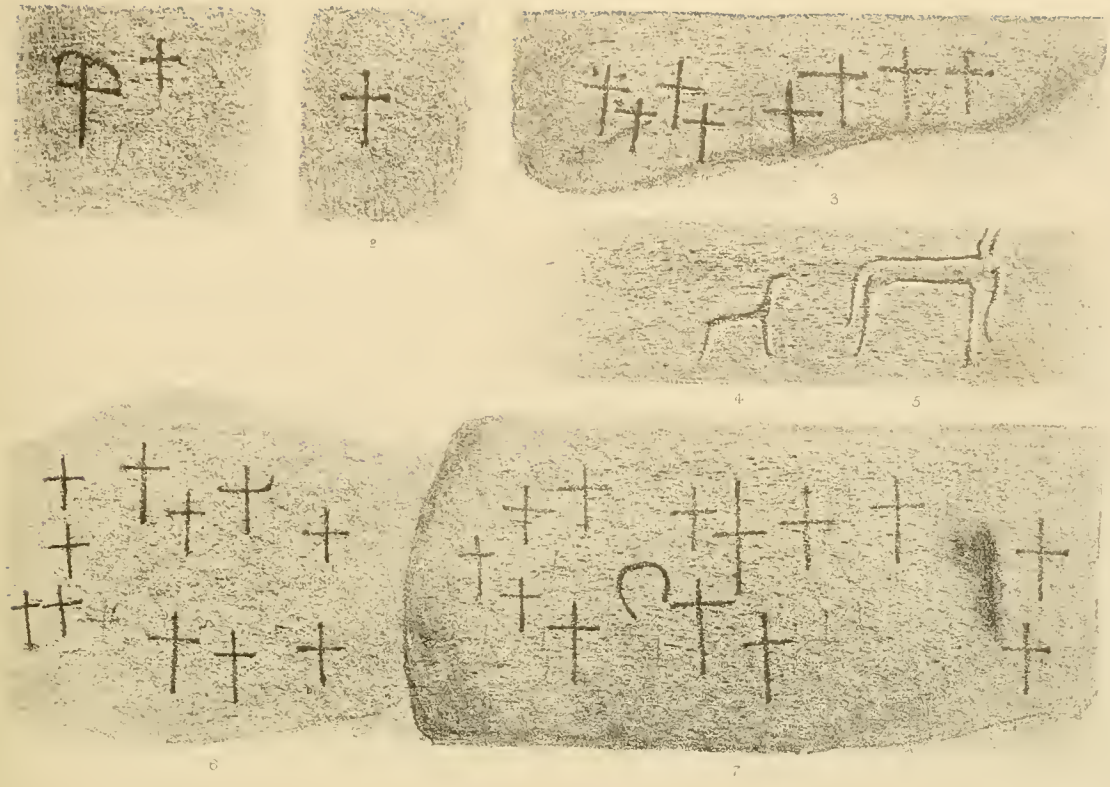
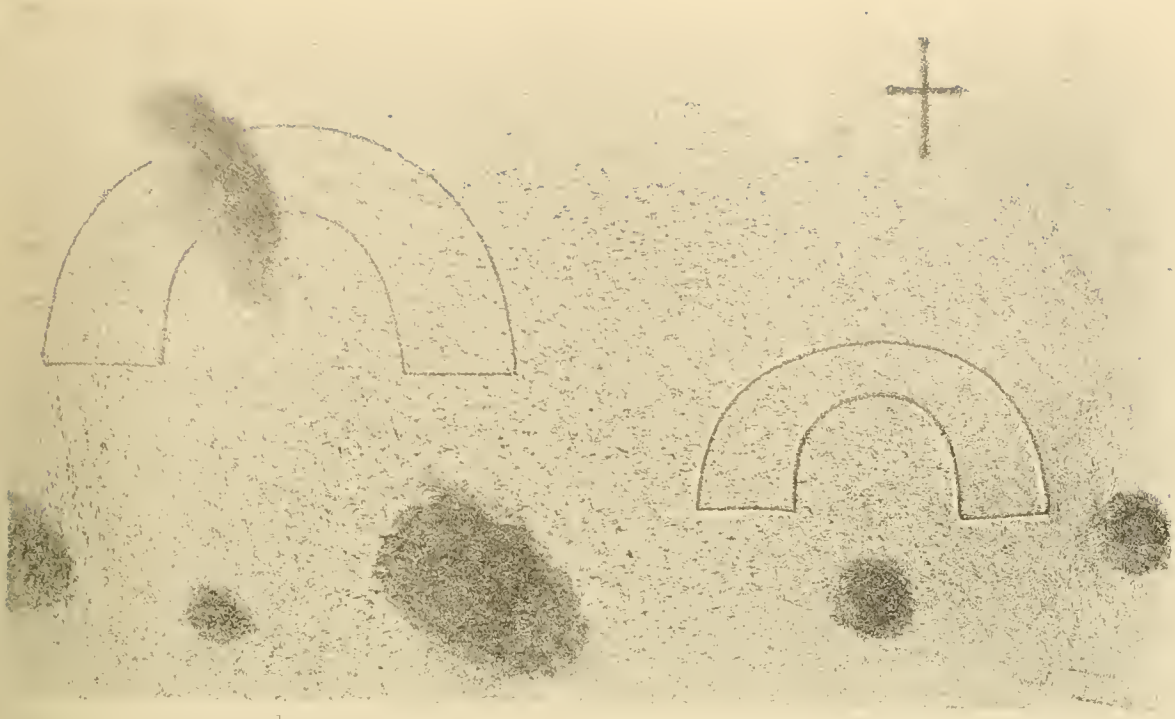
Gesferth



CONSTANTINE'S CAVE, FIFESHIRE.

CAVE, FIFESHIRE.

I



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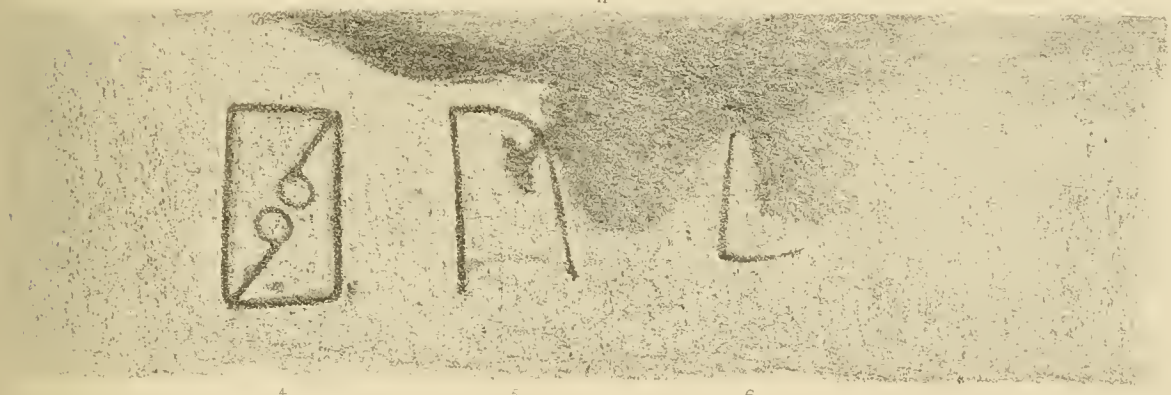

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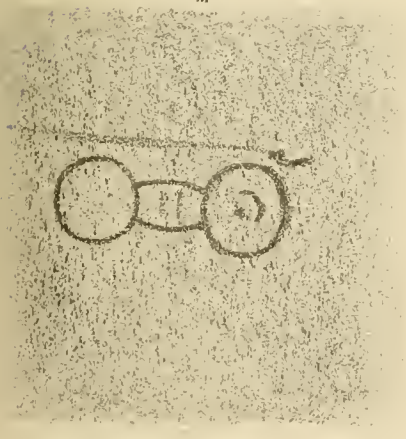

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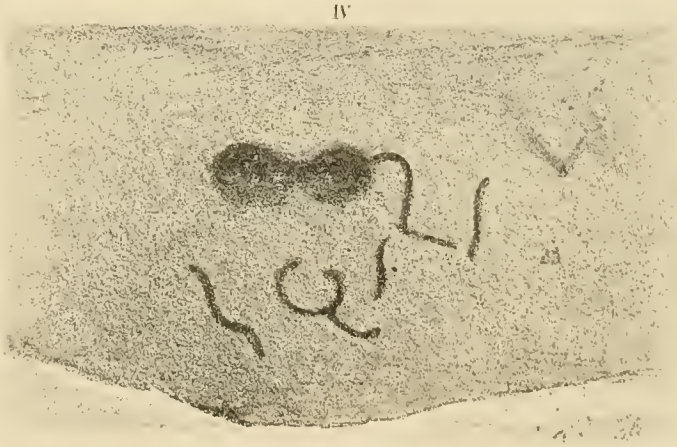

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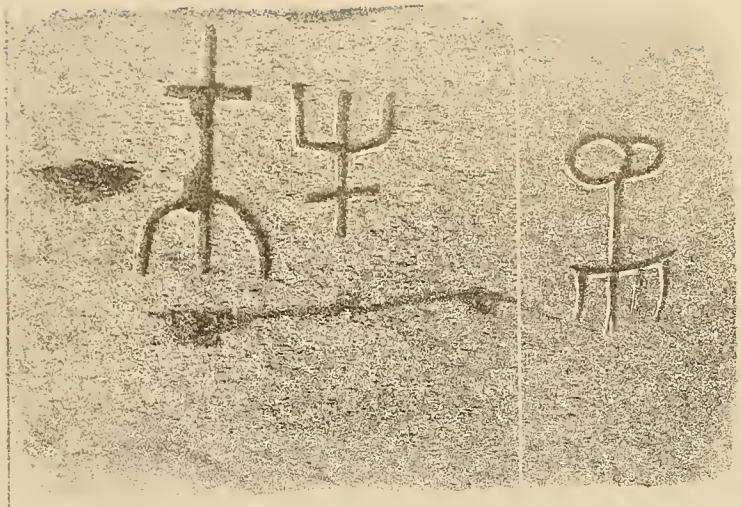

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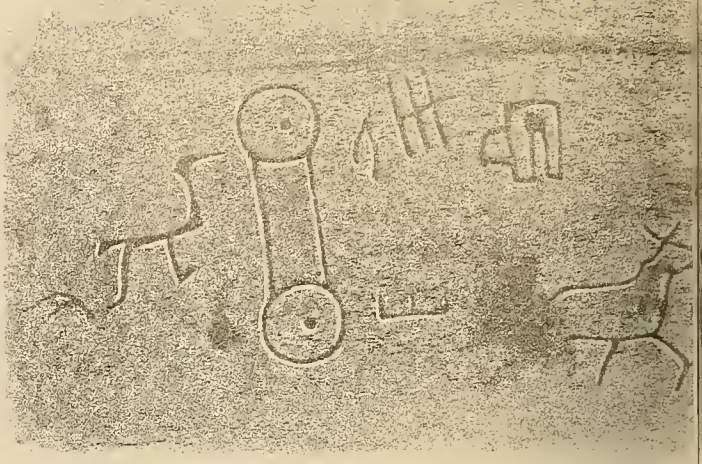

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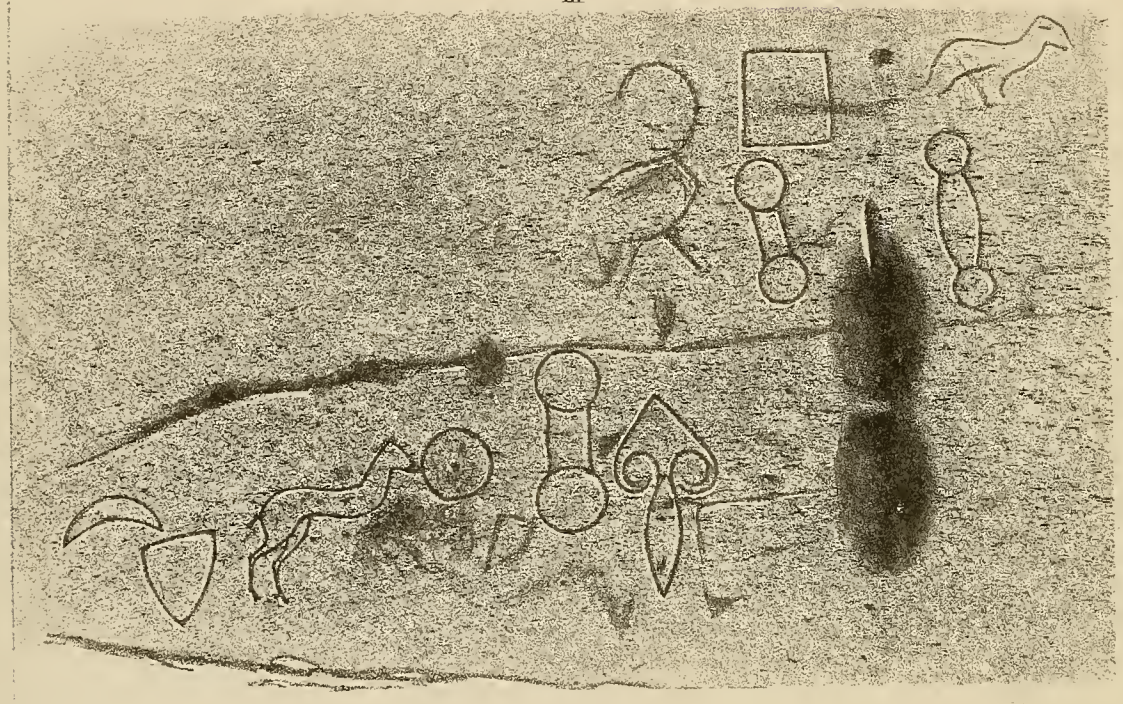

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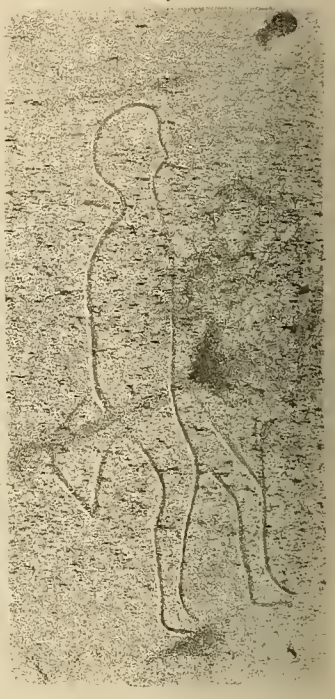

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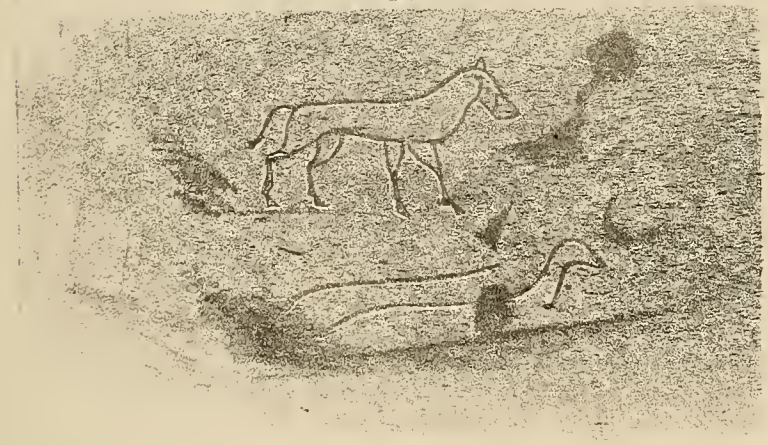

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V

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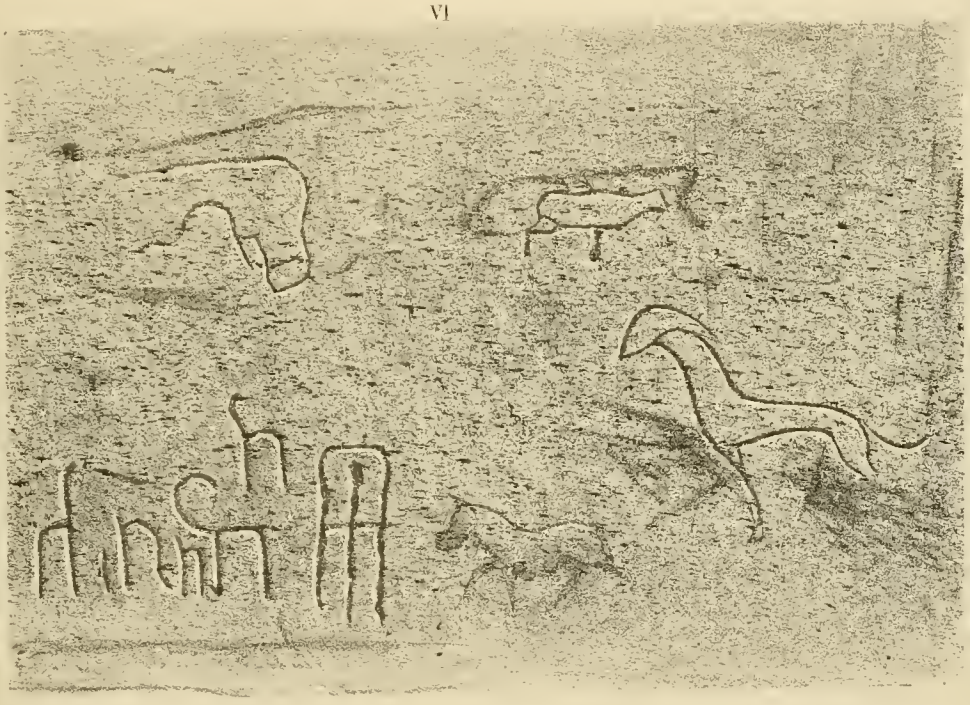

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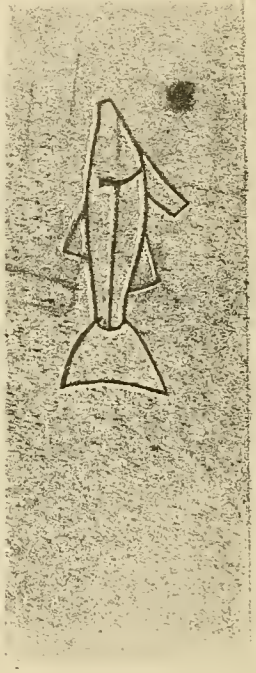

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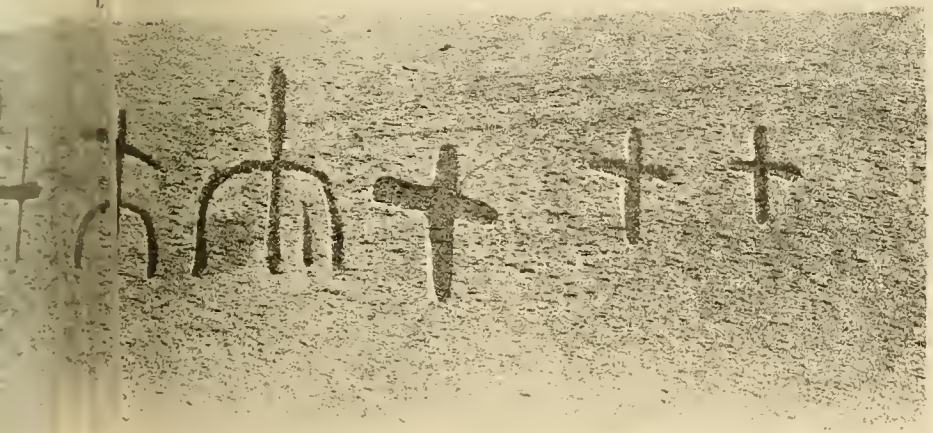


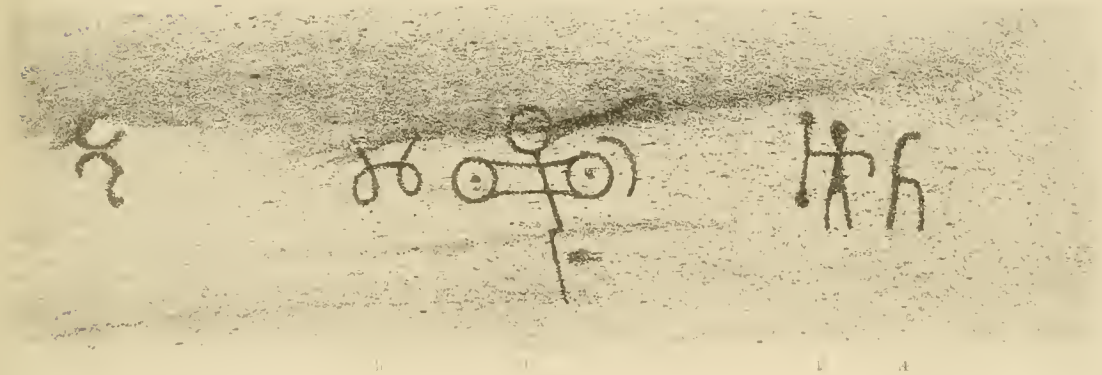
X

TWYNS, FIFESHIRE.

I

II

III



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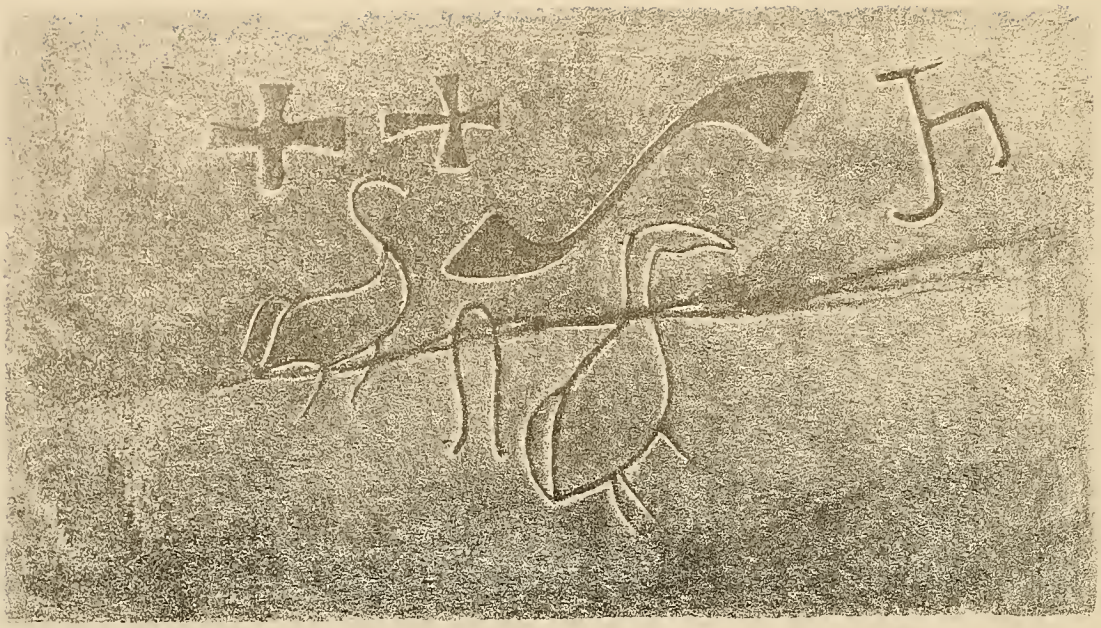

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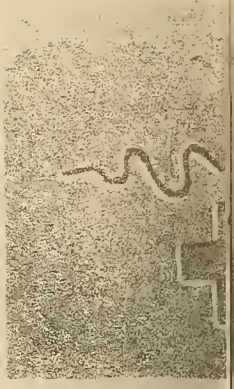

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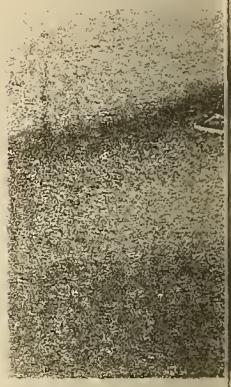

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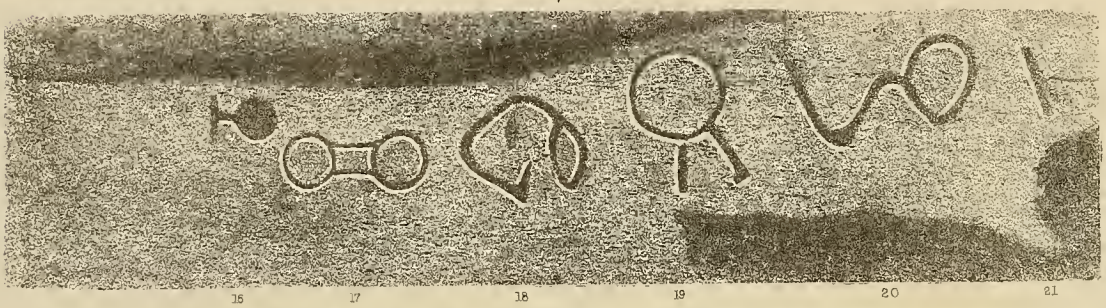

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VII

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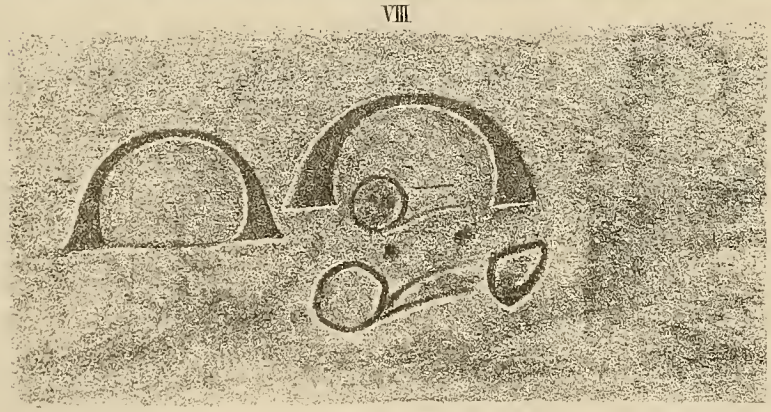
VIII



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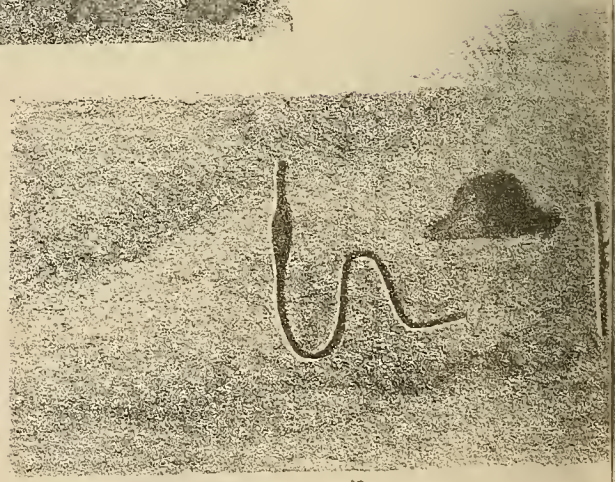

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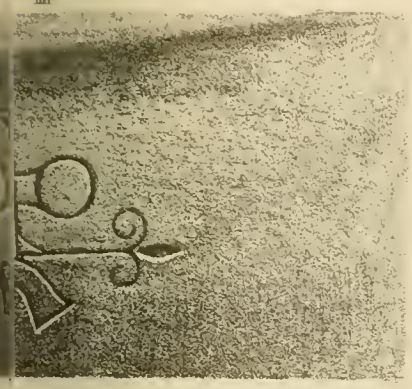

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VI

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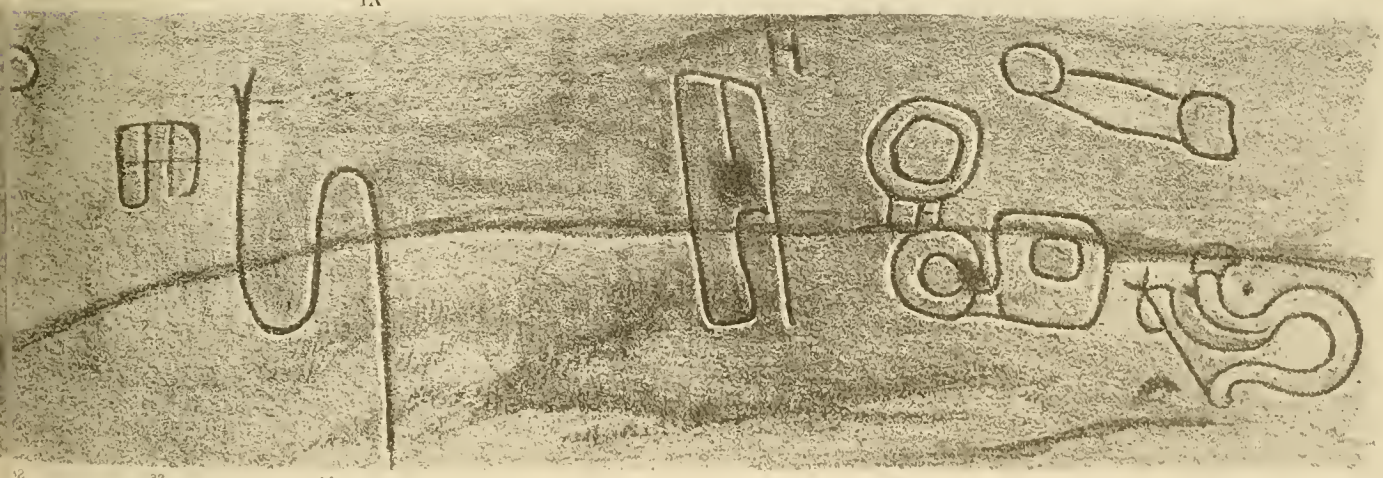
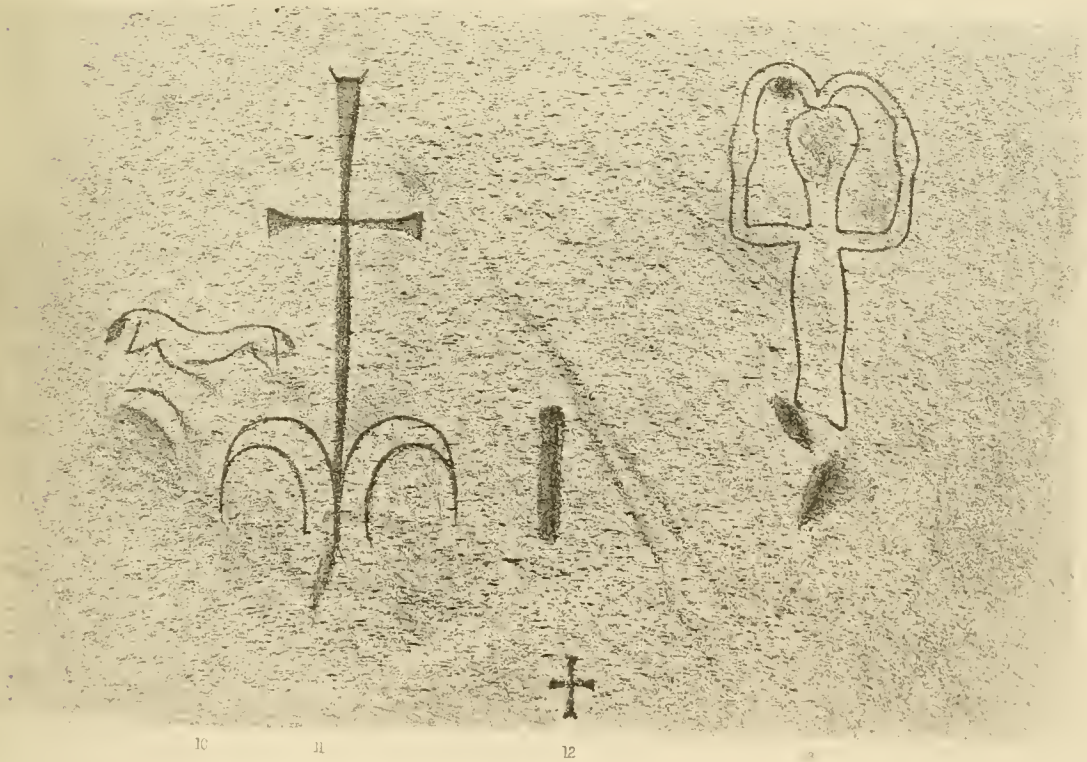
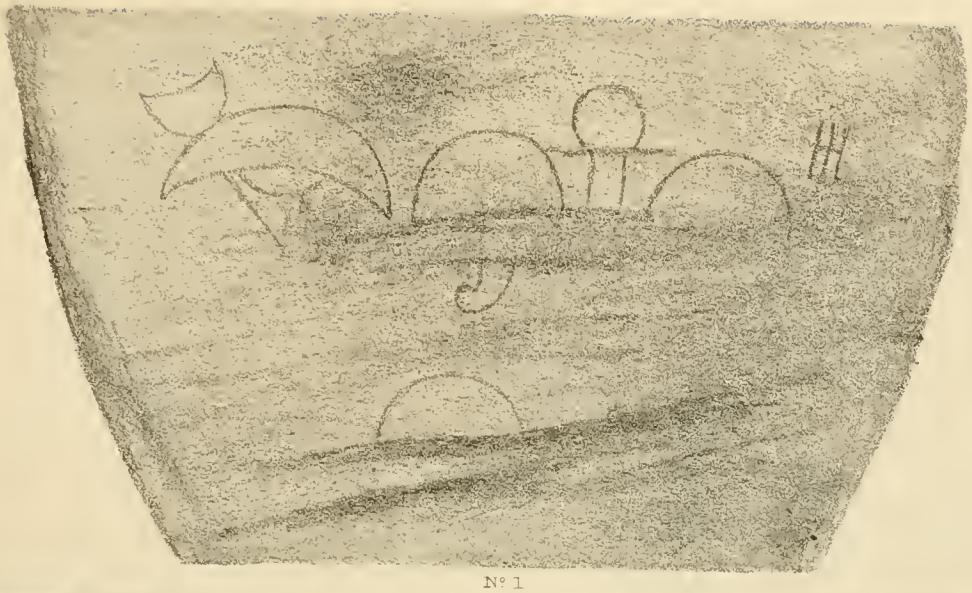


WELLS : PITCHFORK.



KINGS COVE, ARRAN.



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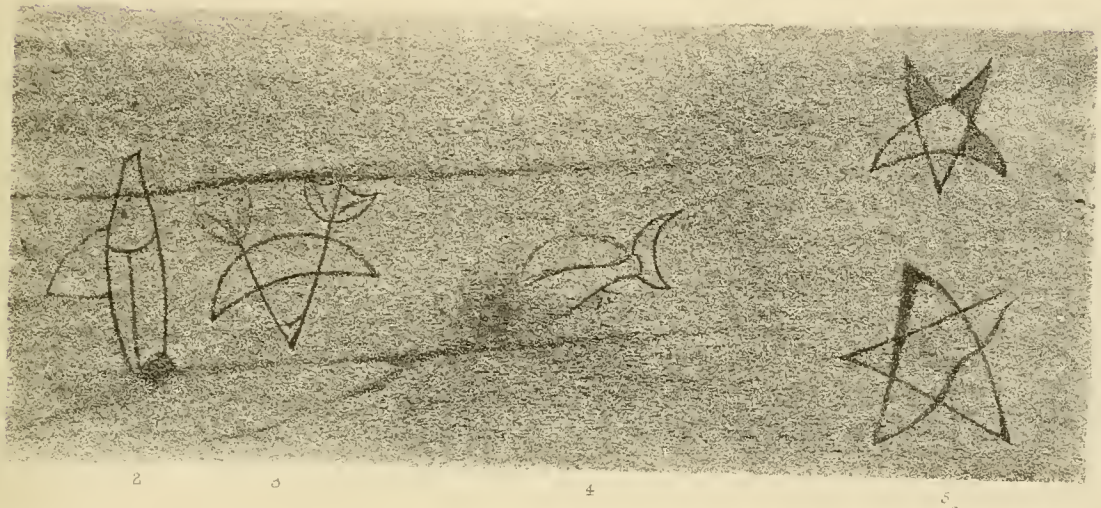

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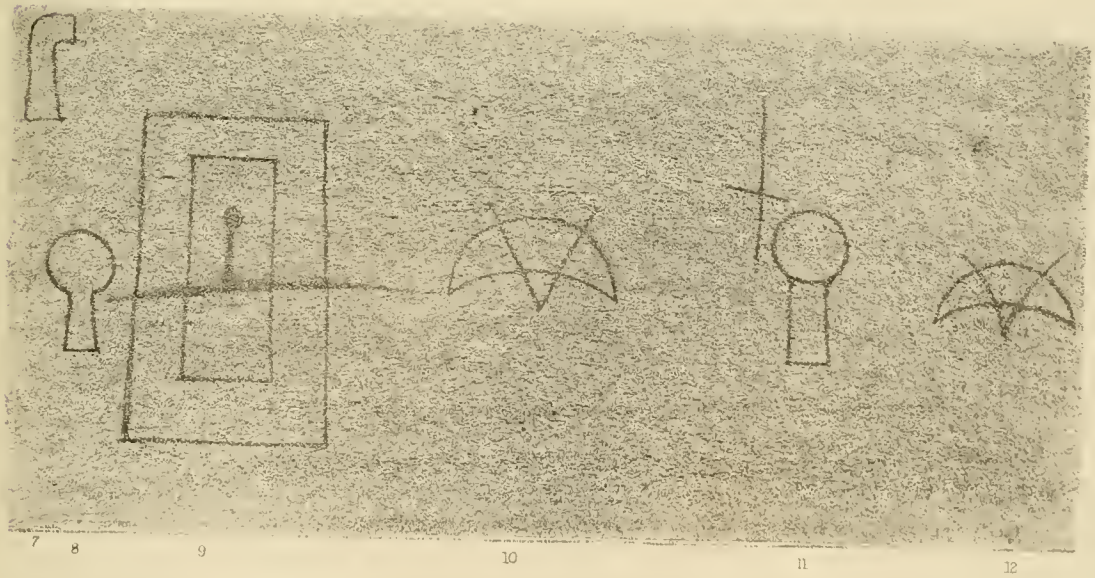

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CATTEGAT CAVE, MORAYSHIRE.

NOTICES OF THE PLATES.

PLATE I.

BRECHIN.

The Round Tower of Brechin is one of the two structures of the kind remaining in Scotland, the other being the Tower of Abernethy, in the lower part of Stratherne. Both these towers in their main features agree with the round towers of Ireland, and we can hardly doubt that they are the result of Irish influence.

In the venerable record known as the Chronicle of the Picts, said to have been written about A.D. 1020, it is recorded of Kenneth the King of Albany, who reigned from 970 to 994—"Hic est qui tribuit magnam civitatem Brechne domino." It seems likely that by this we are to understand the erection and endowment of a monastic establishment of some importance.[1]

Adamnan, in his Life of St. Columba, has a chapter entitled "*De Angelo Domini qui alicui fratri lapso de Monasterii culmine Rotundi in Roborcti Campo opportune tam cito subvenerat*" (Lib. iii. cap. 15), and in the course of it the same building is called "*Magna domus*," probably to distinguish it from the collection of small and detached cells which formed the houses of the monks.

It is not unlikely that the term "*magna* civitas," as applied by the chronicler to Brechin, may have had special reference to the Round Tower.

Dr. Petrie, in his masterly Essay on the Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland, has illustrated the history of the Round Towers with a copiousness and accuracy which have divested these structures of much of that mystery which fanciful speculation had gathered around them. He has proved that they were used as belfries, and as keeps or places of strength in which the sacred utensils, books, relics, and other valuables were deposited, and into which the ecclesiastics to whom they belonged could retire for security in cases of sudden predatory attack. An example of the use to which a round tower in Brittany was put in early times occurs in the following notice :—

Albert Legrand, the biographer of St. Tenenan, who died in 635, describes him as having been the son of an Irish prince called Tinidor, while, according to Lobineau, he was a Briton. He was accompanied to Brittany by Kenan and Senan. After describing the erection of the churches of La Forêt and Ploabennec, and his settlement in the forest, as well as the ravages and burning of churches in the Léonnais by the barbarians, his biographer proceeds : "He exhorted the people to penitence and amendment of life ; and providing for their defence and preservation, he appointed a chief man of their troop as their captain, recommending him to erect a little round tower near the church of Ploabennec, wherein to deposit the silver-plate and treasure of the same church, and protect them against the sacrilegious hands of the barbarians, should they wish to pillage the said church. This he accordingly did. Meantime the barbarians approach. St. Tenenan hastily carried the sacred vessels into the tower, wherein the captain enters boldly and alone, armed with his usual weapons, resolved to defend it at the cost of his blood. Not having had time, from the sudden assault, to hang the door on its hinges, he blocked it up on the inside with the half of a cart-wheel which lay at hand, and barricaded himself as he best might. Scarcely had he effected this ere the army of the barbarians invested the church. St. Tenenan, with his priests Kenan, Armen, and Senan, the clerk, and Glanmeus, had shut themselves up in the fort of Les-quelen, praying to God incessantly, and invoking His mercy ; but they were all miraculously delivered, and the barbarians put to flight by an aërial host and an angelic chief.[2]

M. Perrot, the learned Breton, who quotes this passage, remarks how closely the purposes for which this round tower was used correspond to those suggested by Dr. Petrie in the case of the round towers of Ireland.

Mr. Brash has pointed out the agreement in plan between the Tower of Brechin and some of the Irish round

[1] The word *civitas*, as applied to a monastic establishment, is of frequent occurrence in the Irish annals. In Tighernach the change of the Paschal time at Iona is thus recorded, A.D. 716—"Pasca in Eo civitate commutatur." In A.D. 806 the annals of Ulster record the reconstruction of the church at Kells, which had been recently destroyed, as "constructio novæ civitatis Columbe Cille hi Cenninus" (Annals of the Four Masters, vol. i. p. 413, *note*). From the same source we learn that, A.D. 839, Joseph of Ros-mor died, "Episcopus et scriba optimus et ancorita, Abbas Cluana auis et aliarum civitatum" (*Ib.* p. 459, *note*). A Saxon term for a monastery was urbs, thus—"Obiit Ethelstanus rex apud Gavernam anno reg. sui, 16. A.D. 940, et sepultus est in Maidulphi urbe," or Malmsbury (Leland, Collect. vol. i. p. 375), and with Bede the Monastery of St. Ebba is "urbs Coludi" (Ecc. Hist. iv. c. 25).

[2] Arch. Cambr. for 1860, pp. 127, 128, quoting Legrand's *Vies des Saints*.

towers. He regards the sculptured doorway at Brechin as an insertion of a date long subsequent to the erection of the tower itself—a conclusion in which I do not concur.[1]

I have been induced to give a drawing of this doorway, as an example of early art in Scotland, for the sake of comparison with what I regard as the still earlier workmanship on the cross slabs.

The sculptures consist of the Crucifixion of our Lord, cut on the block out of which the semicircular head of the doorway is formed. On each side of the springing of the arched head is a projecting block of stone prepared for receiving sculptures which were never executed. On the face of each jamb is the figure of an ecclesiastic. The figures are a good deal weather-worn; but I have closely inspected them more than once, and am confident that the present representation of them is correct. On the slab forming the sill, a lozenge is cut with some central ornament which is effaced. On the ends of the sill, and outside the architraves, are carved two grotesque animals which have some resemblance to the creatures on a fragment at Glammis (vol. i. Plate CXXXII.)

The ecclesiastics are represented in vestments similar to those in which they appear on the sculptured crosses at St. Vigeans and Eassie (Plates LXX. XC. vol. i.)

Each of them holds a *baculus* or staff in his hand.

Both in Ireland and Scotland the "bacul" was an object of importance and regard, but it is of more frequent occurrence in the sculptures of Irish than of Scotch crosses. In Scotland it is only found on the cross at Bressay in Shetland, which differs from those on the north-east coast of Scotland not merely from wanting the "symbols," but in the form of the crosses and the contour of the figures, both of men and animals.[2]

The royal foundation at Brechin encountered the general fate of these early institutions, and its possessions became the property of lay abbots, whom we discover at the beginning of our charter records in the time of David I., and whose transmission of them from father to son for two centuries can be traced in charters of the time.[3]

It is remarkable that no specimen of the ancient sculptured crosses which occur in groups in other neighbouring ecclesiastical sites of early date, as at Monifieth, Meigle, and Aberlemno, have been discovered at Brechin, and we may conjecture that the period of their erection had passed away before the time when Brechin became important.

PLATE II.

AT INCHBRAYOCK.

This stone was discovered in digging a grave in the burial-ground of Inchbrayock in the year 1857, and is now placed in the parish kirk of Craig. The bird-headed human figure on this fragment may be compared with similar figures on the cross at Kirriemuir (Plate XLIII. vol. i.) and on that at Kettins (Plate VIII. of the present volume). The church of Inchbrayock, with its two chapels (said to have been dedicated to St. Mary and St. Fergus),[4] is rated at thirty merks in the ancient *Taxatio* of the church.[5] A charter by Walter Shakloc to Henry de Inieny, of the third part of the lands of Inieny, confirmed by King Robert Bruce at Arbroath on 21st September 1328, is witnessed by Sir John de Cadiou, rector of the church of the island of St. Braoch.[6] The parish of Craig is composed of the two parishes of Inchbrayock and St. Skeoch or Dunnald.

PLATES III. IV. V. VI. AND VII.

AT MEIGLE.

This is one of four stones discovered in the foundations of an old kiln in the town of Meigle which stood about 100 yards north of the churchyard, and was pulled down in 1858. In the former volume, many crosses and fragments at Meigle are figured (Plates LXXII. LXXIII. LXXIV. LXXV. LXXVI. LXXVII. XCIII. CXXVII. CXXXII.), and those since discovered are obviously of the same early type. Although there are no recorded circumstances in

[1] Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, vol. iv. p. 188.

[2] I cannot agree with my friend Dr. Daniel Wilson, who finds, in an interlaced ornament on one side of the Bressay stone, a variety of the Z symbols which occur so frequently on the Scotch stones.[1] This symbol is represented on these stones by a defined line, and with an unvarying floriated termination, and not with a broad band, as in the Bressay stone. I regard the latter as a little bit of ornament to fill up space, in a fashion occasionally adopted on the Scotch stones, to suit a purpose, as at Kingoldrum, where the ornament is shaped to enclose a comb, or as at Fordun, Kirriemuir, and Shandwick, where it is fitted to a vacant space.[2]

[3] Regist. Episcop. Brechin, Pref. p. v. Edin. 1856.

[4] Mr. Jervise, in Proceedings of the Ant. of Scot., vol. ii. p. 459.

[5] Registrum de Aberbrothock, p. 239.

[6] *Ibid.* Cartæ origin., p. 339.

[1] Prehistoric Annals, vol. ii. p. 240. Edin. 1863.

[2] Sculptured Stones of Scotland, vol. i. Plates XXVI. XLIV. LXVII. LXXXIX.

the history of Meigle which account for such a collection of sculptured stones in one spot, they may be regarded as an evidence of its ecclesiastical importance and early settlement. The following reference to it occurs in the "Historia beati Reguli," printed by Pinkerton[1]:—"Thana filius Dudabrach hoc monumentum scripsit Pherath filio Bergeth in villa Migdele." Vered, son of Bargot, held the unsteady sceptre of the Picts from 839 to 842. The *Historia* just quoted was in the Great Register of St. Andrews, which has been amissing for two centuries, and, as the entry bears, was transcribed (probably about 1140) from the ancient books of the Picts.

The church of Meigle was dedicated to St. Peter. It was given to the canons of St. Andrews by Simon de Mieghel, whose gift was confirmed by King William the Lion between 1177 and 1188. It occurs in a confirmation by Pope Lucius as "the church of Miggil, with its chapel and kirktoun, and the rents which Simon the lord of the ground and his predecessors used to draw annually therefrom."[2]

PLATE VIII.

AT KETTINS.

The parish of Kettins, about a mile south-east of Cupar in Angus, is partly in the shire of Perth, but mostly in that of Angus. There is reason to believe that in early times it was the site of a Celtic monastery.[3]

The barony was an early possession of the family of Ogilvie,[4] and out of it the abbots of Rostinoth drew an annual payment of six merks, in virtue of an early grant from the Crown.[5] The church, which in our ancient ecclesiastical Taxations was valued at fifty-five merks,[6] formerly belonged to the *domus Dei* of Berwick; it was granted by King Robert III. to the House of the Trinity Friars in Dundee, "sub hac conditione pro perpetuo videlicet cum burgum et castrum de Berwick ad fidem et pacem nostram et heredum nostrorum permanserint, ita quod domus dei eiusdem burgi fuerit munita cum fratribus more debito et consueto pacifice divina celebrantibus, quod dicta ecclesia cum fructibus suis universis libere sit annexa dicto domui dei de Berwik, secundum infeodacionem antiquitus inde factam. Et cum dictum burgum et castrum de Berwyk in manibus aduersariorum nostrorum Anglie a fide et pace nostra et nostrorum heredum permanserint, volumus et concedimus ut supra quod ecclesia de Ketnes predicta cum omnibus fructibus suis et proventibus dicto hospitali de dunde et domui dei libere pro perpetuo sit annexa."[7]

The church is said to have had six dependant chapels. "Most of these were within small enclosures used as burying-places."[8]

Vestiges of early occupation have been discovered in the parish. About twenty years ago an underground chamber, of about fifty feet in length, was discovered in a field east of Lintrose; and about two years ago a similar structure, but larger, was discovered at Pitcur, in which fragments of Samian pottery were found. Cairns were to be seen about seventy years ago in various parts of the parish. One at Pitcur, having a cist in the centre, is said to have consisted of at least 1000 loads of stones.

I was led to believe that a sculptured stone was to be found at Kettins, but for a long time my inquiries after it led to no result. At last, the monument was discovered as the cover of a bridge across the burn of Kettins, close to the church. As Mr. Gibb had great difficulty in completing his drawing of the stone while in this position, I suggested to the agents of Lord D. Gordon Halyburton, the owner of the lands, the propriety of rescuing the stone from its dangerous situation, and of erecting it in the churchyard. This has now been done at his Lordship's expense, and the first drawing has been collated with the disengaged cross. Unfortunately the surface is much destroyed, but the human figures with the heads of birds or animals are distinct.

PLATES IX. X. XI. AND XVIII.

FRAGMENTS OF CROSSES AT ST. ANDREWS.

Of these, the two fragments forming No. I. were discovered a few years ago imbedded in the south wall of the choir of the cathedral, and near its base. They appear to have been used as building materials at the time of its founda-

[1] Inquiry into the History of Scotland, vol. i. p. 462. Edin. 1814. Regist. Priorat. S. Andree, p. 59.

[2] Analecta Scotica, vol. i. p. 233, Registr. Priorat. S. Andree, p. 59.

[3] The occurrence of the word "abthen," as descriptive of land, may always be held to point out the territory of an ancient abbey. See Martin's Reliq. Divi Andree, p. 121, where the "abdenrie of Kettins" occurs, and *Inquisit. Retorn. Abbrev. voce* Forfar, No. 365, where certain lands are described as "abden of Kettins."

[4] Patrick de Ogilvie had a charter of it from King Robert Bruce on the resignation of Malcolm de Caithness. (Robertson's Index to the Charters, p. 1.)

[5] Notes of some charters granted by King Robert Bruce to Kirkmen. Bibl. Harl. 4628, fol. 186. Genl. Hutton's Transcript in Adv. Lib.

[6] Registrum Vetus de Aberbrothoc, p. 239.

[7] Registrum Magni Sigilli, 202.

[8] Sir J. Sinclair's Stat. Account, vol xvii. p. 15.

tion, soon after the middle of the twelfth century. No. II. was found at a considerable depth below the surface, in digging the grave of the late Dr. Buist, Professor of Ecclesiastical History at St. Andrews, a few yards west of the Tower of St. Regulus.

The other fragments of sculptured crosses were found in the course of recent excavations in the old church on the Kirkheugh, No. IX. being in a wall, which appeared to be the earliest part of the building. This church, which stood to the east of the cathedral, on ground close to the sea, was anciently known as the Church of St. Mary on the Rock. The structure, of which the recent investigations disclosed the foundations, seems to have been of a building of perhaps the middle of the fourteenth century, although substructures of older walls appeared in the nave and transepts. There can be little doubt, however, that on this site an early Culdee establishment was raised before the middle of the eighth century, when we hear of the death of one of its abbots.[1] About two centuries later, Constantine, the King of the Scots, after his many struggles, found repose within the walls of the Culdee Monastery at St. Andrews, of which he became the abbot.[2]

In the legendary History of St. Rule, written before the middle of the twelfth century, we are told of seven churches erected at Kilrimont by the saint and his six companions; but whatever there may be in this, it is most probable that the church of the Culdee Monastery was for long the principal church at St. Andrews. After the translation of the primacy from Dunkeld to St. Andrews (probably in the early part of the tenth century), the Culdee establishment must have been the centre of ecclesiastical importance among the Scots, and we learn from the monkish legends that pilgrims from all parts of the world came to visit a spot consecrated to the memory of St. Andrew, the church of which had been declared by King Hungus to be the head and mother of all churches in the kingdom of the Piets.[3]

We hear again, in the History of St. Rule, of fifty virgins of the royal race who were all buried in one of the seven churches formerly referred to.

The erection of the little church of St. Rule by Bishop Robert between 1127 and 1144 was doubtless a great step in advance of anything that had gone before, and, in connection with the establishment of a monastery of Canons Regular about the same time, may show that the Culdee influence was nearly over.

The appearances within and around the ruined church on the Kirkheugh indicated the long use to which the place had been turned as a place of interment. On all sides of the building except on the east (which is close on the brow of the hill), great quantities of skeletons were found.[4] Many of these were enclosed in cists formed of rough stones set on edge, and covered with flags. A distinction was remarked in the interments. All those on the south side of the building were in long cists formed of rough slabs without bottoms, or any attempt at coffin shape; while those who had been buried on the north and north-west sides had been laid in the ground without coffins of any sort. On this side one stone coffin was found, but at a greater depth than the others. The graves of those thus interred were marked by stones so disposed as to form the base of a slab, or, in some cases, of an effigy of which one still remains, probably in the way that the curious tegulated stones at Govan, Abercorn, Inchcolm, Meigle, and at Deerness and Rendall in Orkney,[5] were used. In one case the covering slab was simply laid on the earth; it formed a double ridge, was about three feet long, and under it were found two skeletons. On one of the ends of this slab two small crosses are cut. The stone cists are occasionally found in the part of the cathedral burial-ground which adjoins the Kirkheugh, from which it probably was severed. Among the cists on the Kirkheugh were found an iron knife much corroded, in a rude handle of bone; fragments of thin pottery, of which some were glazed; a ring of jet about two inches in diameter; smooth stones not unlike celts or hammers, but probably not artificial; an ornamented table-man of bone; a small bit of freestone about two inches long, with rudely-carved crosses on each side; and old iron keys. Among the cists on the north and west of the chapel were found three small circles formed of sea-stones, and within them fragments of charred wood, with bones and teeth of boars, horses, and oxen.

The fragments of crosses were found among rubbish in various parts of the burial-ground of the Kirkheugh. The large pillar (Plate XVIII.) was found in the chancel floor in front of the altar.

In size and general appearance these stones differ somewhat from the sculptured monuments on the north-east coast of Scotland, although many of the ornamental details are the same in both. The pillar just referred to has been surmounted by a cross, which probably was enclosed in a small circle, as in the fine monuments at Carew and Nevern, or as at Hawkswell and Aycliffe.[6] The shaft has been a narrow tapering pillar of four sides, resembling in

[1] Annals of the Four Masters, vol. i. p. 345.

[2] Innes' Critical Essay, App. p. 802. Pinkerton's Inquiry, vol. i. App. p. 496.

[3] *Ibid.* pp. 498-500.

[4] An instructive paper by my friend Dr. Barnard Davis, on "Sixteen Ancient Human Skulls found in Excavations made on the Kirkhill, St. Andrews," will be found in the Edinburgh New Philosophical Journal, New Series, for October 1861. Dr. Davis is inclined to recognise in some of these skulls a great affinity in type to the aboriginal skulls found in short cists in ancient Pictland, while others suggest a likeness to Saxon skulls.

[5] Lows' Tour in Orkney and Shetland in 1774, p. 43. MS. penes D. Laing, Esq.

[6] Arch. Journal, vol. iii. pp. 71 and 259, 260. Lond. 1847.

this respect some other examples south of the Forth, as at Montblew in Dumbartonshire, Ruthwell in Dumfriesshire, and Bewcastle in Cumberland, and also the fragments at Norham and Lindisfarne.[1]

On the fragment No. 5, which may be of the fourteenth century, the comb and shears occur.

We are told in the History of St. Rule, already referred to, that Hungus dedicated to God and St. Andrew a great part of the land in the neighbourhood of Kilrimont or St. Andrews, on which St. Rule and his companions might erect churches and oratories. These holy men went seven times in procession round the ground so marked off, St. Regulus carrying the relics of St. Andrew above his head, and the king and his nobles following them, whereby they dedicated this territory to God, and put it under the king's peace. It is added that the holy men erected twelve crosses of stone at various places of the circuit which they made, in evidence of the royal grant. It seems to have been their custom to mark similar events by the like tokens, for when St. Rule and four of his friends came to Forteviot in quest of Hungus, who was in Argyll at the time of their arrival, and received from the king's sons (in their father's absence) the tenth part of Forteviot, we are told that there they erected a cross of stone, and left their blessing on the place.[2]

We may gather from other sources that the crosses at St. Andrews had been numerous in former days. Thus, in a convention, dated in 1212, between the prior and canons on the one part, and the archdeacon of St. Andrews on the other, about certain lands, one of the boundaries is said to run from the cross erected to the late Bishop Roger of good memory to the top of the mount near another cross.[3]

That the place which for a long period was the head and mother of all the churches of the Scots should have been adorned with many sculptured memorials, can hardly be doubted. Their disappearance may to a great extent be accounted for by the circumstances under which the fragments of them still preserved to us have been discovered. They have been either found at a great depth under the surface in the burying-ground of the cathedral, or been rescued from the walls of the building, or, as at the Kirkhengh, have been found in fragments, as if they had been broken and thrown aside as rubbish.

This was the fate of our sculptured crosses in many other localities, and there is thus reason to hope that in after-times many specimens of sculptured stones now unknown may be rescued from their hiding-places.

PLATE XI.

II. FRAGMENT AT DUNINO.

We are told how it was written in the ancient books of the Picts, that Hungus their King gave to God and St. Andrew, Chylriment[4] and a great part of the adjacent ground as a site for the erection of churches. Afterwards Hungus conferred on the church of Chylrimont or St. Andrews a more extensive territory, viz., "quicquid terræ est inter Mare quod *Ishundenema* dicebatur, usque ad Mare quod *Sletheuma* vocabatur; et in adjacienti provincia per circuitum de *Largaw*, usque ad *Siren* canum; et de *Sireis* usque ad *Hyhatnoughten Mochchirb*, quæ tellus nunc dicitur *Hadnachten*." In token of the freedom conferred on the lands thus conveyed, the King, having taken a piece of turf from the ground, offered it up at the altar of St. Andrew, on which he placed it, in presence of many members of the royal family. The same record goes on to say that, after the times of Regulus and his followers, religion perished at St. Andrews, and the people became barbarous and uncultivated. The offices of religion were in the hands of the Culdees,—men holding their office by hereditary tenure and living rather according to their own pleasure and the traditions of men than after the rules of the holy Fathers,—who left the altar of St. Andrew without a minister except on the rare occasion of a visit from the king or the bishop, when they said their office after their own fashion in a corner of the church. The property of the church had, in short, become secularised, nor could this and other evils be cured until the time of King Alexander I., who of new granted to the church the lands formerly conferred on it by King Hungus, "quæ *cursus apri* dicitur," and as a memorial of his gift, and a symbol of investiture, caused to be brought to the altar his Arab steed, with its housings, and a suit of Turkish armour, which last was long to be seen in the church at St. Andrews.[4]

It is not now easy to identify the boundary of the territory in question, but it must obviously have been one of considerable extent. According to a decision of the Regent Randolph in 1309 of controversies between the Culdees and the bishop as to their jurisdictions, it was found, "quod infra cursum apri non sunt nisi tres baronie videlicet

[1] Reference may be made to "The Sculptured Stones of Scotland," vol. i. Pref. p. ix., for observations on the classification of different forms of crosses.

[2] The socket of a cross still stands in the grounds of Invermay, not far from the church of Forteviot. A fine fragment of the cross itself is figured in "The Sculptured Stones of Scotland," vol. i. Plate CXIX.

[3] Registr. S. Andr. p. 315.

[4] "Qui *Muckros* fuerat nuncupatus nunc autem Kylrimont dictus." *Muckros* vero "*nemus porcorum*" dicitur. Hist. B. Reguli. Pinkerton's Inquiry, pp. 457 *et seq.*

baronia domini episcopi S. Andræ, baronia domini prioris S. Andree, et baronia Kalediorum ;"[1] from which Martine supposes that the *cursus apri* comprehended "all the lands from Pitmillie inclusive to the new mih of Dairsy ; that is, from east to west about eight miles in length, and in breadth two, three, four, five miles at some places, excepting some few lands holden of the king."

The parish of Dunino (anciently Duneynach) was within the limits of the Boar's Chase. Near the church is a hill of no great height called Dunino Law. This eminence appears to have been a fortified site in early times, and probably gave its name to the parish. The remains of an early structure on this hill were removed in 1815. In the same neighbourhood are three large standing stones which are believed to have formed part of a circle.[2]

The sculptured fragment here engraved was found in the churchyard at a considerable depth below the surface. It formed the corner of a larger stone, and as it projected into the grave which was in the course of formation, it was broken off, and was thus brought to light. It appears to have been part of a richly-decorated cross, and it is to be hoped that the rest of the monument will yet be found.

PLATE XII.

AT SCOONIE.

The church of Scoonie, in the eastern district of Fife, formed part of the early possessions of the see of St. Andrews, by the gift of Duncan, Earl of Fife, and was conferred on the Culdees of Lochleven by Tuadal, who became Bishop of St. Andrews in the year 1055. The church was dedicated to St. Monena, virgin, and we learn that the church of Scoonie was consecrated under her invocation in 1243 by David, Bishop of St. Andrews.[3] The old parish church was situated in the churchyard, about a quarter of a mile to the north of the town of Leven, and in this churchyard the stone here delineated was found. It is now in the church at Leven.

"About forty years ago an ancient cairn or tumulus, which formed the summit of a small round knoll in the corner of a field on the estate of Aithernie, was opened. It covered about twenty stone coffins. The base of the cairn was about forty yards square, and laid with a coating of clay, and the coffins were constructed of rude slabs placed on edge, with a covering stone, and cemented with clay puddle. Above the coffins was a cairn of small stones about three feet in depth, and over this was spread a composition of clay and sand, so hard that it required the aid of a pickaxe to penetrate it. In two of the coffins near the end was placed a small urn made of clay and rudely ornamented, about six inches in diameter, and the same in depth. These urns contained a blackish substance, which was covered with oak-bark ; but the bark immediately mouldered down upon being exposed to the atmosphere. Five of the coffins contained each a larger urn of similar materials about 14 inches in diameter and 24 in depth. These were placed with their months inverted upon a square stone, and were filled with calcined bones. In one coffin smaller than the rest were found a quantity of beads made of charred wood, and about half an inch in length. All the coffins, except the five which held the larger urns, contained human bones ; but a much greater quantity of these relics of mortality were scattered around the cemetery, and were protected only by the dry stones which formed the cairn. The great number of uncoffined bones might warrant the conjecture that a battle-field was not far distant ; but the absence of all instruments or emblems of war, and the presence of a female corpse, which the beads, the usual ornaments of the British women, indicate, would more naturally lead to the belief that this tumulus formed a peaceable dormitory of our pagan forefathers."[4]

St. Monena of Cill-Sleibhe-Cuilinn, to whom the church of Scoonie was dedicated, is said to have died in 517.[5] According to her life by Conchubranus, quoted by Usher, she is said to have founded seven churches in Alba, the first at Chilnecase in Gallnveic, the second on the summit of the hill Dundevenel, the third on the top of the rock of Dumbarton, the fourth in the Castle of Stirling, the fifth in Dun-eden, which, in the English tongue, is Eden-burg, the sixth on the hill Dunpelder, and the seventh at Lanfortin, near Aleethe, supposed to be *Alectum* or Dundee in Angus.[6]

The sculpture on one side represents a cross, and on the other a deer-hunt, with three men on horseback. One of the dogs has a collar, as in the case of dogs on that at Dull and elsewhere. Above the hunt is the "Elephant." Along the margin of the stone is an Ogham inscription, being one of five in Scotland. It appears to have been inscribed after the other figures, as the limb of the deer breaks the line of Oghams.

[1] Registr. Priorat. S. Andree, p. xxxi.

[2] Hist. beati Reguli in Pinkerton's Inquiry, vol. i. p. 460-1, Leighton's History of Fife, vol. iii. p. 184. New Stat. Acc. Fife, p. 361. Martine's See of St. Andrews, p. 93.

[3] Registr. Priorat. S. Andree, p. 348.

[4] New Stat. Acc. of Fifeshire, p. 268.

[5] Reeves' Adamnan, p. 177.

[6] Usher, Britann. Eccles. Antiq., p. 369. Lond. 1687.

PLATE XIII.

I. FRAGMENT AT ST. VIGEANS.

The early ecclesiastical district of St. Vigeans was of much greater extent than the parish which is now known by that name. It comprehended, besides that parish, what is now the parish of Arbroath and part of that of Carmylie. The great number of sculptured crosses which have been found about the church point it out as a site of early ecclesiastical settlement, and suggest that the old parish may have been the territory of an early Celtic monastery, before the ecclesiastical arrangements which resulted in the formation of parishes were known. These monasteries seem at one time to have been very numerous in Alba, and we find, from a notice in the Book of Deir, that they were of varying importance, some of them being termed "chief monasteries." In the county of Angus we can trace those of Old Montrose, Edzell, Brechin, Monifieth, Arbirlot, while there seems little reason to doubt that Aberlemno and St. Vigeans were the sites of similar establishments. Adjacent to the eastern boundary of the county was placed the monastery of Ecclesgirg, with (probably) another at Kinef. Meigle was on its western boundary, and most likely was the site of another monastic establishment.

The church was granted to the monks of Arbroath by Roger, Bishop of St. Andrews (1188-1202), as "Ecclesia sancti Vigiani de Aberbrothoc cum capella et terris,"[1] by which we are to understand that the church was dedicated to the Irish St. Fechin, a name of which Vigianus is the Latinised form. It farther appears that this was Saint Feehin of Fobhar, who died in 664. His festival occurs on 20th January, and St. Vigeans market was held on the 20th of January old style.[2]

His church was erected on the top of a small mount, to which the ascent on the west, north, and east sides is very steep, rising from the Brothock, which flows under it on the east. The present structure is of decorated work. One of the stones (Plate LXXI. vol. i.) was built into the wall of the south aisle of the church. The saint is popularly believed to have lived at Grange of Conan, about three miles northwards from the church, where the vestiges of a small chapel were formerly to be seen, to which several acres of ground were attached. Close to the chapel is a copious spring of excellent water called "St. Vigean's Well."[3] On the adjoining Hill of Conon is a cairn called Cairn Conon,[4] at which the abbot of Arbroath held his three head courts yearly. To the south-west of it is a huge pillar called "The Auld Stane o' Crafts." It stands upon the boundary of St. Vigeans and Carmylie, on the farm of Crofts, and it is also called the "Hare Stone," which suggests its use at some time as a boundary mark, and near it are the remains of a stone circle. On the same hill a curious underground "beehive" house has been recently discovered, with diverging galleries. On trenching the field around this structure, the portion of a bronze ring, the upper stone of a quern, and a number of other stone vessels, were found on one side, and on another a cluster of stone coffins containing human remains. The coffins were about $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet long, and in shape resembled the wooden coffins of modern times. In some of them pebbles, and the fragment of a ring of a black substance, were found.[5]

Here also were to be seen, in the end of last century, the vestiges of an ancient erection called Castlegory or Castle Gregory, some of the stones of which were used in the erection of one of the proprietors' houses in the sixteenth century.[6] It seems not unlikely that this structure had been a circular fort like that in Cornwall, called "Castle Chun," or like the fort on the Laws at Monifieth. Among the *debris* of the latter stones having a cup hollowed out on one of the sides, and quantities of water-worn pebbles, are frequently found, and in the neighbourhood of Cairn Conan I have remarked specimens of the same character. The raths and cashels of Ireland, which are also circular forts on the tops of hills, are frequently accompanied by underground houses and galleries of the same character as the beehive house at Grange of Conon.

The fragment here delineated has formed the summit of a cruciform pillar, having a prominent boss at the intersection. It has evidently been a monument of elaborate execution and peculiar design. Many specimens of crosses at St. Vigeans will be found in the first volume, Plates LXIX. LXX. LXXI. and LXXII.

[1] Regist. Vet. de Aberbroth., p. 101.

[2] Martyrology of Donegal, p. 23. Dublin, 1864. Arbroath and its Abbey, by Millar, p. 144. Edin. 1860.

[3] Old Stat. Acc., vol. xii. pp. 65, 66.

[4] The Irish annals record "a victory gained over the men of Ard-Cianachta in the battle of Cairn Conan," A.D. 821. Of this Irish locality Dr. O'Donovan says—"Conan's Carn, or sepulchral heap of stones, now unknown." Annals of Four Masters, vol. i. p. 432. Such a cairn was at times used as the place of meeting for the inauguration of the Irish kings. Thus, on Cairnfree, in the county of Roscommon, the kings of Connaught were inaugurated. The cairn was named after Fraech, the son of Fiodhach of the Red Hair, who was buried here; but the spot seems to have been an earlier place of meeting, as it is stated in the *Dinnseanchus* that they conveyed the body of Fraech to Cnoc-na-Dala (Hill of the Meeting), and interred him there. The O'Connors continued to be inaugurated as kings of Connaught in the beginning of the fourteenth century. Annals, vol. iii. p. 221, *note*, and p. 492, *note*.

[5] Proceedings of the Antiquaries of Scotland, vol. iv. p. 497.

[6] Old Stat. Acc., vol. xii. p. 181.

II. FRAGMENT AT KIRRIEMUIR.

In the first volume will be found drawings of three remarkable monuments at Kirriemuir. The fragment now given, which differs considerably in character from the others, has only recently been noticed, and the whole were found in the foundation of the old parish church.

On the Moothill of Kirriemuir the Earls of Angus held their Courts of Regality, and it is not improbable that on the same spot the Brehons of earlier times administered their law to the men of Angus. One of the stones engraved in the former volume shows the figure of a man seated in a chair. On one side of him is what seems to be a sword, and on the other a mirror and comb. It seems not improbable that this may be meant for the representation of a Brehon in the chair of judgment. The church of Kirriemuir was granted to the monks of Arbroath by Gillecrist, Earl of Angus, in the time of William the Lion, and in the ancient ecclesiastical Taxation was valued at thirty marks. Bricius, who witnessed the grant, is then styled the Earl's chaplain; afterwards he is called chaplain, parson, and priest of Kirriemuir. Matilda, Countess of Angus, granted to Nicholas, son of Bricius, priest of Kirriemuir, the land of the Culdee monastery of Monifieth.[1] There can be little doubt that Kirriemuir was from early times an important site. In the burial-ground of Kirriemuir there was a chapel, "Sancti Culnoci."[2] The parish abounds in vestiges of an early population, such as standing-stones, tumuli, and Picts' houses. In one of the latter at Auchlishie a canoe was found.[3]

PLATE XIV.

I. AT FYVIE.

This stone is built into the wall of the schoolhouse of the parish of Fyvie, a building of comparatively recent date, and its original site is unknown.

Fyvie was doubtless a place of early settlement and importance. At one time the barony was known as that of Fyvie *or* Formartin; but the latter term has for a long time been used to describe one of the five districts which compose the county of Aberdeen. Of this district the ancient barony of Formartyn or Fremartyn is said to have formed three-fourths, the other one-fourth constituting the barony of Belhelvie.[4] The term Fyvie is now restricted to the parish. The manor seems to have been the property of the Crown down to the time of Robert II. The burgh of Fyvie occurs as one of the royal burghs in 1329, and in the time of Alexander III., in 1266, the burgesses of Fyvie are mentioned in the accounts of the Thanage of Formartin.[5] The same accounts contain a memorandum that Henry of Fyuin ought to render an account of the eels of Fyvie during the time in which he held the ponds and waters of Fyvie.[6] The castle seems to have been placed in the midst of these.

The church was dedicated to St. Peter. It was granted, with its chapels, by King William the Lion to the monks of Arbroath, between 1187 and 1200. In its neighbourhood stood the Priory of Fyvie, an establishment which was subject to the Abbey of Arbroath.

There was a cairn of great size on the farm of St. John's Well, known by the name of Cairnchedly. Most of the cottages in the neighbourhood have been built of stones from this cairn. In digging about it, small earthen urns are frequently found. They have been cast up in all directions for a considerable distance. There would appear to have been a line of cairns in that part of the country. In the adjoining parishes of Tarves and Methlic the names of many of the farms have either the prefix or affix of "cairn." Within a distance of about ten miles there are several thus designated, as Cairnbrogie, Cairnorrie, Conchercairn, etc.[7]

II. AT ROTHIEBRISBANE.

This stone was used to cover a drain which crossed the old county road leading from Rayne to Auchterless, and was recently rescued from this position through the instrumentality of Mr. James Hay Chalmers, advocate, Aberdeen, who has placed it at Rothiebrisbane. Mr. Chalmers has ascertained, from the tenant of the adjoining farm of Tocherford, that his predecessor, about sixty years ago, removed a circle of "standing stones" from a hillock in the adjoining moss. It does not appear, however, that the sculptured stone formed part of the circle, and the road being a very old one, it is more likely that it had been removed from its original position at an earlier period than the destruction of the circle. Other instances, however, of a connection between circles and sculptured stones have been noted,[8] although it is difficult to ascertain anything precise, as the stones have always been removed from

[1] Registrum de Aberbrothoc, pp. 31, 37, 82, 239, 331.
[2] Inquisit. Rational. Abbrev. *voce* Forfar, No. 558.
[3] New Stat. Acc. of Forfarshire, pp. 177, 178. Edin. 1843.
[4] Stat. Acc. Aberdeenshire, p. 321.
[5] Cham. Rolls, vol. i. p. 87.
[6] *Ib.* p. *33.
[7] New Stat. Acc. of Aberdeenshire, pp. 331, 332.
[8] Notices of the Plates, vol. i. p. 6.

their original site before being noticed. Within a mile of the place stands the "Tow Stane," or, as the farmer explains it, the Toll Stane. It marks the reputed boundary of the parishes of Fyvie and Rayne, and the farmer's story is, that some toll or impost was levied here. On the adjacent hill are two large pillars not far apart, to which tradition has given the names of "the Crighton Stone" and "the Fedderat Stone." A cairn of great size was on the top of the hill, which is called the Black Cairn. About seventy years ago it was partially opened and removed by the proprietor, when a stone coffin was found, also a key of rude workmanship. A circle of stones is on the east side of the same hill. The west side of the hill looks to a hill about a mile distant, in the neighbouring parish of Culsalmond, called Cairnhill, on which are several cairns. At Freefield, a mile southward from Cairnhill, is an artificial grassy mound of 60 yards in circumference and 18 feet in height. Near the church is a large flat-headed rock called Bowman Stone. Half a mile east from this is a rising ground named St. Andrew's Hill, and a mile eastward is a round knoll called the Earl of Marr's Reive or Ree.[1]

The church was dedicated to St. Andrew, and the lands of Rayne were conferred, with many others, on the see of Aberdeen by King David I.

The names of the lands adjoining the site of this stone are Rothmaise, Baldyquhash, Tocherford, Muthill. The Moss of Warthill runs up between Tocher[2] and Baldyquhash, and the ford through the moss—here very narrow—has given the name Tocherford to the adjoining farm.

PLATE XV.

AT STONEHAVEN.

The fragments in this Plate were found in the sea at the base of a peninsulated rock near Stonehaven called "Dinacair," where other fragments of a like character, which are figured in vol. i. (Plate XLI.), were formerly picked up.

It has been shown by Mr. Thomson of Bauchory[3] that these fragments are all stones of different sorts, and not portions of one larger monument.

It appears also from Mr. Thomson's observations that in all probability the rock of Dinacair was formerly united to the coast by a neck of rock which has been washed away. Its name, Dun-a-Kair, suggests that it had been one of the sites on the coast so frequently selected in early times for purposes of defence, like Dunottar and Burgh-head, while it seems likely that it may also have been chosen for one of the ecclesiastical settlements of our early missionaries. In Ireland the monastic establishments were frequently placed within the raths, and there can be no doubt that an early church had been placed within the limits of that at Burgh-head, where fragments of sculptured stones have been found, some of which are figured in this volume.

PLATE XVI.

I. FRAGMENT AT DULL.

The parish of Dull is in the district of Athol, and contains vestiges of an early population in the shape of circles of stones, circular forts, cairns, and moot-hills.[4]

This fragment was found some years ago in digging a grave in the churchyard of Dull, and has recently been deposited in the Museum of the Antiquaries of Scotland. Nothing is known of the original site of this stone.

The figures of men with shields may be compared with those on the stones at Dupplin and at Fowlis Wester.[5] A fine cross at Fortingall, on which a procession of ecclesiastics is said to have been represented, was destroyed about ten years ago, when the church was enlarged. It was found in the walls of the church.

Dull, as I have elsewhere remarked (p. 11), was the early site of a monastic "familia;" although, when we begin to see it in the light of early chronicles, its abbots had lost their ecclesiastical character, and Crinan, Abbot of Dunkeld and Steward of the Isles, *vir magnæ strenuitatis et potentiæ*, was also possessed of the *abthania* of Dull. By his marriage with Bethoc, the only daughter of the second Malcolm, he gave a sovereign to the throne of the Scots (Duncan), while he himself fell in battle waged in behalf of his grandson Malcolm against his opponent Macbeth.[6]

[1] New Stat. Acc. of Aberd., p. 426.

[2] The word "tocher," which in Irish signifies a causeway, enters much into the topography of Ireland, as may be seen in the index to O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters." The importance of the causeway, in ancient times, for giving access through the moss has probably led to the adoption of the name for the locality.

[3] Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, vol. iii. p. 69.

[4] The New Stat. Acc. of Perthshire, pp. 76-78.

[5] Sculptured Stones of Scotland, vol. i. Plates LVII. LX.

[6] Fordun, by Goodal, vol. i. p. 226. Collect. de Rebus Alban., p. 273 (Iona Club).

If it should be thought that the figures on the stone may have reference to the ancient abbots, it would seem to picture some of the later warrior abbots who used the name only to enable them to enjoy the possessions of the ancient foundation.

Besides Crinan, who fell in battle in the year 1045, we find that Duncan, an earlier Abbot of Dunkeld, was killed in battle in the year 965.[1]

Ethelred, son of Malcolm Canmore, probably succeeded to the possessions of both abbeys, as heir of his great-grandfather Crinan. As "Abbot of Dunkeld and Earl of Fife" he made a grant of the lands of Admore to the Culdees of Lochleven.[2]

Fordun found Crinan styled Abthane of Dull in certain annals; but he, thinking this an unsuitable term for so great a man, and converting the word "abthaine," the Celtic term for an abbey, into an office, he made Crinan "*thanorum supremus*," and thus laid the foundation on which subsequent writers raised an idle structure about kings' thanes and abbots' thanes. Bocce calls Crinan "Abbathanus Insularum et occidentalis Scotiæ plagæ."[3]

The word abthaine or apthaine is used in some of the Irish annals for an abbacy. In those of Innisfallen, under the year A.D. 968, "Abthaine dan do thabairt do Chetfaid daltu Riatu" is translated "Abbatia deinde data Chetfadio Alumno Riati;" and under the year 1035, "M'Carthaic do gabail apthaine ar ecin in Imbl. Ibair et Lan hui Ligdai iud firlegind asin t spuide apad"—"MacCarthy obtinet abbatiam per vim in Imlecense, civitate Ibari et Lanius O'Ligda Prælector expulsus est a cathedra abbatis."[4]

II. AT DUNKELD.

Soon after the union of the Albanian Scots with the Pictish people, about the middle of the ninth century, under Kenneth the son of Alpin, that monarch founded an ecclesiastical establishment at Dunkeld.[5] It was dedicated to St. Columba; and with the view of attracting to his new foundation the religious regard which had been hitherto centered in the Monastery of Hy, he transferred to Dunkeld a portion of the relics of that great saint whose name was held in veneration both among the Scots and Picts. For a time Dunkeld was the seat of the primacy of the Scottish Church. A notice in the annals of Ulster has preserved the name of Tuathal, son of Artgus, chief Bishop of Pictland and Abbot of Duncaillenn, who "fell asleep" in the year 864.[6]

According to the Pictish Chronicle, Dunkeld and the whole of Alba was wasted by the Danes in the third year of Constantine, who commenced his long and warlike reign in the year 904, and having renounced his throne, ended his days as Abbot of the Culdee Monastery at St. Andrews in the year 944.[7] About the same time the primacy was transferred from Dunkeld to St. Andrews; but the former did not lose the importance which a foundation dedicated to St. Columba, and to which his original Monastery of Hy owed allegiance, was sure to command.

The overthrow of the monasteries which followed on the Danish invasions, concurring with other circumstances, threw these establishments into the hands of powerful laymen, by whose families they were inherited. Ethelred, Earl of Fife, was hereditary lay Abbot of the Culdee Monastery of Dunkeld, and his brother David I., about the year 1130, made the abbey the seat of a bishopric, of which the Culdees were the chapter.

It might have been expected that many sculptured memorials would have been found at this second Iona, but as yet this has not been the case. One sculptured slab, which has been greatly mutilated by long usage as a gate-post, is delineated in the former volume, Plates L. and LI. The fragment in this Plate (No. 2), which seems to have been part of a fine cross, was recently observed in the floor of the cathedral, and was raised in the hope of finding sculpture on the other side. It was found, however, that it had already been used as a tombstone, and that the ornaments had been dressed off to make room for the name of a farmer of the year 1729.

The boulder on which the mounted horseman occurs is situated in one of the parks near Dunkeld, known as the King's Field, but it is believed that the stone is not now on its original site. The style of the sculpture is the same as that on the stone at Inverury (vol. i. Plate CXIV.) and the stone at Migvie in the present volume (Plate LXXVIII.)

It would seem that the impulse which gave rise to the numerous sculptured crosses with symbols which are found in early ecclesiastical sites in ancient Pictland, had declined before the era of the establishment of Dunkeld. It has been already noticed that the sculptured crosses which occur at St. Andrews—another Scottish foundation—are also destitute of the peculiar features of the monuments of Pictland.

[1] Collect. de Reb. Alb., pp. 264, 265, 272, 273.

[2] Regist. Priorat. S. Andreæ, p. 115.

[3] Hist., fol. cclx.

[4] O'Connor, vol. ii. pp. 45, 69.

[5] "Dunkelden vel rectius Dun-culden, quod tumulum corylorum ex etymo interpretaberis." Colgan's Acta Sanctor., in O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. i. p. 500. Blaeus' Atlas of Scotland, *voce* Perthia, p. 95.

[6] Dr. Reeves' Adamnan, p. 298.

[7] Innes (App.), p. 785.

PLATE XVII.

GIRTH CROSSES AT DULL.

The central cross of this Plate still stands in the village of Dull. It is said that there were other three crosses in connection with this one, and that the whole were originally placed to indicate the limits of the sanctuary or girth of the monastery. Two of these three crosses were converted into the gate-posts of a neighbouring cottage, and are here figured.[1] The third, if there was one, is not now known.[2]

It would seem that a monastery of the ancient Scottish type was planted at Dull at a very early time.

According to Fordun, Crinan, the lay Abbot of Dunkeld who married Bethoc, daughter of Malcolm II., King of the Scots, was also "Abthane" of Dull.[3] Its ancient possessions had doubtless become secularised, but an annual payment from the *abthania*, or lands of the monastery, became vested in the Bishops of Dunkeld, possibly as in place of the Abbots of Dunkeld; and when the church of Dull was confirmed to the Prior of St. Andrews by Hugh, Bishop of Dunkeld, and his chapter, in the early part of the thirteenth century, a yearly rent thus accruing from the abthania of Dull is reserved.[4]

In like manner, the see of Dunkeld was in right of some payments from the lands of the ancient monastery of Madderty in Stratherne. Geoffrey, Bishop of Dunkeld, in his confirmation to the Monastery of Inchaffray of the church of Madderty, refers to the land which is called Abthen of Maddyrnyn, *que antiquitus abbacia vocabatur*, and the Can and Conveth, which the "clerici" of Dunkeld were wont of old to receive from the said abthen.[5]

It appears by a charter of King Alexander II. in favour of the monks of Scone, granting them permission to take materials from his thanages of Dull and Forterkill for the work of their church, that the ancient abthania was an early possession of the Crown.[6] In 1289 Duncan, Earl of Fife, was "firmarius" of the royal manor of Dull, and the entry in the Chamberlain Rolls, which records this fact, preserves a notice of the King's Prison of Dull.[7]

Several charters are recorded relating to subsequent transfers of the secularised possessions of the Abbey. In the time of David II. John Drummond is confirmed in the office of Bailliary of Abthain of Dull. The same King confirms to Donald M'Nayre the lands of Easter Fossache, with the abthanrie of Dull.[8]

It would seem that a reference is made to the Monastery of Dull in the Irish Life of St. Cuthbert, where it is stated that the saint came "in urbe quæ Dul dicitur," and that, retiring into solitude to the mountain called Doil-weme, he erected a lofty cross of stone, with an oratory of unhewn wood, and afterwards formed a bath of stone for penitential purposes near the cross.[9]

A heap of ruins in the field below the village of Dull is said to mark the site of the church of the monastery, which is believed to have been dedicated to St. Adamnan.[10]

A charter by Richard, Bishop of Dunkeld, to the Priory of St. Andrews confirms to them the church of Dull, with chapels, lands, and pertinents. Another charter by Hugh, Bishop of Dunkeld, confirms to the Canons of St. Andrews the church of Dull, with the chapel of Fossach, but excepts the chapel of Branboth in Glenlyon, which the Bishop retains for the sake of peace between the parties.[11]

This chapel of Branboth is probably to be identified with the ruins of Claodh Brennach, on the banks of the Lyon, near the Bridge of Balgie. The old burial-ground is filled with slabs, on many of which rude crosses are sculptured, and in a niche of the enclosing wall there is an ancient square bell similar in character to the Bonnel of Birnie and the Bell of St. Ninian. This primitive settlement is in the immediate neighbourhood of one of the circular towers or "castels" which occur so frequently in Glenlyon, and of a rath or scarped hillock called "Tom-na-Cnirtaig."

Another old burial-ground in Glenlyon is called Claodh Mun, and may be a dedication to St. Mund; but a spring near it is called St. Mungo's Well.

Lower down the glen is Craig Euny, which is said to have been used as a moothill. On a small mound, separated from the Craig by the public road, is a hillock where a market used to be held, called Market Euan. On

[1] I am glad to learn that one of these venerable monuments has been recently rescued from its degradation, and placed in the old church of Weem.

[2] New Stat. Acc. of Scotland, vol. x. p. 167.

[3] Scotichronicon, vol. i. p. 226.

[4] Registr. Priorat. S. Andr., pp. 296, 297, and 349. In 1264 the Prior of St. Andrews held a court at Dull, near a large stone on the west side of the vicar's house, and received the homage of certain vassals.

[5] Registr. de Inchaffray, pp. 15, 71, 72.

[6] Liber Eccles. S. Trinit. de Scon., p. 41.

[7] Chamberlain Rolls, vol. i. p. 76.

[8] Robertson's Index of the Charters, p. 46.

[9] Miscell. Biog. (Surtees Soc.), pp. 80, 81. 1838.

[10] Muir's Ecclesiological Notes, p. 88, Edin. 1855. The fair at Dull is called Fert Eonan, and is held on the 6th of October. The well in the schoolmaster's garden is called Tobar Eonan.—Note by Wm. F. Skene, Esq.

[11] Registr. Priorat. S. Andreæ, pp. 295, 296.

this mound is a pillar marked with a cross on each side. On the top of the Craig is a natural fissure which tradition believes to be the footmark of St. Euuan or Adamnan.

In the burial-ground of Fortingall are some rude gravestones of last century, which may be regarded as perpetuating the old idea of symbolism. On one of them are the emblems of a mason,—a trowel and square. Another of older type has a clumsy battle-axe in the centre, with two small crosses at the ends of the stone. The first is formed from a rude boulder. The venerable yew-trees in the churchyard are of extreme antiquity.[1] Three stone circles are on a haugh near to the church, and further west is the Roman camp.[2] The glen, in short, as well as that of Glenlyon just referred to, is filled with remains indicative of an early primitive occupation, and its ecclesiastical vestiges suggest the existence of a population which attracted missionaries, and led to the foundation of early monasteries.

PLATES XIX. AND XX.

AT RUTHWELL.

The parish of Ruthwell is on the shore of the Solway Firth, about eight miles from Dumfries. It is penetrated by the Lochar Moss, and from the numerous remains of imbedded trees which occur in this Moss it seems probable that the whole district had at some remote period been under wood.

Nothing is known of the early history of the cross at Ruthwell. The most curious points in its later history are connected with the attempts of Danish scholars to interpret the runes which occur on two of its faces, and with the triumph of our great Anglo-Saxon scholar, Mr. J. M. Kemble, in at last unlocking the secret.

The various steps are detailed by Dr. Daniel Wilson in his Prehistoric Annals, from whose graphic pages I quote them :—

"Setting aside certain old and sufficiently vague local traditions recorded in the first Statistical Account of the Parish of Ruthwell, we obtain the earliest authentic notice of it [the cross] only in the seventeenth century, at which time it appears to have still remained in the parish church uninjured by any of those earlier ebullitions of misdirected popular zeal to which so many Scottish relics of Christian art fell a prey. When, however, the struggle between Charles I. and his people was rapidly hastening to a crisis, and religious differences were forced by many concurrent influences into violent collision, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, which met at St. Andrews in the month of July 1642, passed an order decreeing the demolition of the Ruthwell Cross as a monument of idolatry. The order met with a less hearty and thorough-going execution than might have been anticipated from the spirit prevailing at a period when the whole course of public events had tended to inflame men's minds to the uttermost. The column, however, was thrown down and broken in several places; but it still lay in the church, and was examined there by Pennant so recently as 1772. Soon after this, however, it was cast out into the churchyard, where its exposure to weather, and its liability to careless and wanton mutilation, threatened at length most effectually to accomplish the object of the St. Andrews Assembly order of 1642, when fortunately the Rev. Dr. Duncan was presented to the parish. Soon afterwards he had the fragments of the venerable memorial pieced together, and re-erected within the friendly shelter of the manse garden,—a monument to his own good taste, with which his name will be associated by thousands who know not the large-hearted benevolence and piety with which he adorned the sacred office which he filled.

"Not content with merely restoring the venerable memorial, Dr. Duncan executed careful drawings of it, from which the engravings in the fourth volume of the Archæologica Scotica were made. These are accompanied with a history from his pen; and an accurate translation of the Latin inscription, which is cut in Roman characters on the back and front of the cross. With the Runic inscription which occupies the remaining sides of the monument Dr. Duncan attempted no more than to furnish the Scottish antiquaries with an accurate copy, leaving those who deemed themselves able for the task to encounter its difficulties, and render an intelligible version of its meaning. This was accordingly undertaken by Mr. Thorleif G. Repp, a learned northern scholar, and a native of Iceland, then resident in Edinburgh, who, reading the letters correctly enough, proceeded to weave them into imaginary words and sentences, by means of which he makes out the inscription to record 'a gift for the expiation of an injury, of a *cristpason* or baptismal fount, of eleven pounds weight, made by the authority of the Therfusian fathers, for the devastation of the fields.' Other portions of the inscription were made to supply the name of the devastated locality, 'the dale of Ashlafr,' a place as little heard of before as were its holy conservators, the monks of Therfuse! Dr. Duncan remarks, in furnishing an abstract of Mr. Repp's rendering of the Ruthwell runes—'It is obvious that, in future inquiries on the subject, it will be of considerable importance to fix the locality of *Ashlafardhal* and

[1] We learn that St. Patrick planted yew-trees about some of his monasteries. The annals record (A.D. 1162) the burning of the monastery of the monks at Inbhar-Chinntrechta, with all its furniture and books, "and also the yew-tree which Patrick himself had planted"—O'Donovan's Four Masters, vol. ii. p. 1147.

[2] Stuart's Caledonia Romana, p. 243.

Therfuse! The accurate drawings of Dr. Duncan, however, published as they were to the learned world by the Scottish antiquaries, had at length supplied the most important desiderata towards the elucidation of the old Anglo-Saxon memorial. Professor Finn Magnusen was the first to avail himself of the new elements for the satisfactory investigation of this venerable Teutonic relic, and published, in Danish, in the 'Annaler for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie, 1836-37;' and nearly, at the same time, in English, in the 'Report addressed by the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries to its British and American Members,' a revised version of the Ruthwell inscription, in which, while confirming the somewhat startling opinion of Mr. Repp, that it was in a language consisting both of Anglo-Saxon and old Northern words, he arrives at very different, but still more precise conclusions. The learned Dane, however, had obtained, as he conceived, a source of information which not even the zealous incumbent of Ruthwell parish had access to.

"'Fortunately,' says he, 'we are in possession of what must be admitted to be an important document in the case before us, a document the existence of which was unknown as well to Mr. Repp as, to the best of our belief, to all others now living that have devoted attention to the monument in question. Dr. Duncan observes that the capital of the column, which in the delineations he gives of it shows no characters or traces of such, had, however, formerly inscriptions, now quite illegible. The greater part of them, meanwhile, are found on a delineation of the two broader sides of the said capital, which, together with the two Runic sides of the whole column (consequently more of it than has been given by Hicks or Gordon) is to be seen on a large folio copperplate engraving, now the property of me, Finn Magnusen. It was given me some years ago by my much-lamented friend and predecessor Professor Thorkelin, who, however, his memory being impaired by age, could not remember anything more about it than that it represented a column in Scotland, and that he had obtained it, he knew not how or of whom, during his travels in Britain.' (Report of R. S. N. A. to its British and American Members, 1836, pp. 88, 89.)

"This rare and indeed seemingly unique print Professor Magnusen accordingly designates the 'Thorkelin Engraving.' Its age, he conceives, must be about 150 years, or perhaps still older. 'Be this as it may,' he adds, 'it serves to throw a new and most important light—in fact the most important yet obtained—on the design and purpose of the column, inasmuch as it has preserved the initial words of its inscription, setting forth that one OFA, a descendant of Toda, had caused it to be cut,' etc. Accordingly, setting aside the humbler attempts of Mr. Repp, the Danish Professor substitutes a *marriage* for the devastation of his predecessor, discovers four important historical personages in the record, nearly fixes the precise year A.D. 650 for the handfasting, and altogether furnishes an entirely new chapter of Anglo-Saxon history, based almost entirely upon this Thorkelin print! Some able northern scholars, more familiar with Anglo-Saxon literature than Professor Magnusen, adopted the very summary process of dealing with the new element thus unexpectedly brought to bear on the inquiry by doubting the authenticity, if not even the existence of this unique print. Of its existence, however, there can be no doubt, since instead of being the rarity which Professor Magnusen imagined, it is to be found in every archæological library in the kingdom, being none other (as I think will no longer be doubted) than one of two etchings executed by the well-known Scottish antiquary Mr. Adam Cardonnel, and forming Plates LIV. and LV. of the *Vetusta Monumenta*, vol. ii., published in 1789. These are accompanied by a description furnished by R. G. (Roger Gale), and to it the following postscript has subsequently been added, which it will be seen supplies the account Professor Magnusen failed to obtain from his aged friend:—'Since this account was read before the society (of Antiquaries of London) the drawing has been shown to Mr. Professor Thorkelin, who has been investigating all such monuments of his countrymen in this kingdom, but he has not returned any opinion.' These engravings of the Ruthwell inscription appear to have excited little interest, probably on account of their being accompanied by no critical analysis or attempt at translation. They would seem to have escaped the notice of Mr. J. M. Kemble, otherwise he would have found there all that the drawings of Dr. Duncan supply, with indeed some slight additions; for it chances oddly enough that the old Scottish antiquary has copied the Anglo-Saxon runes—about which it may reasonably be doubted if he knew anything—a great deal more correctly than the Latin inscription in familiar Roman characters, some of which he has contrived to render totally unintelligible. It was probably a result of this carelessness that in arranging a broken fragment of the top of the cross, along with the lower stem, he misplaced the parts, wedding the imperfect upper fragments of the Latin to the remainder of the Anglo-Saxon inscription. The offspring of this misalliance was the *Ofa*, Voden's kinsman, of Professor Magnusen, whose double genealogy is given with amusing precision 'according to the younger Edda!' The slightest glance at Cardonnel's etchings will show that the learned Dane, in attempting to decipher this supposed invaluable addition, was only torturing ill-copied Roman characters into convenient northern or Anglo-Saxon runes.

"In 1838 Mr. John M. Kemble, an English Anglo-Saxon scholar, undertook to unwind this ravelled skein, and in an able paper 'On Anglo-Saxon Runes' (Archæologia, vol. xxviii. p. 327) pointed out the valuelessness of any amount of knowledge of the Scandinavian languages as a means for deciphering Anglo-Saxon inscriptions. Following out his own views, he accordingly produced a translation differing, *toto cælo*, from either of those already referred to, but which commends itself in some degree even to the mere English student, who detects in the old Anglo-Saxon

the radicals of his native tongue; as in the original of Mr. Repp's *Christpason;* KRIST WAES ON RODI—*Christ was on the Rood or Cross.* Combating with the difficulties arising solely from the mutilated and fragmentary state of what Mr. Kemble so justly styles 'this noble monument of Anglo-Saxon antiquity,' he demonstrates the rhythmic character of the construction, deducing from this the strongest proof of the accuracy of his reading. Still, should the reader, who is thus compelled to consider two learned versions of this inscription as no better than the antiquary's *Agricola dicavit libens lubens,* hesitate about accepting the third as less open to challenge, his scepticism could not perhaps be greatly blamed. A remarkable chance, however, threw in the way of the intelligent Anglo-Saxon scholar an altogether indisputable confirmation of the general accuracy of the conclusions he had arrived at. A comparison of the various steps in this process of elucidation furnishes one of the most singular modern contributions to the curiosities of literature. A few years ago a MS. volume, consisting chiefly of Anglo-Saxon homilies, was discovered at Vercelli, in the Milanese, but which also contained, intermingled with the prose, some Anglo-Saxon religious poems. One of these, entitled a 'Dream of the Holy Rood,' extends to 310 lines, and in this are found the whole of the fragmentary lines previously translated by Mr. Kemble, along with the context which fills up the numerous lacunæ of the time-worn inscription on the Ruthwell Cross. No confirmation of the accuracy of conclusions previously published could well be more gratifying or satisfactory than this; independently of which the beauty of the Anglo-Saxon poem suffices to convey a singularly vivid idea of the civilisation existing at the period—probably not later than the ninth century—when it was engraven on the venerable Scottish monument which has anew excited the veneration of the modern descendants of its old Anglo-Saxon builders, and, with some portion of its former beauty renewed by the piety of modern hands, is restored to the occupation of its ancient site. Of the high civilisation of this period, however, the student of Anglo-Saxon history can need no new proof when he bears in mind, as Mr. Kemble has remarked, 'that before the close of the eighth century Northumberland was more advanced in civilisation than any other portion of Teutonic Europe.'

"The 'Dream of the Holy Rood' represents the sleeping Christian suddenly startled by the vision of the Cross, the instrument of man's salvation, which appears in the sky attended with angels, and manifesting, by various changes, its sympathy in the passion and the glory of the Redeemer. At length the Cross itself addresses the sleeper, and describes its feelings on being made the instrument of the suffering of the Son of God. It is from this beautiful part of the poem that the verses have been selected for inscription on the Ruthwell Cross. The following extracts, in which the fragments still legible on the old monument are printed in *italics*, will help the reader to form some idea of the refinement of the period when the cross was erected, and may also suffice to show how little need there is to seek in Scandinavian or other foreign sources for the taste or skill manifested in the works of early native art. The Cross thus speaks in person:—

'Twas many a year ago,
I yet remember it,
that I was hewn down
at the wood's end,
stirred from out my dream.
Strong foes took me there,
They made me for a spectacle,
they bade me uplift their outcasts:
there men bore me upon their shoulders
until they set me down upon a hill,
there foes enough fastened me.
There saw I the lord of mankind
hasten with mighty power,
because he would mount on me.
There then I dared not,
against the Lord's command,
bow down or burst asunder:
there I saw tremble
the extent of the earth.
I had power all
his foes to fell,
but yet I stood fast.
Then the young hero prepared himself,
that was Almighty God,
strong and firm of mood
he mounted the lofty cross,
courageously in the sight of many,
when he willed to redeem mankind.
I trembled when the hero embraced me
yet dared I not to bow down to earth,
fall to the bosom of the ground,
but I was compelled to stand fast.
A cross was I reared.
I raised the powerful king,
the lord of the heavens;
I dared not fall down.
They pierced me with dark nails,
on me are the wounds visible!
* * *
They reviled us both together.
I was all stained with blood
poured from the man's side.
* * *
The shadow went forth,
wan under the welkin:
all creation wept;
they mourned the fall of their King.
Christ was on the cross,
yet thither hastening,
men came from afar
unto the noble one.
I beheld that all
With sorrow I was overwhelmed,
* * *
The warriors left me there
Standing defiled with gore;
I was all wounded with shafts.
They laid him down limb-weary,
They stood at the corpse's head;
They beheld the Lord of heaven,
and he rested himself there awhile,
weary after his mighty contest.'

"This curious poem is marked by what Mr. Kemble has pronounced to betray evidence of modern handling; but Mr. D. H. Haigh adopts an opposite opinion, and conceives that we may possess, in the Ruthwell strophes, the fragments of a poem from the pen of the elder Cædmon, graven during the lifetime of its author. 'That they belong to the seventh century,' he remarks, 'cannot be doubted; they contain forms of the language which are evidently earlier even than those which occur in the contemporary version of Bæda's verses in a MS. at S. Gallen, and the copy of Cædmon's first song at the end of the MS. of the Historia Ecclesiastica, which was completed two years after its author's death.' (The Conquest of Britain by the Saxons, p. 39.)

"Of the general identity between the poem and the inscription, however, not the slightest doubt can exist; and we therefore no longer depend on any future discovery for supplying the deficiencies of the Runic legend, though we can only guess as to the full extent to which it was carried in its original form. 'It always seemed probable,' says Mr. Kemble, in concluding his observations on the old Scottish monument, 'that much of the inscription was missing, and the comparison instituted above renders this certain. The passages which remain are too fragmentary ever to have constituted a substantive whole, without very considerable additions, which there is no longer room for upon the cross in its present form. Buried, perhaps, beneath the soil of the churchyard, or worked into the walls of neighbouring habitations, the supplementary fragments may yet be reserved for a late resurrection. Should they ever again meet the eyes of men, they will add little to our knowledge; still, we should rejoice to find them once again resuming their old place in the pillar, and helping to reconstruct, in its original form, the most beautiful as well as the most interesting relic of Teutonic antiquity.'" (Archæologia, vol. xxx. p. 38.)[1]

There can be little doubt that the cross at Ruthwell is to be regarded as a monument of the Anglo-Saxon occupation of Annandale. The power of the Northumbrian kingdom came to an end towards the close of the eighth century, so that the date of the monument cannot be later than this time. Mr. Haigh, who thinks that the date of the cross at Bewcastle must be fixed to a period shortly after the middle of the seventh century, is inclined to assign the same date to that at Ruthwell, from its entire correspondence with the other in design and art, while he arrives at the same conclusion from the forms of language of the poetical inscription on two of its faces. Both are valuable for preserving specimens of the early Saxon dialect of Northumbria, while the monument at Ruthwell proves the contemporaneous use of Runes and Roman letters.

Mr. Haigh, as we have seen, is disposed to recognise in Cædmon, who, about the middle of the seventh century, began to compose religious poems in the Monastery of the Abbess Hilda, the author of this poem, of which part is sculptured on the cross at Ruthwell, and others have supposed that in the runes on the top-piece the name of Cædmon was recorded.

The nimbed figures on this cross have much in common with those on the cross at Bewcastle, and on the fragments at Rothbury and Lindisfarne, and the conception and style of art of the whole of these monuments differ entirely from the crosses of ancient Scotland.

The idea of quoting from a poem striking passages as an inscription on a sepulchral monument at this early period is very remarkable, and corresponds with our knowledge of the progress and refinement to which the great kingdom of Northumbria had attained. The want of an epitaph is remarkable, nor can it be held that the pictures and quotations from the Bible, so diverse in character, have any individual application to the person commemorated; they are rather to be regarded as mere fruits of the artist's taste in elaborating the monument of some illustrious person. The same may be said of the representations on the Irish crosses and manuscripts, and on many of the pictorial cross slabs of Scotland, from which we may gather that the subjects were determined by the taste and caprice of the artist and the space which he had to fill up.

The original design of this cross seems to have been the same as that of the monument at Bewcastle. It probably terminated at the point where the main body of Runic letters begin, and the stones of which the cross above and below this point is formed are of different colour, the portion above being of a darker red than that below this line. It may be remarked, also, that a distinct bar is carried round the base of the upper stone, indicating its separate construction.

The portion of the stone immediately below the transverse arms of the cross down to the fracture indicated in the drawing, was found in digging a grave prior to 1802, but subsequent to the date of Cardonnel's engraving of 1789. This fragment, on being fitted to the top of the main stem, was found to correspond with the line of fracture, and in point of size, so as to leave no doubt of its original position. The transverse arms of the cross are modern, having been made under the directions of Dr. Duncan by a country mason, who placed above this the "top piece," which appears as a fragment in Cardonnel's engraving.

The stone which is supposed to have formed the first monument is a block of about 12 feet 6 inches in height. The side on which the Roman characters are inscribed is about 2 feet in breadth at the base, tapering to the top, where it is about 15 inches broad. The Runic sides are at the base about 15 inches wide, and at the top about 11¼ inches.

[1] Prehistoric Annals of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 320-328.

The second stone tapers in the same way to the top of the pillar, which is about 17 feet 6 inches from the ground.

The Roman sides are divided into compartments of various sizes, separated from each other by a raised border or bar of from two to three inches broad, which is carried round the edges. Within these compartments various figures are sculptured, and on the raised borders illustrative inscriptions are given, which, beginning on the top bar, are carried down the side and round the enclosed figure in each panel. The Runic inscriptions, beginning on the top bar, are carried down the side without break to the bottom, and begin again at the top of the left hand bar, coming down in like manner.

The stone recovered from a grave has on its upper panel two defaced human figures. Then follows a figure standing on two globes holding a lamb in his arms. The letters of the surrounding inscription are almost entirely effaced. In the earlier drawings the word *adoramus* is given as being distinguishable. From the shortness of the figure, it seems likely that only a part of this panel has been recovered.

Below this is a nimbed figure, probably of our Lord, with one hand raised as if in benediction, the other holding what has been termed a scroll, but which is indistinct.

The greater part of the surrounding inscription can yet be made out:—IHS XPS IVDEX AEQVITATIS SERTO SALVATOREM MUNDI BESTLÆ ET DRACONES COGNOVERVNT IN DE.

The compartment below this contains two figures which have been regarded as those of St. Paul and St. Antony breaking a loaf of bread between them, being a miraculous incident in the lives of these saints related by St. Jerome in his life of St. Antony (Arch. Æliana, New Series, vol. i. p. 168).

On the right hand side the inscription is destroyed. It begins—"SCS PAVLVS ET A———; and then after the breach it proceeds—FREGERVNT PANEM IN DESERTO.

The panel next in order below contains the figure of the Blessed Virgin, and the Holy Child Jesus in her arms, riding upon an ass. A round figure in the corner, which is now very indistinct, is said to have been that of the head of Joseph. The inscription is almost wholly gone. What remains is MARIA ET IO.

On the opposite face of the monument, beginning at the top, is an archer with his bow and arrow. Below are two figures embracing each other; then a panel containing the figure of the woman who was a sinner washing the feet of Jesus. The upper words of the surrounding inscription are almost gone, but the greater part remains. When complete it read—ATTVLIT ALABASTRVM VNGVENTI ET STANS RETROSECUS PEDES EIVS LACRIMIS COEPIT RIGARE PEDES EIVS ET CAPILLIS CAPITI SVI TERGEGBAT. The next panel contains two figures which are supposed to represent our Lord restoring sight to the blind man. This inscription is also much defaced. What remains is—ET PRAETERIENS VIDI . . . ANATIBITATE ET S . . . When complete it probably read—ET PRÆTERIENS VIDIT COECUM A NATIVITATE ET SANAVIT EUM AB INFIRMITATE.

The next compartment also contains two figures, which may be supposed to represent the angel Gabriel announcing to the Blessed Virgin the mystery of the Incarnation. The inscription is mostly gone, except a few letters at the commencement. When complete it probably read—INGRESSVS ANGELVS AD MARIAM DIXIT AD EAM AVE GRATIA PLENA DOMINVS TECVM BENEDICTA TU IN MVLIERIBVS.

The portion of the stem below this has on one side a cross, with traces of circular projections above, which have been supposed to be meant for the sun and moon, and on the other side a figure now almost obliterated.

The top of the cross has on one face a human figure, and opposite to him a bird as if pecking his breast. No letters are now distinguishable on the surrounding marginal bar; but in 1788, when Cardonnel made his drawing, he read, "VERBVM IN ERIN," which, it is supposed, was meant for "VERBUM IN PRINCIPIO." On the opposite face is a bird perched on a branch. On the surrounding bar are indistinct traces of runes, the present state of which is exactly represented in the Plate.

In Cardonnel's plate the top piece is misplaced. The runic face is made to correspond with the runic face on the lower part of the stem. In reality, these runes occur on the broad or Roman face of the pillar, and the stone on which they are cut would not have fitted the lower part of the monument if disposed in the way in which they appear in Cardonnel's drawing. Whatever the runes on the top piece may have meant, they were to be read by themselves, and not in connection with those on the runic side below, and no runes occur on the sides of the top piece which correspond with the runic sides below.

PLATES XXI. AND XXII.

CROSS AT BEWCASTLE.

BEWCASTLE is an extensive parish in Cumberland, bounding with the parish of Symondburn in Northumberland, on the north and north-east; with Gilsland on the east and south-east; with the forest of Lidale, and part of Levington

barony, on the west and south-west. Camden tells us of one Bueth, a Cumberland man, about the time of the Conquest, who built Buecastle, and was lord of Buecastle dale.[1]

The site which he chose for his castle was within the walls of a Roman station of about six acres in extent, on ground rising from the river Kirkbeek, where remains of Roman altars, coins, pottery, and other relics have occasionally been dug up. The castle occupied the north-eastern corner of the station. The church and churchyard are also within the station on its south side. The church is said to have been dedicated to St. Cuthbert.[2]

The cross, of which the shaft now remains, stood in the churchyard. The shaft measures in height about 14 feet 6 inches, tapering from the base, where it is nearly square, being 22 inches by 21. The cross which had been on the top has disappeared, but the socket in which it stood remains. It is probable that the following note explains its fate. Gough, in his edition of Camden, states that a slip of paper had been found in Camden's own copy of his "Britannia," accompanied by the following note:—"I received this morning a ston from my Lord of Arundel sent him from my Lord William. It was the head of a cross at Bucastle."[3]

Inscriptions in runes occur on three sides of the shaft, and one was on the cross sent to Camden.[4]

Lord William Howard, otherwise known as the "Belted Will" of border story, who was so remarkable as a collector of books and historical relics, had previously noticed the inscriptions on this monument, and had sent a copy to Sir Henry Spelman to interpret. By him a copy was sent to Olaus Wormius, which he published in his Monumenta Danica.

Most of the runes occur on the west side, but even in the time of Camden some of the letters were so "dim that they are not legible;" and Bishop Nicholson describes them as "the forementioned ruins of Lord Howard's inscription, and declined even attempting to make out any part of it;"[5] and again, writing to Sir William Dugdale on 4th November 1685, he says—"I was assured by the curate of the place (a person of good sense and learning in greater matters) that the characters were so miserably worn out since the Lord William Howard's time, by whom they were communicated to Sir H. Spelman, and mentioned by Wormius (Mon. Dan. p. 161), that they were now wholly defaced, and nothing to be met with worth my while. The former part of this relation I found to be true, for though it appears that the forenamed inscription has been much longer than Wormius has given it, yet it is at present so far lost that in six or seven lines none of the characters are discernible, save only (five characters), and these too are incoherent and at great distances from each other."[6]

Mr. Maughan has bestowed much time and care in clearing out the lichens, and tracing the forms of the letters, and has given the result of his labours in the pamphlet which I have quoted.

The principal inscription is read by him as follows:—

"Hwætred, Wæthgar and Alwfwold set up this slender pillar in memory of Alcfrid ane King and Son of Oswy. Pray thou for them, their sins, their souls."

According to Mr. Haigh, "the long inscription" resolves itself into three couplets of alliterative verse; thus:—

"This beacon of honour
set Hwætred
in the year of the great pestilence
After the ruler
After King Alcfrid
pray for their souls."

Both gentlemen agree that the two lines of runes above the nimbed figure on this side are to be read Jessus Cristus, the language being in Latin, while the main inscription below is in the early Saxon dialect of Northumbria. The word *Gessus* is said by both to be found again in the line at the top of the north side. The other inscriptions are read very differently. Thus, the second inscription from the top, on the north side, is read by Mr. Maughan as Wulfhere, and by Mr. Haigh as Oslaac Cyning; the third by the former as Myrcna Kyng, by the latter as Wilfrid Preaster; the fourth is read by Mr. Maughan Kyneswi[th]a, and this is apparently adopted by Mr. Haigh; the lowest is read by Mr. Maughan as Kynnbur(thu)g, and by Mr. Haigh as Cyniburug.

On the south side Mr. Maughan reads the lowest line as Fru[ma]n Gear. It is read by Mr. Haigh as Oswu Cyningelt; the next by Mr. Maughan Kyninges, by Mr. Haigh Cyniburug Cyngn; the third by Mr. Maughan Rices [Th]æs, by Mr. Haigh Ecgfrid Cyning; the fourth by Mr. Maughan Ecgfri[thu]; by Mr. Haigh Eanfled Cyngn.

In the foliage of the second compartment from the top of this side a dial is skilfully introduced, of the same character as those found in the walls of ecclesiastical buildings of reputed Saxon date, referred to by Mr. Haigh as at

[1] Hutchison's Cumberland, vol. i. p. 48.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 86.

[3] Quoted in a Memoir on the Roman Station and Runic Cross at Bewcastle, by the Rev. John Maughan, rector of Bewcastle, p. 13. Lond. 1857.

[4] It is said that on the transverse limb of the cross the words "Rices Drihtnæ Sticæth" were to be seen in runes, and that this means "The staff of the mighty Lord." (Mr. Haigh in Arch. Æliana, New Series, vol. ii. p. 151.)

[5] Maughan, p. 17.

[6] Hutchison, vol. i. p. 76.

Corhampton in Hampshire, and the neighbouring church at Wamford; at Barnack in Northamptonshire, and Headbourne Worthy, near Winchester.[1]

If we may regard it as settled that the principal inscription records the death of King Alcfrid, which probably happened in 664, this would afford an approximation to the date of the erection of the monument.

According to Mr. Manghan, "the traditions of the district say that a king was buried here;"[2] and Hutchison states,[3] "There is no doubt that this was a place of sepulture, for on opening the ground on the east and west sides above the depth of six feet human bones were found of a large size, but much broken and disturbed, together with several pieces of rusty iron. The ground had been broken up before by persons who either searched for treasure or, like us, laboured with curiosity."

The plan of this monument is the same as that at Ruthwell, and the running foliage on the east side of the pillar, with birds and other creatures amid the branches, resembles the decoration on the two sides of the Ruthwell cross on which the runic inscriptions occur.

PLATE XXIII.

AT DEARHAM.

The parish of Dearham lies on the west coast of Cumberland, a few miles east from the town of Maryport. The church, dedicated to St. Mary, is a Norman structure, and has a very ancient square font, the sides of which are covered with sculptured tracery. A stone about three and a half feet in length, which appears to have been part of an ancient cross, is now used as the transom stone of a window in the north aisle. It is covered with rude sculpture in bas-relief. In this parish is the township of Elneburgh, a Roman site, where many Roman altars have been found.[4]

The cross represented in this plate stands in the churchyard. In plan it is a short shaft, surmounted by a wheel-cross. All the faces are covered with interlaced work, and with traces of nondescript creatures on one side.

The interlaced work differs from that of the Scotch and Irish stones, and of many English stones in other localities, while it closely resembles the work on several of the crosses in the Isle of Man, such as some of those in the walls of Kirkmichael churchyard, in the churchyard of St. John, Tynwald, and elsewhere. Most of the Manx crosses, however, are not cruciform, but cut on oblong slabs.[5]

PLATES XXIV. XXV. AND XXVIII.

AT GOSFORTH.

Gosforth is a parish on the west coast of Cumberland, about twelve miles south of Whitehaven.

The cross here represented stands on the south side of the churchyard. It is a slender tapering shaft, about 14 feet in height, surmounted by a wheel-cross. At the base, which is fixed on a pedestal of three steps, the stem is rounded, but the upper part, being more than half the length, is square. The interlacing ornament, like that on the cross at Dearham, is of the same pattern as that on some of the Manx crosses. On each side of the shaft are panels with figures of men, some of them on horseback and some of them inverted. In some cases the interlacing patterns end in monstrous heads of animals. Both the plan and details of the cross differ much from the Scotch examples. "Formerly, another column stood at the distance of about 7 feet from the cross still standing, and between the two was a stone placed horizontally, on which was rudely sculptured the figure of a large and antique sword."[6]

It may be doubted whether this latter stone had any original connection with the crosses.

The fragments of crosses in Plate XXVIII. were found in the churchyard, and are now in the rector's possession. The work on them seems more like that on some of the Northumbrian examples.

[1] Arch. Æliana, New Series, p. 178.

[2] Memoir, p. 10.

[3] Hutchison's Cumberland, vol. i. pp. 86, 87.

[4] Nicolson and Burns, Westmoreland and Cumberland, vol. ii. p. 109. Lond. 1777.

[5] Cumming's Runic Remains of the Isle of Man, Plates I. and II. Lond. 1857.

[6] Whillan's History and Topography of Cumberland and Westmoreland, p. 355. Pontefract 1860.

PLATES XXVI. AND LXXXII.

FRAGMENTS AT LINDISFARNE.

The little island of Lindisfarne, like that of Iona, is venerable for its memories of an early Christianity, and of the holy men by whom it was introduced among the barbarous tribes around them. The see of Lindisfarne was founded by Oswald, king of Northumbria, in the year 635; and Aidan, a monk of Iona, was its first bishop. "Before Aidan's arrival there had been no emblem of Christianity, no church, no altar, no cross in the whole province," and the church at Lindisfarne was "the first between the Tees and the Firth of Forth."[1] This edifice was dedicated by the Archbishop Theodor in honour of St. Peter and St. Paul. Aidan was succeeded in the bishopric by Finan, another monk from Iona (652-661), who rebuilt the church of his predecessor, using for materials, as was the manner of the Scots, wooden planks, and thatching it with reeds. Eadbert, the seventh bishop (688-698), removed the reeds from the roof, covering it with lead, as well as the walls. His successor Eadfrid, the eighth bishop (698-721), wrote with his own hand a book of the Four Gospels, of which Ethelwold, who succeeded him, supplied the illuminations.

Æthelwold became bishop, after a vacancy of three years, in 724. He had originally been a monk in the church of Lindisfarne, and afterwards became Abbot of Melrose. Before his elevation to the see he had caused a cross to be made of stone, and his name to be cut on it in memory of himself.

Eardulph was the sixteenth and last Bishop of Lindisfarne (854-900). In his time the cruelties of the Danes compelled the bishop and his monks to flee from their island, carrying with them in all their wanderings the body of St. Cuthbert.

Long after St. Cuthbert had made the place of his rest at Durham, he once more was carried back to Lindisfarne. This was when the men of Northumberland had set William the Conqueror at defiance, and when that monarch arrived at York, threatening to destroy the land with fire and sword. Then the bishop and his monks resolved to remove the body of St. Cuthbert to Lindisfarne, which they did in the year 1069, and here, says Raine, "they lingered in the half-ruined cathedral till the following Lent (1070), when they returned to Durham with the body of St. Cuthbert in peace."[2]

We know that Eadbert, the seventh Bishop of Lindisfarne (688-698), removed the reeds from the roof of Finan's structure, and covered both roof and walls with lead.[3] It does not seem that this could have been the building which Symeon has described as "their noble church, the first which had been built in all Bernicia, and in which there had dwelt many a saint,"[3] and which was given to the flames by the Danes in 875. It seems more likely that it had in the interval been replaced by a structure of stone like the churches of Jarrow and Wearmouth, which had been erected of that material about the end of the seventh century by Benedict Biscop.

It would seem that a church stood at Lindisfarne in the year 1082, when we next hear of the place. In that year William Carileph, Bishop of Durham, ejected the secular clergy from his cathedral of Durham, and established in their stead a convent of Benedictine monks collected from the monasteries of Wearmouth and Jarrow. Upon these he bestowed, *inter alia*, the church of Lindisfarne, which had been originally the Episcopal see. Three years afterwards this donation was confirmed by the donor, when it is called "the Church of Island." A third charter by the same bishop in 1093 describes his gift as the west part of the vill of Holy Island.

The church mentioned in 1082 and in 1084 could not have been the present Norman church, which we know was built by the monks of Durham; for before the former period they possessed no right upon the island; and it could not have been the church now in ruins, for by the third charter referred to there was, in the year 1093, no church whatever upon the island. All that the bishop gave in that year was the western part of the vill of Holy Island, the very ground upon which the ruins of the present priory stand.[4]

From notices in Reginald, and circumstances elsewhere detailed, we gather that the foundation of the priory occurred in 1093 or 1094. It is described by Reginald as a church new from the foundation, and finished of squared stone with all elegance of workmanship.

In some parts of the walls of the priory carved stones occur, which seem to have been taken from the walls of an earlier building. One of these is built up in the staircase of the north-west tower of the church, having delineated on it, in *basso relievo*, a nondescript animal with a head like a dog, and ending in a long snaky and entwisted tail. This is probably a Saxon ornament. It evidently was not originally intended for the place which it now occupies, and yet it has unquestionably held its present situation since the first building of the staircase in which it is preserved, and which is as old as any other part of the church.

It seems to me that the crosses of which the fragments are now delineated were probably in connection with the church erected between that of Finan, built in 652, and that of the priory, founded in 1093 or 1094. We else-

[1] Raine's History of North Durham, pp. 52-55.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 72.
[3] Bede, iii. 25.
[4] Raine, p. 74.

where find many traces of what seems to have been an early custom—viz., the erection of crosses as memorials of the great departed. I have already referred to the cross of Ethelwold, which, according to Symeon, was always carried about with the body of St. Cuthbert. Cuthbert had himself erected a cross, near which he desired to be buried.[1] When Acca, Bishop of Hexham, was buried in 740, "duæ cruces lapideæ mirabili celatura decoratæ positæ sunt una ad caput alia ad pedes ejus."[2]

When, therefore, it is considered that the bodies of so many prelates and holy men were interred here, and that probably the bodies of great secular men were also brought for burial, from the sanctity of the place, as in the similar case of Iona,[3] it is natural to expect remains of their tombs. I am inclined to regard the present fragments as parts of these memorials. They are too fragmentary to allow us to attribute them to any specific individual, but the use of such stones as materials for buildings of later date than their own is common in every part of the country. I have elsewhere referred to the crosses imbedded in the foundation of the wall of the retro choir at St. Andrews, and instances of a similar use are specified in other parts of these remarks. Examples of it are frequent in Northumberland—as at Billingham, Jarrow, and Aycliffe.

PLATES XXVII. AND XXVIII.

NORHAM.

"THE parishes of Norham and Island may be considered as the most ancient possession of the see of Durham. They constituted part of the extensive territory, on both sides of the Tweed, appropriated, in all probability, by Oswald of Northumberland to the church of Lindisfarne. On the spot which afterwards came to be called Norham Egfrid, Bishop of Lindisfarne (from 830 to 845), established an independent parish, and built the church of Ubbanford, a name which only disappeared when Ralph Flambard, in the full exercise of his royal privileges, erected his *northern home* on the banks of the Tweed, and gave the name of Norham-shire to the surrounding parish."[4] About a century after this time Symeon speaks of a monastery at Norham (Hist. S. Cuthberti, col. 73).

The church, built by Bishop Egfrid or Ecred, was dedicated to St. Peter, St. Cuthbert, and St. Ceolwulf; and hither the bones of the latter, who renounced his throne of Northumberland and became a monk, were removed from Lindisfarne. This church was standing in 1082, in which year it was granted to the monks of Durham by Bishop Carileph, by a charter in which special reference is made to its celebrity as one of the resting-places of the body of St. Cuthbert in the course of its many wanderings.[5] It is mentioned in another grant of the same bishop in 1093, soon after which time it must have been removed to make way for the present structure, which proves itself to belong to that date, being of the later period of the Norman style. On two occasions Edward I. sat on his throne within the walls of this building, with all the competitors for the Crown of Scotland save one before him, and many other national transactions were here transacted; "and yet, notwithstanding all the chances and changes to which it must from its situation have been subject, it stood entire till the establishment of peace on the borders, and suffered for the first time materially under the hands of its minister and churchwardens in 1617. Whatever is devoid of taste in the fabric is of that period, and they must be blamed for curtailments and mutilations to which they have given the name of repairs."[6]

Of the original church of Ecgred, or rather of its ornaments, there have been discovered, at different periods, in the churchyard and adjacent grounds, some interesting remains. The greater part of these were found in 1833 in investigating the foundations of a building in the churchyard a few paces from the east end of the present fabric. They are now arranged in a sort of pyramid in the churchyard, and the greater part of them seem to be fragments of broken crosses. They are of the same style of art as the fragments at Lindisfarne, and must be referred to Saxon times. In Dr. Raine's opinion "they are of the same date as the cross at Bewcastle." A gravestone containing the mutilated inscription P. ANIMA ÆLFA . . . is referred to by Dr. Raine as being among the fragments in 1833.[7] He considered it highly interesting, as proving beyond a doubt, by the shape of its letters, the early period to which it belongs. Dr. Raine adds—"In addition to these valuable specimens of antient art, Mr. Lambe, a late vicar of

[1] Symeon, De Dunelmensi Ecclesia, p. 5, ap. Twysden.

[2] Symeon, De Gestis Regum Anglorum, p. 101.

[3] Symeon tells us that the body of Sieger, who slew King Elfwald, was brought to be buried at Lindisfarne in 793, and the body of King Ceolwolf, who became a monk of Lindisfarne before the middle of the eighth century, was interred there. (*Ibid.* p. 112.)

[4] Raine's North Durham, p. 2.

[5] Many churches owed their origin to the circumstance that the saint's body had rested on their sites, but Norham had been erected just before the monks were driven from Lindisfarne with their treasure. According to Prior Wessington's M.S. *De Orig. Ord. Monach.*, "ubi dicti Episcopus et abbas rahiem Danorum declinantes, aliquando quietem habebant, plures Ecclesiæ et Capellæ in honore S. Cuthberti posterius sunt erectæ." (Quoted in North Durham, p. 71.)

[6] Raine's North Durham, p. 261. These objections have, however, been much removed by recent alterations and improvements, which have restored much of the old building.

[7] *Ibid.* p. 259. See also Proceedings of Berwickshire Naturalists' Club for 1859, p. 121; and Plate at p. 218.

Norham, discovered in his day among the same rudera, at the east end of the church, a fragment of a stone (now lost), but belonging to the same period, on which," as he says, "were cut the effigies of the three patrons of Norham Church—St. Peter with his keys, St. Cuthbert, and St. Ceolwulf, with a sceptre in his hand; each of these saints hath his head covered with a monk's coul or hood" (Flodden Field, p. 149, ed. 1809). Mr. Lambe must have been a fanciful antiquary. Hutchinson (Northumberland, ii. 25) gives a drawing of this stone, which completely disproves his statement. There are six heads in all, and the upper (Lambe's St. Peter with his Keys) appears to be the Virgin with braided hair. The two below, instead of being clad in cowls, are each under a deep nimbus, and the inscription IHS NAZARIOS, which Hutchinson has incorrectly copied, and was unable to decipher, still more clearly proves the mistake into which Mr. Lambe has fallen.

The many fragments of crosses now described would alone show that Norham had been a place of great repute as a place of sepulture in Saxon times. Its connection with St. Cuthbert (dwelt upon as we have noticed by Bishop Carileph in his charter in 1082) would have led us to anticipate the reverence with which it was regarded. Reginald has preserved the notice of a cross made of the wood of a table upon which St. Cuthbert had been in the habit of eating his meals, and upon which the whole neighbourhood were accustomed to swear at the altar of St. Cuthbert, in the parish church of Norham. The same writer describes the chapel of Slithrith (Slitrig), in Teviotdale, which in his day was roofless, but was much frequented on the day of St. Cuthbert by the aged for devotional exercises, and by the young for dancing and other amusements. In the time of Reginald a school was kept in the church of Norham for the benefit of the neighbourhood, according to a custom "now common enough."[1]

Cospatric, made Earl of Northumberland by William the Conqueror, is said by Dugdale (Bar. i. 54) to have been buried in the porch of Norham Church.[2] According to Hoveden, the earl, when in great weakness, called to him Alduine and Turgot, who were then living as monks at Melrose, and after confession, terminated his days at Norham, and was buried in the porch. He had previously given to these monks two coverlets, that in whatever place they rested they might repose, in memory of the donor—which coverlets, it is added, yet remain in the church of Durham.[3] The church had the privilege of sanctuary.

It may be mentioned that there was a HERMITAGE in the neighbourhood of Norham, of which the prior and convent of Durham were patrons. The first appointment of a hermit on record is dated 3d May 1329. It is in favour of Roger de Ellesden, capellan and hermit, and sets forth as his motive for desiring the hermitage, "pure et vere vitam proponens ducere solitariam in loco cupias aliquo residere quo cum hoste antiquo pugnando peccata tua deflere valeas a tumultibus hominum segregatus." The hermitage was conferred on him, with certain rights enjoyed by his predecessors, which are not specified.[4]

Occasional notices occur of hermitages in our early Scottish records, from which it would appear that portions of land were attached to them. In 1445 James II. confirmed to John Smyth, citizen of Brechin, the hermitage of the chapel of St. Mary of the Forest of Kilgerre, in the barony of Menmuir, in Forfarshire. Its pertinents were "cum crofta et le grene cumpertinentiis nec non cum tribus acris terre arabilis;" all which formerly belonged to Hugh Cuminche, hermit, "hereditarie," and were resigned by him.[4]

Cospatricius heremita de Kylbeuhoc is a witness to the perambulation of the marches of Stobo about the year 1200.[5] William the Lion confirmed to John the Hermit the donation which Symon, Bishop of Moray, made to him at the king's request—viz., the island which is in the loch of Lunnin, on the east side, and the half carrucate of land in Duldauach. Again, in a charter of certain lands in Strathspey by Alexander II. to the Bishop of Moray, he reserves "Gyllecrist Gartanach heremite tenura sua terre de Rothman in vita sua."[6]

About the middle of the thirteenth century David de Haya conveyed to the monks of Cupar "heremitagium integre quod Gillemichel quondam heremita tenuit cum tribus acris terre juxta idem heremitagium."[7]

In 1406 Ranald Udny, of that ilk, conveyed to a chaplain all the lands which the hermit possessed by his father's permission.[8]

On 3d August 1506 there is an entry in the High Treasurer's accounts of a payment of 5/4 "to the hermit of Maii [the Isle of May], be the kingis coman." The hermitage of Lupno, near Keir, in Perthshire, was included in the investitures of the barony in the seventeenth century.[9][10]

[1] Reginaldi Monarchi Dunelm. Libellus, capa lxvii. cxxxvi. (Surtees Society).

[2] North Durham, p. 259.

[3] Mon. Hist. Brit. p. 688.

[4] North Durham, p. 262.

[5] Regist. Episcopatus Brechinen, vol. ii. p. 382.

[6] Regist. Episc. Glasg. vol. i. p. 89.

[7] Regist. Morav. pp. 4, 32.

[8] Miscellany of Spalding Club, vol. ii. p. 307.

[9] Regist. Aberdon. vol. i. p. 209.

[10] Inquis. Retorat. Abbrev. *voce* Perth, No. 774. The following is a notice of the origin of a hermitage in Brittany in the ninth century. It also shows the tendency to convert it into a hereditary right:—"Wrwelet venit ad Jarnithinum Macthiernum querere locum ubi peccata sua pœniteret, & Jarnithin dedit illi locum Rosgas, qui alio nomine dicitur Botgart, & postea obiit Wrwelet. Aliquo post tempore, filius ejus Worworet venit ad supradictum Tyrannum Jarnithinum, ad Lisbethi, secum deferens duas flacones optimi vini, & habens pro mediatore Doitanau Presbyterum Jarnithini Cabellanarium, & Howoti Major in plebe Catoc; et Jarnithin dedit sicut hæreditarius Princeps locum supradictum in eleemosinam & dedit licentiam quantum ex sylva & saltu in circuitu potuisset præparare & abscindere, sicut heremitario in deserto, qui non habet dominatorem, excepto Deo solo."—Cartul. de Redon, in Morice's Hist. de Bretagne, pp. 267, 268.

PLATES XXIX. AND XXX.

CAMPBELTON.

THE parish of Campbelton comprises the four ancient parishes of Kilkerran, Kilmichael, Kilchoman, and Kilchousland, which include a large extent of the peninsula of Kintyre. It first received its modern name towards the end of the seventeenth century. Kintyre was part of the territory of the Dalriadic settlements in the early part of the sixth century, and the Christian religion was introduced by the Irish missionaries who followed in the train of the settlers. In the year 604 or 605 Aidan, King of the Scots, is said to have died in Kintyre, and to have been buried at Kilkerran. The name of Kilchoman seems to indicate its dedication to St. Coemgen or Keivin, who, about the year 600, is said to have founded the abbey of Glendalough in Leinster. Kilchousland appears to have been dedicated to a contemporary of St. Columba who preached and was martyred in Kintyre, and seems to be the church of St. Constantine, which, in 1508, was, together with the church of St. Michael, granted by King James IV. to the Bishop of Argyll as a mensal church. In the parish are immense barrows or cairns, and rude pillars. The greatest number of them is to be found about the head of Loch Crinan. Those which have been opened contained half-burned bones and ashes, sometimes in rude earthen urns, and sometimes in square stone coffins. Under the obelisks or pillars the same contents are found as under the cairns or barrows. A great number of forts are to be seen along the sea-coast of Kintyre, and there is also a vitrified tower.[1]

Campbelton was erected into a royal burgh in the year 1701. In the centre of the town stands the beautiful cross here delineated, whither it has doubtless been brought from some of the old burying-grounds in the neighbourhood. Some of the sculptures have been purposely defaced, probably as superstitions. An inscription on one of the faces is in the following terms :—HEC EST CRUX DOMINI. YVARI. M. HEACHYRNAI. QUONDAM RECTORIS. DE KYL RECAN. ET DOMINI. ANDREE NATI EJUS. RECTORIS. DE. KIL. COMAN. QUI HANC CRUCEM. FIERI. FACIEBAT.

Dr. Reeves has fixed the date of this monument to about the year 1500.[2]

PLATE XXXI.

INVERARAY.

THE old name of the parish was Kilmalew and Glenaray. The church stood on the left bank of the Aray, where its site is still marked by a green mound between that stream and the present burying-ground. Anciently there appear to have been churches or chapels at Kilmun, Kilblane, Glenshira, Kilbryde, Kilian, and Achantiobairt, the cemeteries of some of which were used in the last century. "At the last-named place there were some time ago several stone crosses of considerable size and in good preservation. Nothing is found there now but the fragments of a cross of roof-slate, which fills up a chasm in a turf-fence. It bears no inscription. It seems to have been a station of some importance."[3]

The cross now engraved was for many years the town cross of Inveraray. It was removed when the old town was knocked down, and lay long neglected, but it has been restored to its former office, and stands at the end of the principal street.

In 1474 King James III. erected the town of Innowreyra into a free burgh of barony, and in 1554 Queen Mary created the burgh of Innerrara a free royal burgh for ever.[4] It is likely that the present cross was removed from some of the ancient burial-grounds just referred to, with the view of forming a market-cross to the burgh, as in the case of that at Campbelton. The inscription on the shaft is as follows :—HEC EST CRUX : NOBILIUM VIRORUM : VIDELICET DONDCANI MEICGYLL ICHOMGHAN : PATRICII FILII : EIVS : ET MAELMORE : FILII PATRICII : QVI HANC : CRUCEM : FIERI FACIEBAT. A portion of the sculpture on the upper part of both faces of the cross, containing probably a Crucifixion on the one and St. Michael and the Dragon on the other, has been chiselled out. The monument is probably of the same period as the cross at Campbelton.

[1] Orig. Par. Scot. vol. ii. pp. 12-19. Sinclair's Stat. Acc. vol. x. p. 539.

[2] Adamnan's Columba, p. 420, *note*.

[3] Orig. Par. Scot. vol. ii. p. 86. New Stat. Acc. Argyllshire, p. 25.

[4] Orig. Par. vol. ii. p. 89.

PLATE XXXII.

AT KEILS.

At Keils, near the south-western extremity of the parish of North Knapdale, stands the ruin of the chapel of St. Carmaig, and on the little island called Ellanmore is an ancient church bearing the name of St. Charmaig (Cormac), by whom both are said to have been originally built. The island church, styled by Fordun and other chroniclers "a sanctuary," has two compartments, of which the western, supposed to have been the dwelling of the priest, has a vaulted roof, and in the wall several arched recesses, in one of which is a recumbent effigy believed to be the image of St. Cormac. Near it are two ancient crosses, and a large cavity partly walled with masonry, and named M'Cormac's grave. The church at Keils, and another at Kilmory near Knap Point, are exactly of the same size, each 42 feet by 18, and beside each is a cross of some antiquity.

At Cove, on Loch Killisport, there is a chapel said to have been founded by St. Columba, and in a neighbouring cave, from which it derives its name, are an altar, a font, and a cross cut in the rock. There were also chapels at Kilduslan, or Kildusklan, and Kilmachunaig.[1]

The cross at Keils is here represented. It is of a different character from most of the crosses on the west coast, and its form and style of ornament are rather of the Irish type, and belong to a much earlier period than such crosses as those at Inveraray and Campbelton. Mr. Muir has remarked the resemblance of its outline to the Camus Stone at Panbride in Angus (vol. i. Plate LXXXVII.),[2] and it has been explained that the latter is one of the very few cruciform stones on the east coast.

PLATE XXXIII.

AT KILMORIE.

The chapel of Kilmorie, in South Knapdale, has been already referred to as having traditionally been erected by St. Charmaig (Cormac). Its walls are still almost complete, and it is surrounded by a burying-ground. In both the chapel and graveyard are many slabs ornamented with the sword and shears. The cross figured in this Plate is in the churchyard. On one side is represented the crucifixion of our Lord, with figures which may be meant for the Blessed Virgin and St. John. Beneath is a two-handed sword. On the other side of the shaft is a stag-hunt, the dogs being represented with collars, as on some of the early east cross slabs, and lower down is an armed man holding in his hand a battle-axe, with a large horn suspended from his shoulder. Beneath his feet is the inscription—Hec est crvx Alexandri Macmvlen. The Macmillans, according to their traditions, were connected with the clan Chattan, and a branch of them possessed the greater part of Southern Knapdale, where their chief was known under the title of Macmillan of Knap; but although they were at a very early period in Knapdale, they probably obtained the greater part of their possessions there by marriage with the heiress of the chief of the Macneils in the sixteenth century.[3] To an early part of this century the cross is probably to be ascribed. A drawing and notice of this monument occurs in Archæologia Scotica, vol. iv. p. 377.

PLATE XXXIV.

AT KILCHOMAN.

This parish consists of the south-west portion of the island of Islay, known as the Rinns. The church, apparently dedicated to St. Comghan, stood on the west coast, to the south of Loch Gnirm. In the surrounding graveyard the present cross stands. Near to it is a fragment of another cross, and in the neighbouring fields are two small crosses of a peculiar type, said to have been two of three crosses which marked the limits of the sanctuary. There are five churches in ruins, to each of which a burying-ground is attached, in some of which specimens of the sculptured slabs so common on the west coast are to be seen. There are also several unsculptured obelisks in the parish, and many fortified sites. Two gold ornaments were found under a large pillar near to Sunderland House, which weighed 22½ sovereigns. About thirty years ago several stone coffins, of from 2½ to 3 feet in length, were discovered in the

[1] Orig. Par. p. 39, vol. ii.

[2] Characteristics of Old Church Architecture, etc., p. 107. Edin. 1861.

[3] Skene's Highlanders, vol. ii. pp. 214, 219. Lond. 1837.

conical hills below Sunderland Farm. Some of them contained one or two clay urns; others contained skulls and other human bones.[1]

This monument, which is of the Campbelton type, has on the east face a representation of our Lord on the cross, surrounded by four figures within the disc, and an angel in each arm of the cross. Near the top of the shaft are two figures under a cusped arch, and beneath them an inscription in fourteen lines, mostly illegible. Towards the bottom is a horseman under another arch of like form. The west side is covered with foliated patterns on the shaft, with knot-work on the arms of the cross.

PLATE XXXV.

I. FRAGMENTS AT KILARROW.

The parish of Kilarrow, dedicated to the Irish St. Maelrubha, is now known as the parish of Kilarrow and Kilmeny, and forms the central and largest portion of the island of Islay. Of the ancient church nothing now remains, but the burying-ground in which it stood is at the head of Loch-an-dail, and contains some good specimens of carved slabs.[2] On a mount near the graveyard, called "The Battery," the fragment of the cross here delineated is erected in a figured stone base. It shows on both faces the ordinary foliage and animals. On one of the faces are two men, one of them on horseback, with a few letters of an inscription. Another inscription, on a panel above the horseman, is quite obliterated.

The fragment at the top is of a different stone from the lower part of the shaft, and belongs to a different cross.

On an island in Loch Finlagan, which lies about the centre of the parish, are the ruins of a small chapel dedicated to St. Finlagan; and between it and the east coast at Kilcholmkill stood a chapel dedicated to St. Columba, both anciently in the patronage of the Lords of the Isles.

II. FRAGMENT AT KEILS (ISLAY).

This stem of a cross stands on an eminence commanding a view of the sound of Islay, about a quarter of a mile from the old church of Keils, dedicated to St. Columba, near Portaskaig. "It stands on a square plinth, and shows the usual twining foliage on both the broader planes, but there are no pictorial decorations."[3] It may be remarked, however, that on one of the sides, amid the foliage, small Greek crosses are introduced.

PLATES XXXVI. AND XXXVII.

KILDALTON.

The parish of Kildalton, of which the church was dedicated to St. John the Evangelist, forms the south-east side of the island of Islay. The original church of the parish stood at Kildalton, a few miles south-west from the entrance to the sound of Islay, where its cemetery, walls, altar, and font still remain.

The large cross in these plates stands in a stone base in the burying-ground, on the north side of the ruined church. It differs entirely in form from all the other crosses on the west coast, and also in style of ornamentation from all except that called Martin's Cross at Iona and the cross at Keils (Plate XXXII.), which it greatly resembles in many of its details, but is richer than either of them. It partakes very much of the character of the Irish crosses—especially in the length of the arms and in the circle which connects them with the stem; and in outline and some details it may be compared with the south cross at Clonmacnoise. The disengaged circle, which is so common on the Irish crosses, occurs only on two of the Scotch ones—viz., the present example, and Martin's Cross just referred to. It has been elsewhere remarked that on the cross slabs on the east coast this circle appears as if in embryo on the slab, preparatory to the monument being shaped into the form of a cross with the circle cut into a free ornamented band.

On the east side of the cross the figure of the Blessed Virgin and Holy Child, with a male figure on either side, is cut, and at the extremities of the arms of the cross are groups of figures apparently of ecclesiastics.

This cross is, in my opinion, of a style greatly earlier than the class of monuments represented by that at Campbelton, and comes much nearer in character to the Irish examples, which are ascribed to the tenth and eleventh centuries.

[1] New Stat. Acc. Argyllshire, p. 650. [2] Muir's Old Church Architecture of Scotland, p. 127. [3] *Ibid.* p. 104.

The smaller cross, of which the shaft is unsculptured, stands on the outside of the churchyard.

On the hill of Dun Borreraig are the ruins of a circular hill-fort 52 feet in diameter inside, with walls 12 feet thick, a gallery within the walls, and a stone bench 2 feet high round the area. Near the bay of Knock are two large upright flags called "The Two Stones of Islay." Monumental stones, as well as cairns and barrows, occur, and stone and brass [bronze] hatchet-shaped weapons or celts, elfshots, or flint arrow-heads, and brass fibulæ, have been frequently dug up.[1]

PLATES XXXVIII AND XXXIX.

ORANSAY.

THE islands of Colonsay and Oransay, separated from each other at flood-tide only, form part of the parish of Jura. Originally they formed the parish of Kilchattan, of which the church, dedicated to St. Cathan, stood on the west side of the island of Colonsay. A church also stood at Kilouran, at the north end of the island, the alleged site of an abbey dedicated to St. Oran, the friend of St. Columba.[2]

Tradition places the first landing of St. Columba, on his leaving Ireland, at Oransay. Fordun notices the island as "Hornesay ubi est monasterium nigrorum canonicorum quod fundavit Sanctus Columba." There may have been an early ecclesiastical establishment here, but that of which the ruins still remain was a priory founded by a Lord of the Isles, and said to have been affiliated to Holyrood.[3] The cross here delineated is inserted in a stone base, and stands on the south-west of the priory church. It is upwards of 12 feet in height, elaborately sculptured on both sides with patterns of foliage. On the upper part of the west face is a representation in relief of our Lord on the Cross, in a very striking and effective style of art, and differing from like representations on any of the other monuments. Towards the base of the west face are two animals, whose tails as usual are made to bud into all the foliage above them. Beneath them is an inscription in four lines, which reads + HEC EST CRUX COLINI FILII CRISTI . . . . . .

The inscription has been otherwise[4] read as 'Hæc est crux Colini Prior. Orisoi obiit MDX . . . .' but Mr. Gibb was unable to see the letters of the two last words and the date. The cross is of the same character and period as that at Campbelton, and may be considered the finest of the series. There is a fragment of another cross at the east end of the priory, and many examples of the sculptured slabs or gravestones are to be seen among the ruins.

PLATES XL. AND XLI.

IONA.

THERE can be no reasonable doubt that the monastery of Columba was, from an early period, a burial-place of eminence and great resort, and I have elsewhere dwelt on the motives which were so powerful among the Celtic people in leading them to desire to be laid in the ground hallowed as the resting-place of their ecclesiastical fathers, and which prompted to the selection of their chief monasteries as their place of sepulture.

According to Fordun, Iona was one of the islands called "Insulæ Regales," "in qua Sanctus Columba construxit monasterium, quæ usque ad tempus regis Malcolmi viri Sanctæ Margaretæ fuit sepultura et sedes regalis regum Pictiniæ et Scotiæ."[5]

Wyntoun also records that Kenneth Macalpine and his successors were carried to Icolmkill for burial.[6]

The extracts printed by Innes from the register of St. Andrews agree in this, and assert that Edgar was the first monarch who was buried at Dunfermline; whereas it is plain that Malcolm Canmore had previously been buried there.[7]

The St. Andrews list also includes (as some have thought the unlikely) name of Macbeth among those of the kings buried at Iona,—certainly a more likely resting-place for a Scottish monarch, in the eleventh century, than the hill-side of Lumfanan, where he fell, and where a cairn is still pointed out as the cover of his grave.

Even the Saxon king Egfrid, who fell in his invasion of the Pictish territories in the year 685, was carried for burial to the chief of all the monasteries of Alba.[8]

So late as the end of the twelfth century, Godred, king of Man, was buried at Iona, and the Irish annals which

[1] Anderson's Guide to the Highlands, p. 372. Edin. 1842.
[2] Orig. Paroch. Scotiæ, vol. ii. p. 280.
[3] Reeves's Adamnan, p. 293.
[4] New Stat. Acc. Argyllshire, p. 545.
[5] Scotichronicon, lib. i. cap. 6.
[6] Cronykil of Scotland, vol. i. p. 170, *et seq.*
[7] Innes's Critical Essay, p. 803.
[8] Simeonis Dunelm. Hist de Dunelm. Eccl., p. 5.

record this fact contain notices of the deaths of pilgrims who were drawn to the hallowed precincts of Hy.[1] Archdeacon Monro, who is said to have travelled through most of the Western Isles in 1594, in his account of Iona thus describes the cemetery:—"Within this ile of Colmkill there is ane sanctuary also, or kirkzaird, callit in Erische Religoran, quhilk is a very fair kirkzaird and weill biggit about with staine and lyme. Into this sanctuary ther is three tombes of staine formit like little chapels, with ane braid gray marble or quhin staine in the gavill of ilk ane of the tombes. In the staine of the ane tombe there is wretten in Latin letters *Tumulus Regum Scotiæ*—that is, The tombe ore grave of the Scotts kinges. Within this tombe, according to our Scotts and Erische cronikels, ther layes fortey-eight crouned Scotts kings, through the quhilk this ile hes been riehlie dotat be the Scotts kings, as we have said. The tombe on the south syde forsaid hes this inseription, *Tumulus Regum Hybernie*—that is, The tombe of the Irland kinges; for we have in our auld Erisehe eroniekells that ther wes foure Irland kinges eirdit in the said tombe. Upon the north syde of our Scotts tombe the inscriptione beares, *Tumulus Regum Norwegiæ*—that is, The tombe of the kinges of Norroway . . . . Within this sanctuary also lyes the maist pairt of the Lords of the Isles with their lineage. Twa Clan Lynes with their lynage, M'Kynnon and M'Guare with ther lynages, with sundrie uthers inhabitants of the hail iles, because this sanctuary wes wont to be the sepultnre of the best men of all the iles, and als of our kings as we have said; becaus it was the maist honorable and ancient place that was in Seotland in thair dayes as we reid."[2]

That tombs "formit like little chapels" had been erected at Iona, and appropriated to eertain families at an early period, we may well believe, sinee we find that this was the eustom among the kindred tribes of Ireland, whose provineial kings and principal chieftains gave land to secure burial-ground for themselves and their descendants in the eemeteries of their great monasteries, on which they erected cells or ehnrches apparently of the same character as those at Iona deseribed by Monro. Thus, within the burial-ground of the great monastery of St. Kieran at Clonmacnoise, "whieh was above all others famous for the sepulchres of the nobility and bishops," "there were nine ehurches mostly bnilt by kings and petty princes of those parts as their places of sepulture; who, although at perpetual wars in their lives, were contented to lie here peaceably in death." And in 1684 the walls of nine churches were yet visible within the walls of the ehurchyard.[3]

When Pennant visited Iona in 1772 he could discover of the "tombs of the kings" "nothing more than certain slight remains that were built in a ridged form and arched within; but the inscriptions were lost."[4]

An anonymous author, writing in 1693, asserts that "in this ile was a great many crosses to the number of 360, which was all destroyed by one provinciall assembly holden on the place a little after the Reformation. Ther fundations is yett extant; and two notable ons of a eonsiderable height and exeellent work untouehed."[5] Another account reduces the number of crosses thus destroyed to 60.[6]

It is probable that there is little foundation for this story.

The remaining fragments, no doubt, show that there had at one time been a larger number of these interesting memorials than are now preserved, but Mr. Huband Smith was unable to discover at Iona the remains of more than fifteen or twenty erosses.[7] It is of course impossible to say whether these were broken as monuments of idolatry by the Reformers, or were reserved for injnry from later neglect. That a great destrnction of crosses occurred in other quarters at the time of the Reformation may readily be believed from the temper whieh some of the early enactments of the new Establishment displayed. One of these, in December 1560, ordered that "the kirk of Restalrig, as a monument of idolatrie, be raysit and utterlie castin doune and destroyed."[8] In the Convention of the Estates, which met in May 1561, an act was passed for demolishing sueh abbey ehnrches and cloisters as yet remained; and we are told by Spottiswoode that, under colour of this act, a miserable devastation ensued of all churches without distinction, the multitude readily following the example which had been given them by persons in authority. The buildings themselves were destroyed; their whole furniture, the holy vessels and bells, and whatever else eould be made gain of, were sold; books and registers were burned, and even the graves of the dead did not escape violation.

The most aneient of the crosses now remaining is that of St. Martin, opposite the west door of the cathedral. It is a single column of whinstone, about 14 feet in height, inserted in a block of red granite approached by four steps. The most prominent feature of its seulptures is the nnmber of bosses, all of which have been minutely sculptured and surrounded by groups of serpents. Its form is that of such Irish crosses as those at Kells and Clonmacnoise, and it is one of the two Scotch examples whieh have the Irish feature of a circular relieved band connecting the arms of the cross.

[1] See Reeves's Adamnan, p. 409.

[2] Miscellanea Scotica, vol. ii. p. 128. Glasgow, 1818.

[3] The Registry of Clonmacnoise, with Notes by Dr. O'Donovan, in Transactions of the Kilkenny Arch. Society for 1857, pp. 446, 447.

[4] Tour, vol. iii. p. 249.

[5] Macfarlane's MS., quoted in New Stat. Acc. Argyllshire, p. 314.

[6] Pennant, vol. iii. p. 251.

[7] Proceed. R. Irish Acad. vol. vi. p. 392.

[8] The Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, vol. i. p. 5. Grub's Eccl. Hist. vol. ii. p. 103.

PLATES XLII. AND XLIII.

IONA.

"MACLEAN'S CROSS" is on the wayside proceeding from the nunnery towards the cathedral. It is of one stone nearly twelve feet in height, on a pedestal of granite. It is of a much later date than St. Martin's Cross, and approaches more to the style and time of the Campbelton cross. It is a thin slab of the same slaty stone as the latter.

PLATE XLIV.

IONA.

THIS cross, which is of sandstone, stands in the cathedral ground north of St. Martin's, on a pedestal of granite. Part of the stem only remains, and is here represented, but the arms and upper part of the cross are said to be buried in the ground.[1] The sculpture which remains represents on one side The Temptation in a manner more resembling the representations of that event on one of the crosses at Kells, and on the cross at Moon Abbey,[2] than the Scotch example on the stone at Farnell, Plate LXXXVI. vol. i. The ornamented patterns, however, partake of the character of those on the more ancient monuments on the east coast.

PLATES XLV. AND XLVI.

IONA.

THIS Plate represents fragments of the stems of crosses of early design and most elaborate execution. They are both of green slate.

PLATE XLVII.

IONA.

THIS is the lower part of the shaft of a cross in St. Oran's Chapel. On one side is an inscription of seven lines, which reads :—Hec est crux Lacclanni Meic Fingone et eius Filii Johannis Abbatis de Hy. Facta Anno Domini M°. CCCC°. LXXXIX°.

On the north side of the chancel of the cathedral is a tomb with an effigy erected to the abbot after his death, which, as we learn from an inscription, occurred in the year 1500. The *Clan Fionnguin*, or Mackinnons, of whom there were such numerous monuments in Hy and Tiree, are said to have been descendants of Ferchar Fada, who carried the Scottish crown for a time to the house of Loarn. From him also were descended the ancient Mormaors, or Stewards of Moray, the senior representatives of the race.[3] In later times they became followers of the Lords of the Isles. Below the inscription is the galley of the Isles. The foliated ornaments are of the same character as those on the Inverary cross, although their arrangement is slightly different.

PLATES XLVIII. AND LIII.

SORORY.

THE parish of Tiree and Coll is formed of the two islands so named. The island of Tiree is in general low and level. Its greatest length is about thirteen miles, and its extreme breadth six miles, its figure being very irregular.

After the satisfactory disquisition of Dr. Reeves, there remains no doubt that in Tiree we are to recognise the "terra Ethica" mentioned by Adamnan in his Life of St. Columba. It contained two monasteries in the time of the saint, of which one was at Magh-Lunge, and was presided over by Baithene, who was his companion, and

[1] Antiq. of Iona, Graham, p. 22. Lond. 1850.

[2] O'Neill's Irish Crosses, Plates XVIII. and XXIX. Lond. 1857.

[3] Reeves's Adamnan, p. 437. Skene's Highlanders, vol. ii. p. 258.

ultimately became his successor as Abbot of Hy.[1] It is plain also, from a reference by Adamnan, "ceteris ejusdem insulæ monasteriis," that there were other Columban establishments in this small island, and the numerous remains of chapels and burial-grounds scattered over its surface would alone suggest its primitive ecclesiastical importance, if we did not know that from a very early period it was a place of resort of the Irish saints at a time when they were impelled to carry the light of Christianity from their own to other countries.

Dr. Reeves has preserved the names of thirteen ancient burying-grounds and chapels commemorative of Brigid, Cainnech, Finnian, Molua, Odhran, Patrick, and other saints.

At Soroby, which is situated over a little bay in the farm of Ballimartin, on the south-east side of the island, is one of the ancient parish cemeteries, and there is little doubt that at this place was situated the monastery of Baithene, although all traces of its ancient church have of late disappeared.

It retains, however, the cross here delineated, which differs entirely from the early crosses at Iona, and from those of a later type common to it and the Western Islands. It is obviously a monument of great antiquity. It is greatly weathered, and stands in a coarse stone socket. In another part of the ground are numerous monumental slabs similar to those in Iona. One of them has among its sculptures a figure of St. Michael and the Dragon.

The topography of the island is a curious record of its history, the first chapter of which may be read in the ecclesiastical names of places such as Kilchainnech, Kilmoluag, Kilbride, Kilfinnan, Ballimartin, Ballimeanach, and the like; while the second is to be found in such names as Barrapol, Kirkapol, Soroby, Scarnish, and Heynish, indicating the Scandinavian occupation which ensued.[2]

Among the vestiges indicating the early settlement and abundant population of Tiree, are the circular duns or forts of uncemented masonry which occur along its coasts, and of which about fifteen are known. One of these, placed on a small hill, had a well within it, built with stones and reached by several steps. The well remains, but the fort has been removed. Stone cists are occasionally discovered in the island, and about sixty years ago a circular piece of gold, supposed to have been an ornament for the arm, was found in digging a stony knoll, where some decayed human bones were also turned up.[3]

PLATE XLIX.

AT KEILS IN MORVERN.

The parish of Morvern is composed of the two ancient parishes of Kilcolmkill and Killintag (or Kilfinnic), which appear to have been united about the period of the Reformation. The church of Kilcolmkill, dedicated to St. Columba, and traditionally believed to have been founded by him, stood at Keill, north of Lochaline, on the south-west of the present parish, where a small portion of its ruins and the burying-ground (which of old was regarded as a sanctuary) remain.

The cross here delineated stands on the outside of the wall of the burying-ground. It is a cruciform pillar nearly nine feet in height, covered with foliage on the stem, and with patterns of knot-work on the upper part of the cross. Fragments of other crosses are laid upon some of the adjoining graves.

Along the sea-coasts of Morvern are the remains of forts. Dunien is a curious round rock, on the top of which is an area of about the eighth of an acre which was surrounded by a wall. At Loch Teagus, on an insulated and wooded eminence, are the remains of a vitrified fort. There are several circles of standing stones; also tumuli from which urns have occasionally been dug.[4]

PLATES L. AND LI.

AT CANNA.

The island of Canna, along with the islands of Eigg, Muck, and Rum, form the parish of Small Isles, in Inverness-shire.

[1] Reeves's Adamnan, p. 207.

[2] The Island of Tiree, by William Reeves, D.D., in Ulster Journal of Archæology, vol. ii. p. 233. New Stat. Acc. Argyllshire, p. 207.

[3] Reginald of Durham has recorded the miraculous cure of a young Norwegian, the son of Thurolfd, a priest of Bergen, at the shrine of St. Cuthbert in the year 1172, who, during the space of six years, had visited innumerable tombs of saints and sacred places without relief. Several of the places thus visited were on the Western Isles, including Tiree (called Tirieth), Isla, Mull, Hy, Col, Skye. Bute is also mentioned, as well as the Orkneys and Caithness. On his way to Durham through Scotland he was robbed by thieves, "seminutis natibus," in which description Dr. Raine, the editor of Reginald, finds a reference to the kilt.—Reginaldi Monachi Dunelm. Libellus, cap. cxii. pp. 251, 319.

[4] Orig. Par. Scotiæ, vol. ii. p. 188. New Stat. Acc. Argyllshire p. 182.

The church of Canna, dedicated to St. Columba, stood about the centre of the island, in the bottom of a narrow glen. There are two burying-grounds close to each other. In the older one, now disused, are traces of the old church. In it also stands the sculptured cross here figured.

Unlike most of the crosses of the Western Highlands and Islands, the monument is formed of yellow sandstone It is cruciform in shape, and is about six and a half feet in height.

On the east side of the remaining limb of the cross is a well-sculptured camel, of which there is no other example on our Scotch crosses. That this creature was not, however, unknown in Scotland in early times, we may gather from an entry in the Annals of Innisfallen, which, under the year 1105, records, "In this year a camel, which is an animal of wonderful size, was presented by the King of Alban [Edgar] to Mucertac O'Brian."[1] Some of the knotted work and patterns are the same as those on the early crosses on the east coast, but the figures of men and beasts on the east face are of a different contour, and the design and general idea of the monument is peculiar.

PLATE LII.

AT KIRKAPOLL.

Kirkapoll is one of the ancient ecclesiastical sites in the island of Tiree, in the neighbourhood of the modern parish church, and on the north side of Kirkapoll Bay.[2] Here are two burying-grounds, distinct, but close to each other. The fragments of the cross here represented occur in that nearest to the shore. On the shaft is a running pattern of foliage and knot-work, and on one side a man on horseback at the bottom. The upper part of the cross represents the Crucifixion on one side, and a deer-hunt is on the other. In the other burying-ground are the ruins of an old church, and several of the narrow decorated tombstones of the Iona pattern.

At a short distance north of these graveyards is a rocky eminence, the summit of which is occupied by the ruin of another church of smaller dimensions. Mr. Muir gives sketches of the circular-headed doorways of one of these ancient structures, and of a slab on which is cut a small dedication-cross of the Latin form.[3]

PLATE LIII. See *antea*, p. 27.

PLATES LIV. AND LV.

AT KILKERRAN.

The ancient parish of Kilkerran is one of the four parishes which form the present parish of Campbelton. It was dedicated to St. Kieran of Clonmacnois, who is also the patron saint of other churches on the west coast, he having had "nomen per Hiberniam et Albaniam longe celeberrimum."[4] Of the church, which is traditionally said to have been the most important on the south of Kintyre, and which stood on the south side of the bay of Campbelton, nothing now remains. In the ancient burying-ground are good specimens of sculptured slabs, and the broken crosses figured on these Plates. These crosses differ considerably in style from those at Campbelton and Inveraray, but are probably of nearly the same period. On the first is an inscription in twelve lines, which reads—Hec est crvx calani M'Heachyrna et Katirine vxoris eivs. Beneath this is a shears with an unsculptured panel beside it; then in a trefoil-headed niche the figures of a man and woman embracing each other; then a man on horseback bearing a spear, and having spurs with gigantic rowels; and lowest, the galley of the Isles, from the mast of which hangs a shield. On the other face is a running foliated scroll with a representation of the Crucifixion above. On the outstretched arms of our Lord are two human figures, and below are two figures piercing the sacred body with spears. One of these figures seems to have the head of a beast or bird.

We are told that "the Clan Eachern or Maceacherns of Killelan was an ancient tribe in Kintyre, which, after the forfeiture of the lordship of the Isles, followed the Macdonalds of Isla and Kintyre. Colin Maccachern of Killelan was head of this tribe in 1493."[5] It seems probable that the present cross commemorates this individual and his wife. The cross at Campbelton commemorates two ecclesiastics of the Clan Eachern.

The cross on Plate LV. is very similar in character and details, and the inscription seems to be—Hec est crvx Cristini Ma'T. et uxor : eius.

[1] Collect. de Rebus Albanicis, p. 279.
[2] Ulster Journal of Archæology, vol. ii. p. 241.
[3] Characteristics of Old Church Architecture, pp. 152, 153.
[4] Lanigan, Eccl. Hist. Ireland, vol. ii. p. 61.
[5] Gregory's History of the Western Highlands and Isles, p. 82.

PLATE LVI.

I. AT KILCHOUSLAND.

KILCHOUSLAND, an ancient parish dedicated to St. Constantine, now forms part of the parish of Campbelton. The church, whose walls are still entire, stands on a rocky eminence overhanging the sea, not far from the mouth of Loch Kilkerran. The fragment here represented is the lower part of the stem of a broken cross, on one face of which is a two-handed sword, below which is a mounted horseman with a spear in his hand, and below that a dog pursuing a deer. On the other face is the galley with furled sail, animals, and knot-work. It is of the same character and age as those at Kilkerran.

II. AT ST. CALMAG, BUTE.

KILMACHALMAIG, in the parish of Rothesay, is the site of an early church near Ettrick, on the west coast of the Isle of Bute. Here is a rude pillar, on the west face of which is a cross of an early form within a circle. There is here a circle of standing-stones in tolerable preservation, and traces of similar monuments occur in various parts of the parish. Numbers of single standing-stones and tumuli, and the ruins of thirteen hill-forts, have been found. There are also the remains or vestiges of twelve chapels, including one on the adjacent island of Inchmarnock, which is said to have been the site of a monastery.[1]

PLATE LVII.

AT KEILS, KNAPDALE.

THE cross at Keils has already been noticed. The slabs here represented are in the ruined church. Both of them are early and interesting specimens of the class to which they belong. In each case the two-handed sword is obviously a portrait of the real weapon. On the first there appear on one side of the sword a harp, comb, shears, and mirror, besides an object which may be a case or cover, and a smaller figure which may be meant for a box containing some toilet appendage. A surrounding inscription is almost entirely defaced.

The second slab has on one side of the sword an inscription, and on the other a deer-hunt and some grotesque creatures, with a galley at the bottom.

PLATE LVIII.

KILMICHAEL, GLASSARY.

KILMICHAEL is the site of an ancient church in the parish of Glassary in Argyllshire. The stem of the cross here represented was used as a lintel in the walls of the old church, demolished in 1827. Afterwards the top was erected on the gable of that building, and the pedestal was found in cutting a road south of the village. It was erected as the village-cross, and has now been removed to the recently-erected church at Callton Mor. It has been broken, and very unskilfully clamped together with iron bars. It is of a somewhat different type from most of the west coast crosses, and is probably of an earlier period.

On demolishing a wall on Torvebhlaurn farm, in this parish, about the year 1814, an ornamented bell-case of bronze, containing a portion of an iron bell, was discovered. It was obviously one of the ecclesiastical bells so much reverenced in the Celtic church from their connection with some of the early saints. It has been suggested that "the scroll-work on the bell-case, and the figure of our Saviour, are closely similar to the corresponding representations on the Argyllshire crosses;" but this can hardly be said in any exact sense, although there is a slight resemblance in some respects between the figure of our Lord on the bell-case and that on the present cross, and on one side the patterns of interlaced work resemble those on the crosses.

On a rocky conical mount which rises abruptly out of Crinan Moss, near the river Ad, is situated the ancient fort of Dunad, of an oval form, and measuring 90 feet by 45. The church appears to have stood originally at Killevin or Killenewen, near Crarae, on Lochfyne, where a burying-ground still remains, and to have been afterwards removed to Kilneuair on Lochaw, where there is still a ruined church with an oratory beside it, which is said to have been held in great veneration long after it was disused as a place of worship.[2]

[1] New Stat. Acc. Buteshire, p. 103.

[2] Orig. Par. vol. ii. pp. 43-48.

PLATE LIX.

KILMICHAEL, GLASSARY.

The two slabs on this Plate are favourable examples of the monuments of this class which are so numerous on the west coast. Portions of the ornamentation of the smaller stone partake of the character of that on the older class of crosses on the east coast.

PLATE LX.

AT ORANSAY.

The slabs on this Plate are selected from the many examples within the ruined church here.

The one represents an abbot in his rich ecclesiastical vestments, with one hand lifted up in the act of benediction, and the other holding his staff.

The other pourtrays a man in armour. Two figures, apparently ecclesiastics, are engaged in buckling on his spurs. The sculpture of this slab is in high relief. One of the figures on the pillar may represent St. Michael and the Dragon.

PLATES LXI. LXII. LXIII. LXIV. AND LXV.

AT IONA.

Besides the crosses at Iona already noticed, there are "nearly identical in object and pictorial character, and scarcely less interesting as objects of study—the sepulchral slabs—of squared oblong shape, and adorned with figures of ecclesiastics, warriors, crosses, swords, galleys, animals of various kinds, and multiform patterns of reticulated, intertwined, and floriated work. Their number is so vast that a bare enumeration of them would be endless. Mr. Graham has filled a volume with delineations chiefly of those in Iona alone; and another infinitely more bulky could easily be made of similar specimens nestling in scores in the old parochial cemeteries throughout the mainland and islands of Argyle."[1]

Of this collection of slabs the oldest appears to be a fragment with a cross of early form, and the Irish inscription—Or do mail fataric, meaning *a Prayer for* Maelpatrick; and another with a cross and the inscription—Or ar anmin eogain, *a Prayer for the Soul of Eogain*. Another slab in Reilig Oran, with a simple cross, has much of the style of those on tombstones in Ireland, ascribed by Dr. Petrie to the ninth century.[2] It has been supposed that the Patrick who is commemorated on the first of these slabs was the same person as the subject of the following notice in the Irish Annals under 1174—"Maelpatrick O'Banan, Bishop of Conner and Dalaradia, a venerable man full of sanctity, meekness, and purity of heart, died in righteousness in Hy-Columbkille at a venerable old age."[3] It appears to me to be of an earlier date.

When Pennant visited Iona he found that St. Oran's Chapel was used as a cattle-shed.[4] On removing a considerable depth of dung the tomb of the Prioress Anna was brought to light. It consisted of a long slab divided into two compartments, one of which contained a figure of the Blessed Virgin crowned and seated with the Holy Babe, in her arms. The opposite end of the slab is filled with the portly figure of the abbess in her ecclesiastical dress. Her head reclines on a pillow, which is smoothed by two angels, and a comb and mirror appear between three pinnacles at the top. An inscription ran round the whole of one side and end of the slab, and read—Hic jacet Domina Anna Donaldi Terleti filia, quondam priorissa de Iona quæ obiit ano M°D°XL°III°. Ejus animam altissimo comendamus. A line at the feet of the prioress contained the words—Sancta Maria ora pro me. "Several years ago," says Mr. Graham (p. 25), "the roof of the east end fell in, breaking off the lower half of this stone, which has either been taken away or is lost in the rubbish."[5]

[1] Muir's Mainland Characteristics, p. 109.

[2] Round Towers, p. 327, *et seq.*

[3] Reeves' Adamnan, p. 408. O'Donovan's Annals of the Four Masters, vol. iii. p. 13. Dublin, 1856.

[4] Tour in Scotland, vol. iii. p. 246.

[5] Pennant gives an engraving of the complete stone. vol. iii Plate XXIV. p. 254.

PLATE LXII.

The first drawing on this Plate is of a much-decayed monument bearing the form of an ecclesiastic with a crozier in one hand, the other hand being raised in benediction. Under his feet are diminutive figures of two cowled monks with their hands joined. The second is that of a slab which has been supposed to belong to a Maclean, as it is in the same row with the tombs of that clan.[1] It is of the type and time of the Campbelton Cross. At the top a harper is playing on his instrument, and beside him is a man on horseback, who probably is the subject of commemoration.

PLATE LXIII.

The first stone is a slab of great grace and beauty, with combinations of ornament in which the usual leafage is introduced. The second is called "The Irish Cross," and has much of the style of certain crosses on tombstones in Ireland, ascribed by Dr. Petrie to the tenth century.[2]

One of the fragments at Oransay is the top of a cross, under a niche in which is the figure of an ecclesiastic in the act of benediction. The other is a portion of a shaft of the usual type.

PLATE LXIV.

The first is the stone of the four Priors. The design of this monument differs considerably from the others, but the leafage of the period is worked into all the square patterns. The surrounding inscription reads—HIC JACENT QUATUOR PRIORES DE Y EX UNA NATIONE. V. JOHANNES HUGONIUS PATRICIUS IN DECRETIS OLIM BACALARIUS ET ALTER HUGONIUS QUI OBIIT ANNO DOMINI MILLESIMO QUINGENTESIMO. A blank occurs as if some addition had been intended to be made after the last word. A line in the centre contains an inscription, the letters of which are much obliterated. On a narrow band at the top is sculptured a dog in pursuit of a hare.

The second is a slab with a cross of a graceful and rather unusual design, without any inscription.

PLATE LXV.

KILMORIE, SOUTH KNAPDALE.

This is one of the slabs in the chapel already referred to (p. 23).

PLATES LXVII. AND LXVIII.

I. AT BALQUHIDDER.

From the vestiges which still remain we may conclude that the glens and straths of Perthshire were places of early settlement, and we are not without historical notices of the early monastic institutions which were established in some of them.

It seems likely that the district known as the parish of Balquhidder or Buchfudder may have been the territory of such an institute in early times, but as to this nothing certain can be said.

Remains of a church of the Early English style are to be seen in the churchyard, as also a font of very primitive form.

Here also are the slabs figured in the present Plates. On most of them the two-handed sword of varying form is the prominent, and in some cases the only object. No. 3 is a remarkable example, combining with the sword the artless outline of a man with nondescript animals at the bottom, and at the top some traces of the knot-work and ornaments which occur on the more elaborate monuments on the east coast. In front of the man is a Greek cross

[1] Graham's Antiquities of Iona, p. 14.

[2] Round Towers, p. 327, *et seq.*

within a circle. No. 2 seems intended to represent an ecclesiastic in his vestments, with a chalice in his hands. This stone was formerly placed within the old church in front of the altar, but was removed by the Reverend D. Stewart less than a century ago, with the hope of destroying a feeling which led the young men and women of the parish to stand or kneel on the stone during the marriage ceremony, and which prompted fathers also to deem the baptism of their children most effectual when they held them up to receive the sacrament standing on this monument. To this day the name of the slab is "Clach Aenais"—*the Stone of Angus*—a person who, according to local tradition, was a disciple of St. Columba, and the first Christian missionary in the district. In the field below the church were to be seen till lately the foundations of a small building called "Oirinn Aenais," or *the Oratory of Angus*, and a fair held at the Kingshouse in the month of May is called "Feill Aenais." A hillock on which it is said the saint used to stand when teaching the wild natives is named Beannach-Aenais, or *the Blessing of Angus*.[1] The stiff unnatural delineations of the human figure on these stones would seem to show that the artists had been strangers to the influence which moulded the spirited and truthful representations on the cross-slabs of the north-east coast. The same stiffness occurs in the efforts of early Irish art to pourtray the human form, even while the surrounding ornamentation is executed with great taste and skill. A like result may be observed in the stones at Kirkcolm (Plate LXX.), where the rich patterns are out of keeping with the rude inartistic figure of our Lord.

This figure (No. 2) is entirely the same in design and execution as that of a British warrior which occurs on a stone in the churchyard of Llandevaelog, near Brecon, in North Wales, on which there is a also a cross and some interlacing ornaments, with an inscription described by Mr. Westwood as of the miniscule Anglo-Saxon, Britanno-Saxon, or Hiberno-Saxon form.[2]

On four of the stones at Balquhidder there is sculptured the figure of a cross, generally formed by one incised line. In one case the cross is combined with a shears. The first three slabs have a character peculiar to themselves, and cannot be classified with other examples. It is difficult to say whether their rudeness is to be ascribed to their antiquity or the mere unskilfulness of the artists; but it seems to me that they are the work of a comparatively early period. Scottish tradition, which always attempts to associate localities and monuments with the names of her heroes, whether of history or romance, has called one of these old stones (No. 3) "Rob Roy's Grave." It is possible that the Highland reiver may have been laid beneath this stone, as we find that fragments of ancient crosses and slabs have been used in many of our burial-grounds for modern head-stones, but its connection with "Rob" must have been as secondary as in the case of the beautiful cross at Shandwick, which came at last to be the memorial of "Alexander Duff and his thrie wives" (vol. i. Preface, p. 10).

II. AT DUNKELD.

This cross stands in the ruined cathedral, and nothing is known of its history.

Other stones at Dunkeld have been already described (p. 10, and in vol. i. Preface, p. 15).

PLATE LXIX.

AT HODDAM.

The history of the races who successively occupied this part of Dumfriesshire may be gathered from the remains of various kinds which they left behind them. The neighbouring Lochar Moss has yielded up the primitive canoes and stone and bronze relics of the early natives. At Birrens and Birrenswork Hill, in this parish, have been discovered many memorials of the occupation of the conquering Romans in the shape of altars, hypocausts, a ruined temple, mutilated statues, and sepulchral tablets, and the Saxons have left the marks of their occupation in the grand cross at Ruthwell, as well as in the cross of which a fragment is figured in this Plate.

Hoddam formed part of the diocese of St. Kentigern, and on his return from Wales, whither the enmity of Marken, the Cumbrian prince, had driven him, he, "certa de causa," fixed his see for eight years at Hoddam, "ecclesias construens, presbiteros et clerum ordinans."[3] Here also he strove against the idolatries of the people, showing their vanity—"Woden vero quem principalem deum credidernnt et præcipue Angli; de quo originem duxerant, cui et quartam feriam conseeraverant, probabiliter affirmant hominem fuisse mortalem, et regem Saxonum, secta paganum, a quo ipsi et plures nationes genus duxerant." In the same way, when he had reached Carlisle on his flight from Cumbria towards Wales, he heard that many of the people among the hills were addicted to idolatry, and tarrying in a certain place to teach the people, a cross was there erected, whence the place came to be called Crosfeld, and

[1] From information furnished by Mr. D. Campbell, now of Bradford, formerly schoolmaster of the parish of Balquhidder.

[2] Arch. Cambrensis, 1858, p. 307.

[3] Vita Kentigerni apud Pinkerton's Vitæ Antiquæ, pp. 265, 269.

from which may have come the name of the parish of Crosswaith, near Keswick, whose church is dedicated to St. Kentigern.[1] This was probably soon after the middle of the sixth century, at which time the Cumbrian Britons, who had been partially converted, had for the most part apostatised. The intruding Saxons, who are represented to have mingled with the native Britons, and always to have been scanty in number, appear to have been zealous for the re-establishment of religion, and in the year 723 a Saxon bishop was seated in the chair of Ninian at Whithorn.

It is probable that the cross at Ruthwell and the cross here represented are monuments of this period, as the Saxon authority came to a close at the end of the eighth century, when the Northumbrian dynasty became extinct.[2]

It has been stated that "upright stone pillars having a cruciform termination, sculptured faces and sides, ornamented with interlaced scrolls in labyrinthine and luxurious variety, were erected in this country chiefly by the Saxons, and are generally found in the churchyards of parishes formed during their era, where they served as sepulchral memorials, and for other purposes not distinctly ascertained."[3] If we could regard the appearance of Saxon crosses at the neighbouring churches of Hoddam and Ruthwell as indicative of the formation of parishes, they would be the first instance of such ecclesiastical divisions in what is now part of Scotland. In the Scotland of that time, where the monastic system continued, we cannot trace the origin of parishes for some centuries after the date of the Saxon monuments in question. It will be at once remarked that the stone at Hoddam differs in form and detail from almost all the crosses peculiar to Scotland. In shape it corresponds with the monuments at Ruthwell and Bewcastle, the design being a four-sided shaft tapering to the top, on which was placed a small cross. The nimbed figures under canopies resemble those on the crosses just mentioned, as well as those on the crosses at Lindisfarne and Norham.

It is probable that the church founded here by Kentigern was a wooden structure like the monastery which he erected at Elwy in Wales, "more Britonum," "quum de lapide nondum construere poterant nec usum habebant."[4] The portion of a cross here figured, and a Roman altar dedicated to Jupiter by a cohort of German auxiliaries, were found in the walls of the old church at its demolition in 1815. Other fragments of a like sort were found in these walls, one of which is said to have borne an inscription of some length in runic characters. Unfortunately this fragment has not been preserved.[5]

In the "Inquisitio Davidis," dated about 1114 (when David, prince of Cumbria, afterwards David the First of Scotland, was taking steps for restoring to the church of Glasgow the lands which had belonged to her in the various provinces of Cumbria, so far as they were under his authority), the elders and wise men of Cumbria record that Hodelme formed part of the possessions of the ancient see of Glasgow.[6]

The present parish of Hoddam comprehends the three parishes of Hoddam, Luce, and Ecclefechan.

PLATE LXX.

AT KIRKCOLM.

The church of this parish, which stretches along the west coast of Lochryan, was dedicated to St. Columba, and is one of the many early religious settlements which seem to have been made by the Irish cruithne who probably settled here after the period of the Saxon occupation. Of the churches in this county we have some dedications to British saints, as Ninian, Machutus, Keneir, but the names of the Irish saints preponderate. St. Medan had several dedications, and we find St. Finan, St. Congan, St. Patrick, St. Foillan, St. Bride, and St. Columba.

Besides the church of Columba there were two chapels in the parish. One on the farm of Kirkbride was dedicated to St. Bride; the other, called Kilmorie, on the coast of Lochryan, was dedicated to the blessed Virgin. The chapel of Kilmorie was ruinous about 150 years ago, and nothing of it is now visible except some fragments of a wall. When the late parish church of Kirkcolm was repaired in the early part of last century, the sculptured stone here represented was removed from the chapel of Kilmorie, and was placed as a lintel over the west door of the restored building. It came to light again in the year 1821, when that church was pulled down, and has since been removed to the house of Corsewall. It is of grey undressed whinstone, with sculpture on both faces. On one side at the top is the Crucifixion, and below this a man, having on one side of him two birds, and on the other a pincers and two oblong objects which may be dice—all symbols of the Passion. The figures are incised, and in the lowest style of design and execution. On the other face is, at the top, a short cross filled with scroll ornaments, below which is a blank panel, which seems to have been designed for an inscription. The rest of the surface is filled with serpentine interlacing work. On this face the work is in relief and of superior execution to that on the other face, but the outline and details are wanting in the symmetry and accurate adaptation to the spaces to be filled up, which are characteristic of the sculptures on the crosses on the north-east coast.

[1] Vita Kentigerni apud Pinkerton's Vitæ Antiquæ, pp. 245, 265.
[2] Caledonia, i. p. 357.
[3] Walbran's Antiquities of Gainford, p. 12. Ripon, 1846.
[4] Vita Kentigerni, p. 248.
[5] Dr. Wilson's Prehistoric Annals, ii. p. 329.
[6] Registrum Glasguense, vol. i. p. 7.

PLATE LXXI.

AT KIRKMADRINE.

The parish of Stoneykirk, lying on the west side of the Bay of Luce, comprehends the three old parishes of Stoneykirk, Clachshant, and Toskerton or Kirkmadrine. The ruins of an old church remain on the farm of Clayshank, and the churchyard of Kirkmadrine is still preserved as a burial-ground. This suppressed parish is called Kirkmadin by Chalmers, under the belief that it was dedicated to St. Medan, and that "Madrine" is merely a corrupt form of the saint's name.[1]

Another suppressed parish of Kirkmadrine, now included in the parish of Sorbie, is supposed by Chalmers in the same way to have been a dedication to St. Medan.[2]

There seems, however, to be no sufficient foundation for this assumption. In the year 1567 we find, among the parishes of Galloway, one called "Kirkmadryne," although it does not appear which of the above parishes is referred to.[3]

In Bleau's Atlas the first of the above churches occurs under the form of Kirk Makdrym, and the second as Kirk Mackdry. Symson calls the last church "Kirkmadroyn."[4]

In the recent map of the Ordnance Survey both churches are given under the name of "Kirkmadrine."

There are two neighbouring churches dedicated to St. Medan, one of which is now included in the parish of Glasserton, and is known as "Kirkmaiden in Fernes;" the other is the parish of "Kirkmaiden in Rinns." In the Register of Ministers, just quoted, these parishes are entered as "Kirkmadin in Fairness" and "Kirk Madin in Rynnis," while in Bleau the former is set down as "Kirk Maiden on the Sea" and the latter as "Kirk Madin."

Chalmers, on the assumption that the parish of Kirkmadrine, now united to Sorbie, is really Kirkmaiden, supposes that an entry in the Treasurer's accounts of an offering of eighteen shillings, made by King James IV. "in Sanct Medan's kirk," in August 1506, applies to this Kirkmaiden; but for this he has no authority.

Of the stones figured in this Plate, No. 1 is a hard rounded block of whinstone. The letters of the inscription are distinctly cut. The monogram, with enclosing circle, are cut in broad shallow lines on both faces of the stone.

No. 3 is a stone of exactly similar character, but much more worn and destroyed, and the letters of the inscription are cut in a ruder and more irregular manner. These monuments were brought into notice a few years ago by Dr. Arthur Mitchell, and casts of them have been presented to the National Museum of the Antiquaries of Scotland by Professor J. Y. Simpson. They are of a character entirely different from any others in Scotland, and have a good deal in common with many of the sepulchral inscriptions in "Inscriptions Chretiennes de la Gaule anterieures au viii^e^ siecle."[5]

The first slab has on both faces a monogram of the name of Christ, formed of the Greek letters X and P within a circle. In one of the circles are the Greek letters alpha and omega (A ET Ω), the last letter being nearly effaced. Here the X is made upright, and in this shape "it is almost equally common with that borne upon the *labarum* of Constantine, on which the X is of the usual form. It is also of equal antiquity with it, instances of its use occurring both on the wall paintings and inscriptions of the catacombs of Rome, and upon the small lamps found in the graves of the early Christians." It occurs in both forms, and with and without a circle, on many of the early monuments of Gaul figured in the work of Blant. It is found on many coins of the early Christians, and it was the subject of delineation throughout the Roma-Byzantine period. It is prefixed to many of our early charters, and it occurs on the inscribed stone at Jarrow recording the dedication of the church of St. Paul there in the year 685.[6]

A very remarkable instance is recorded by Mr. Westwood of its occurrence on one of the early inscribed stones of Wales, on which is the inscription, CARAVSIVS HIC JACIT IN HOC CONGERIES LAPIDUM, from which it is plain that the pillar had been set on a cairn. Above the inscription is the labarum without the circle. This is the only known instance of its use on a stone monument in Wales, and Mr. Westwood regards its occurrence as an evidence of the great antiquity of the inscription.[7] It has not been found on any other Scotch monument.

The inscription on the first stone reads—HIC IACENT SCI ET PRÆCIPUI SACERDOTES ID EST VIVENTIVS ET MAVORIVS. That on the second pillar is partly obliterated. What remains reads—S ET FLORENTIVS. The style of such letters as R, M, and F has much in common with that of the early inscribed stones in Wales, which have been called Romano-British, as it resembles them also in the occasional combination of two letters, when the limb of one is made to form part of the next.[8]

[1] Caledonia, vol. iii. p. 439.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 429.

[3] Register of Ministers, p. 50, Mait. Club. Edin. 1830.

[4] Description of Galloway, p. 44. Edin. 1823.

[5] Par Edmond le Blant. Paris 1856.

[6] Mr. Westwood in Arch. Cambr. July 1863, pp. 255, 256. Kemble's Codex Diplom. Anglo Saxon, vol. i. p. 145, etc. Mabillon de Re Diplom. pp. 67, 85, 161.

[7] Arch. Cambrensis, July 1863, pp. 255, 256.

[8] Arch. Camb. *passim*.

The frequent occurrence of the *labarum* on the monuments of Gaul, and in the Catacombs, suggests that its exceptional occurrence in Scotland may have arisen from foreign influence. It will be borne in mind that Ninian, the first Christian missionary to Northern Britain, erected his church of stone at Whithorn, a spot not many miles distant from the site of the monuments in question. We know that Ninian, after his consecration at Rome, was desirous of seeing St. Martin, the great luminary of Western Christendom, and accordingly visited that saint at Tours on his homeward route from Rome to Britain. His establishment at Whithorn included a monastery as well as a church, and was probably framed on the model of that which he had seen at Tours. The youth of the country were sent to Whithorn for their education, and the institution of St. Ninian continued to be famous as one of the chief ecclesiastical schools of Britain. If we may trust the Life of St. Ninian, written in the twelfth century by Ailred of Rievaux, but professing to be founded on an ancient book of his Life and Miracles, which was "barbario scriptus," the saint brought with him from Tours masons who could build for him a church of stone in a country where stone churches were unknown.

If we should suppose that through the connection between him and St. Martin some of the brethren of Tours were induced to cast in their lot with Ninian in his attempt to establish the Christian religion among his pagan countrymen, and that they founded a church dedicated to Mathurinus, another great saint of Gaul, and contemporary with St. Martin, who predeceased him by about ten years, we might more readily account for the occurrence of these peculiar monuments, and of the two Scotch dedications to the Gaulish saint in the neighbourhood of Whithorn. It would likewise account for such classical names as Viventius, Mavorius, and Florentius, which are not uncommon in early lists of continental names. The feast of St. Mathurin was celebrated on the 9th of November, and, according to a local account furnished to Professor Simpson, a fair at Kirkmadrine was formerly held on the 22d of November, or on the Tuesday after it.

The pillars when observed by Dr. Mitchell were used as gate-posts in the walls of the burying-ground. There is reason to believe that one or more similar pillars have been removed and used for building purposes.

The fragment (No. 2) was found by Mr. Gibb as a stepping-stone in a neighbouring dyke.

An account of the parish written about twenty-five years ago probably refers to these stones in the following notice:—"Kirkmadrine, with its churchyard, still preserved as a burying-place, contains some gravestones with antique inscriptions."[1]

The letters of these inscriptions remind us of the style of those on Roman altars and tablets. Some of them are of the same form as those on the curious stone at Yarrow represented in the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland (vol. iv. p. 524), and the monuments are probably to be regarded as among the earliest Christian records now remaining in Britain.

On the lands of Ardwell, in the parish of Kirkmadrine, "are some remains of stone circles and 'Pictish castles.' Two gold 'lachrymatories,' weighing three and a half ounces each, were found on the lands of Garthland," in Stoneykirk, in 1783.[1]

PLATE LXXII.

AT ROTHESAY CASTLE.

The castle of Rothesay consists of a circular court, with four round towers of great strength and unknown antiquity, and of a more modern building erected on the north-east, between two of the towers, by King Robert II. or III., the whole surrounded with a moat.

In the castle there was a chapel dedicated to St. Michael, which was served by two chaplains, who at one time, if not permanently, officiated also in the royal chapel of St. Bride within the burgh. There was a chapel dedicated to St. Columba, of which the site is unknown. Other early ecclesiastical sites have been previously noticed (p. 30).

The original church of Rothesay appears to have been dedicated to St. Brieuc or Brioc, who is sometimes called the tutelar saint of Rothesay. His name is preserved by a fair called Brock's Day, held at Rothesay annually on the first Wednesday of May.[2]

The stone here figured was found about the year 1816 in clearing out the rubbish from St. Brieuc's chapel. It has lain in the court-yard of the castle since that time.

[1] New Stat. Acc. Wigtonshire, p. 164. [2] Orig. Par. Scotiæ, vol. ii. pp. 223, 224.

PLATE LXXIII.

AT ST. BLANE'S CHURCH, KINGARTH.

The parish of Kingarth, which seems to have originally included the whole island of Bute, has for a long period embraced only its southern portion, the northern and larger portion of the island now forming the parish of Rothesay.

The names of St. Cathan, and his nephew St. Blane, who are believed to have flourished about the middle of the sixth century, are associated with the early ecclesiastical history of Bute.[1] According to Fordun, St. Brandan settled in this island, and "in ea botham idiomate nostro *Bothe*, id est cellam, construxit. Unde et deinceps et usque tempus nostrum habetur binomia quod aliquando Rothisay, id est insula Rothay, sic et aliquando insula de Bothe ab indigenis nuncupatur.[2]

In the time of King David Bruce Fordun applies peculiar designations to the men of the Stewart in Bute, implying probably their connection with the territory of Brandan's settlement:—"Nativi homines domini sui Roberti Stewart, Brandani scilicet, de Botha unanimiter se congregaverunt."[3] Their mode of attack was by a shower of stones. It is certain that there was an early monastic establishment at Kingarth, and we read in the Irish Annals of the deaths of Ronain its abbot in 737, and of Maeleinanach, another abbot, in 776, and of Noe, abbot of Kingarth, in 790. The same Annals record the death of Daniel, bishop of Kingarth, in 660, and of Iolau, bishop at Kingarth, in 689.[4] In 1204 Alan the Steward, the son of Walter, granted to the monks of Paisley the chapel of Kengaif, in the island of Bote, with the chapels and whole *parochia* of the island, and all the land which St. Blane is said to have of old enclosed from sea to sea by certain and apparent boundaries.[5]

The remains of Kilmichael are on the north-west side of the island. On an adjacent rising ground there is a cluster of seven rough pillars called St. Michael's Tomb.[6]

The church of St. Cathan, of which the ruins are still to be seen, stood near the centre of the parish, about two miles north from the head of Kilchatan Bay.

Near the centre of the southern peninsula the ruins of the church of St. Blane stand on an artificial mound, whose level top is enclosed by a wall composed of large stones rudely piled together, and 500 feet in circumference. The whole of this space, which was used as a cemetery, is arched with masonry about 2 feet below the surface, and from it there runs a built passage, which seems to have been under ground, to a smaller and lower enclosure of 124 feet in circumference, locally known as the Nunnery, and apparently used as a burying-ground for females. The church is approached on the north by a flight of steps leading from a neighbouring wood, in which there is a circular building sometimes styled "The Devil's Cauldron," composed of rude stones 10 feet in height, 30 feet in diameter, with walls 9 feet thick, and an entrance 9 feet wide. There are two vitrified forts in Bute—one upon Island-Buie in the Kyles, and the other at Dungoil, near the Garroch Head.

The remains of the church consist of chancel and nave. The work is mostly pure Norman. The crosses here represented stand on the south side of the burying-ground. The character of the circular-headed stones, having a cross figured within the circle, and with a short shaft or set on a short pillar, corresponds with those at Cumbrae. Many of the Cornish crosses resemble this class of monument.[7]

Crosses of the same character are found in some of the old churchyards of the Isle of Man, but they are not considered to be of Norse origin, as most of the Manx crosses are.[8]

PLATE LXXIV.

AT MILLPORT, CUMBRAE.

The two Cumbrays lie in the Firth of Clyde a few miles to the eastward of the island of Bute. In the larger of the two islands there was "ane kirk callit Sanct Colmis Kirke" in the end of the sixteenth century.[9] It was anciently a chapel dependent upon the parish church of Largs, and stood at the Kirktown, about half a mile inland from the town of Millport. No vestige of it remains. It is believed, however, that some of the fragments of crosses contained in this Plate were removed from the old ecclesiastical site. It appears that the cross now at the manse of the parish

[1] Fordun Scotichronicon, vol. ii. p. 160. Breviar. Aberd. Pars Estiv. fol. lvii.

[2] Scotichronicon, vol. i. p. 26.

[3] *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 315.

[4] Irish Annals, in Dr. Reeves's Adamnan, pp. 385-387. *Ib.* pp. 375-377.

[5] Orig. Par. Scotiæ. vol. ii. pp. 210-212.

[6] Muir's Old Church Architecture of Scotland, p. 124.

[7] Blight's Ancient Crosses of Cornwall. London 1856-1858.

[8] The Runic and other Monumental Remains of the Isle of Man, by the Rev. J. G. Cumming, pp. 36-38. London 1857.

[9] Dean Monro's Western Isles. Miscell. Scot. vol. ii. p. 114.

originally stood in the earth at the head of a big stone resembling a coffin, on a hill where the sand from the sea was drifted, and covered them to the depth of 5 or 6 feet. After this accumulation was removed, the larger coffin-like stone was broken up for building purposes. The cross was also broken in two for the same purpose, but the upper part was rescued, and is now in the possession of the minister of the parish.

The character of the crosses has been referred to in the previous notice (p. 37).

PLATES LXXV. AND LXXVI.

AT INCHINNAN.

INCHINNAN is a parish in Renfrewshire, lying on the Clyde, about seven miles below Glasgow. According to the traditions of the ancient Church of Scotland it was at an early period associated with the name of St. Conval. This saint was the child of royal parents in Ireland, but being warned by a heavenly vision he came to Scotland. The voyage was performed on a stone, which carried him to the banks of the Clyde. The stone came to be known as St. Conval's chariot, and was famous for the cures which it wrought both on man and beast.[1] After his arrival he became a disciple of St. Kentigern. He was the patron saint of Inchinnan, where also he was buried.

It is probable that he founded a monastery at this place, according to the custom of the time. There was a church at Inchinnan in the time of King David I., when that monarch conferred the church, with its pertinents, on the Knights Templars. The old church, which was pulled down in 1828, was of great apparent antiquity. On lifting the flooring the space below was found to be literally paved with skulls and human remains. Many old tombstones are in the churchyard, some of which are traditionally assigned to the Templars. These are not flat but ridged, and upon their sloping sides figures of swords may be traced. The stones in these plates are slabs, two of them sculptured on the edges, all lying in the churchyard.

The lands of Inchinnan formed part of the early possessions of the Stewarts.

In former times a stone called St. Conallie's Stone stood near to the ancient ford of Inchinnan, on the Renfrew side of the river. According to the late Mr. Motherwell (see his Notes to Renfrewshire Characters and Scenery, a Poem, Part I.), the above stone, now called Argyle's Stone, as marking the spot where the Marquis of Argyle was taken, was the pediment of a cross erected to the memory of St. Convallus.[2]

PLATE LXXVII.

I. AT LIBERTON.

WHEN King David I., in the year 1128, founded the Abbey of Holyrood, he conferred on the canons "the church of St. Cuthbert, with the parish and all things belonging to the said church, and with the Kirktoun, and with the lands on which the church stands, and with other land which lies under the castle—namely, from the fountain which rises near the angle of my garden, by the path leading to the church of St. Cuthbert, and on the other part under the castle, until it reaches a crag which is under the castle towards the east, and with two chapels which belong to the church of St. Cuthbert—namely, Crostorfin, with two oxgates of land and six acres, and the chapel of Libertune, with two oxgates of land, and with all the tithes and rights, both of the living and dead, which Macbether gave to the said church."[3]

The parish of St. Cuthbert was probably the territory of a religious establishment at an early period. Edwinesburch is mentioned, along with Abercorn, Tiningham, and Mailros, as belonging to the church of Lindisfarne in the year 854.[4] It was the most extensive parish in the lowlands of Midlothian. It was also the most valuable church in Scotland except Dunbar, being rated in the ancient taxatio at 160 merks.[5] The ancient parishes of St. Machar at Aberdeen, and St. Vigeans at Arbroath, seem also to have been the territories of primitive monasteries, and other parishes, which probably were the sites of cells from the mother establishment, were subsequently carved out of them.

The early monasteries at Lindisfarne and Tiningham had territories belonging to them with defined boundaries.[6] By what process the lands conferred on these early churches were usurped by laymen we have no certain record; but, as I have elsewhere said, the change took place over the whole of Western Europe.

[1] Breviar. Aberdonense, Pars Estiv. fol. cxvii. Forduni Scotichronicon, vol. i. p. 134. New Stat. Acc. Renfrewshire, p. 124.

[2] New Stat. Acc. Renfrewshire, p. 128.

[3] Charters of Holyrood, p. 4.

[4] Simeonis Hist. de rebus Gestis regum Anglor. ap. Twysden, p. 139.

[5] Registr. Priorat. S. Andr. p. 29.

[6] Hist. de Sancto Cuthberto apud Twysden Decem Scriptores, pp. 65-69.

With the chapel of Libertune David gave to the house of Holyrood thirty cart-loads of brushwood from his moorlands of Libertune, and a tenth of the multure of his mill of Libertune. At this time Upper Libertune belonged to Makbeth.

The chapel of Libertune is believed to have been dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, and a neighbouring well is called Our Lady's Well. At the request of the Abbot of Holyrood, the chapelry of Liberton was disjoined from St. Cuthbert's Church some time after the year 1240.[1]

On the barony of Upper Libertune, and westward of the church which occupies the site of the ancient chapel, is a peel called the Tower of Upper Liberton. Its under storey is arched, and it has battlements quite round the roof. The entry to the principal apartment was by a stair on the east, where there was a drawbridge.

The fragment here figured was lately rescued from a wall adjoining this tower, into which it had been built. It had previously been used as a step, and the sculpture on one side is obliterated.

It seems probable that the cross of which this fragment is a part has at some time been removed from the ancient burial-ground of the neighbouring church, and then used as a piece of material. It may indeed have been the cross referred to in the following notice:—"The lands which lie west and south-west from the church were church lands, and termed vicar acres, in which, to the left, is a rising ground that has the name of Kirk-cross, where, probably, in ancient times a cross stood."[2] Many vestiges of early settlement occur in this parish.

Near the boundary between Upper Liberton and Mortonhall are, or were, two small tumuli called Caer-Duff Knowes. Several tumuli are near to the house of Mortonhall.[3] East from Mortonhall are the two Kaims, in which there have been various fortifications. North-west from Morton is, or was, a rampart, of a circular or rather oval form, intersected by the turnpike-road. On Comiston were found, under large heaps of stones styled the Cat-Stanes, various stone enclosures, in which were deposited urns with dead men's bones, and various bronze and iron weapons.[4] A little north from this is a stone obelisk of about 18 feet high, called the Caiy Stone, in the neighbourhood of which human bones have been found interred without cists or urns, and not far from it are still visible the rude earthworks of a British camp. Another pillar stands within the grounds of Mortonhall, with two larger masses lying together in its vicinity. There is an obelisk a little west from the burying-place of the barony of Niddry Marshall; another west from the hill of Craigmillar, called the Standing Stone; and a third at the village of Nether Liberton. In a wood near the Kaims are clusters of shallow circular pits, on which probably the wigwams of an early population were raised.

St. Catherine's Well, famous for the black oily substance with which it is impregnated, lies southward from the church. Near to the well there was a chapel dedicated to St. Margaret, with a burying-ground around it.[5]

II. AT KINTRADWELL.

The ancient parish of Loth extended only from the borders of Clyne to the river Helmsdale; the present extends to the Hill of Ord—thus including a part of the old parish of Kildonan. The district is composed of an undulating sea-border from one to three miles in breadth, backed by a range of hills parallel to the coast, and is watered by a few small rivers.

At Kintradwell, in this parish, there was a chapel dedicated to St. Triduan, as the name implies.

This saint,[6] according to the tradition of the Scottish Church, was a companion of St. Regulus in his mission. With other two virgins, she led an eremitical life at Roseoby; but, to escape from the evil intentions of a chief in the district who fell in love with her, she removed to Dunfallandy in Athol. Thither the emissaries of the chief followed her, and on learning from them that the lustre of her eyes had captivated their master, she plucked out her eyes, and, fixing them on a stick, she delivered the stick to the messengers, desiring them to receive for their master that which he loved. The fury of her admirer was now changed into love; but, in the meantime, Triduana died at Lestalryk in Lothian, where she was buried, and her memory held in great veneration; so that miraculous cures of blindness were attributed to a visit to her tomb.[7]

Among the images to be seen in churches described by Sir David Lyndsay was one of

> "Sanct Tredwall, als, thare may be sene,
> Quhilk on ane prik hes baith hir ene;"

and, speaking of pilgrimages, he talks of the people going "to St. Tredwell to mend their ene."[8]

Among the churches in Scotland dedicated to this saint there was one in the island of Papa Westray, which is

[1] Chalmers's Caledonia, vol. ii. p. 789.

[2] Account of the Parish of Liberton. Arch. Sect. part. i. p. 302.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 304.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 308.

[5] Arch. Scot. vol. i. p. 324.

[6] Breviar. Aberdon. Pars Estiv. fol. cxxii.

[7] Tridnana "Abbatissa" was one of two virgins who are spoken of in the legends of the Church as associates of St. Boniface. Breviar. Aberdon. Pars Hyemal. fol. lxx.

[8] The Monarchie. Lyndsay's Works, vol. iii. p. 2, and *note*. Lond. 1816.

described by Martin as "a ruinous chappel called St. Tredwels, at the door of which theres a heap of stones; which was the superstition of the common people, who have such a veneration for this chappel above any other, that they never fail, at their coming to it, to throw a stone as an offering before the door, and this they reckon an indispensible duty enjoin'd by their ancestors."[1]

In several of the sandy hillocks separated by the sea from the terrace which skirts the coast, or blown up from the beach-sand at Kintradwell, cists have at various times been exposed containing human bones.

In the immediate neighbourhood of one of these the stone here figured was found standing.

In Glen Loth is Tober Massan, a well believed to effect cures when a piece of gold or silver was left for the priest.

In this and the adjoining parish of Kildonan are the sites of many round towers called Pict's Castles. One of them at Lothbeg, which was entire at the time of Pennant's visit to the county in 1769, is now only distinguished as a circular cairn of small stones.[2]

Among other early remains is a cave roofed with stone on Kintradwell Burn; barrows and cairns, some of which contain battle-axes; an erect cylindrical stone styled Clach-Macmeas, and four stone pillars on a barrow named Carrikencligh; and at Strone Rungie, a low-lying point of the coast between Culgower and Wester Garty, a number of cairns still mark the place where it is said foreign invaders were successfully opposed and overcome.[3] A curious structure, which Pennant calls a "hunting-house," stood in the Glen of Loth, but has disappeared. He says of these structures that "they consist of a gallery, with a number of small rooms on the sides, each formed of three large stones—viz., one on each side, and a third by way of covering. These are made with the vast flags this country is famous for. At the extremity is a larger apartment of an oval figure. The passage or gallery is without a roof. Their length is from 50 to 60 feet. These buildings are only in places where the great flags are plentiful. In Glen Loth are three, and are called by the country people Uags."[2] In Mr. Pope's account of Loth, printed by Pennant, vol. i. p. 336, he says, "Near this 'hunting-house' stands a large Pictish castle called Carn Bran. The quarry from whence the stones were carried to build this castle is still to be seen, and the road for their carriage visible, being like a spiral line along the side of the hill."

PLATE LXXVIII.

AT MIGVIE.

This stone was discovered, in the summer of 1861, among the foundation-stones of the burial-aisle of Innes of Culquoich, in the churchyard of the parish of Migvie, in Aberdeenshire.

Migvie is one of the five parishes which form the district of Cromar, in the upper part of the county, and is united to the parish of Tarland. The country is rich and fertile, and appears to have been the seat of an early population. About the middle of the twelfth century the church of St. Finnan of Migaueth was confirmed to the Priory of St. Andrews by Agnes, Countess of Mar, and her husband, Earl Morgrund. Throughout the district were to be seen till lately many early remains, such as circles of stones, cairns, underground chambers, and paved hollows called "Picts'-houses;"[4] and in the adjoining parish of Logy Coldstone is one of the rude sculptured pillars, with some of the symbols, which occur so frequently in this county.[5] Cromar was rich in its dedications to Celtic saints. The patron saint of Migvie was Finnan; of Coul, St. Nathalan; of Logy, St. Wolock; and of Tarland, St. Machuluoch.

The stone is a rough block of blue coarse granite, and had been set into the ground. The sculptured work of the cross is rough and deep, and the design is marked by some peculiarities, especially by six projecting loops. The appearance of the shears on one of this primitive class of stones is very remarkable, and as yet it is a solitary instance; while, on slabs of a later period, it is a symbol of frequent occurrence. The horse-shoe figure is of an unusual shape, and in this case is crossed by the "sceptre." The figure of a horse at the bottom of the cross is very indistinct, and it cannot be said with certainty if he has a rider. The other face of the pillar is rough, and on it there appears only the figure of a horse with his rider.

PLATE LXXIX.

AT SKINNET.

The chapel of St. Thomas at Skinnet was in early times the church of a parish which, about the time of the Refor-

[1] A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland, p. 366.
[2] New Stat. Acc. Sutherlandshire, p. 200.
[3] Orig. Par. vol. ii. part. ii. p. 730.
[4] Proceedings of the Soc. of Ant. Scot. vol. i. p. 258.
[5] Sculptured Stones of Scotland, vol. i. Plate XII.

nation, or soon after, was united to the parish of St. Fergus of Halkirk. The united parish, now known by the name of Halkirk, lies to the south of the parish of Thurso, in Caithness-shire. The walls of the old chapel still remain, and the cross here figured stands at the east end of the building, in the inside.

"Here was left to stand the sacred chair of St. Thomas, of exquisite workmanship in stone—an object of some curiosity, it may be of superstitious veneration, till broken down and used in building a fence."[1]

There was another chapel at Banniskirk, of which there are now no remains. A third, dedicated to St. Magnus, is at Spittal. Here was the cemetery of the Clan Gunn, who inhabited the mountainous parts of Caithness, as well as the Kildonan district of Sutherlandshire, and who, notwithstanding the high mountains, the many mosses and morasses which intervene to render the journey tedious and laborious, are said to have carried their dead, especially the remains of their chiefs and principal men, from the glens of the Crask and Knockfinn, in order to be interred in the chapel of Spittal. There was, besides the chapel of St. Peter at Olgnimore, that of St. Columba at Dirlot, and that of St. Ciran in Strathmore. The old burying-ground of St. Drostan is at Westfield.[2]

The castle of Brawl in this parish is a remarkable example of a "broch" or Pict's castle, and it would appear that cairns and standing-stones also occur.[3]

PLATES LXXX. AND LXXXI.

AT MONIFIETH.

The stone represented in the first of these Plates was built into the wall of the present parish church, erected about the year 1812. In the former volume a drawing is given of the exposed face of the stone as it then appeared (Plate XCII.) More recently, through the good offices of the Reverend J. G. Young, the parish minister, and with the consent of the heritors of the parish, I had the stone taken out of the wall, with the view of ascertaining if there was any sculpture on the other sides. It then appeared that the stone had been the shaft of a cross with sculpture on both the faces and edges. The portions formerly concealed in the wall are now represented, as well as the face engraved in the former volume. This last face has at the top the lower part of a Crucifixion, with a figure on each side of our Lord. Under this are two compartments, each containing two figures, apparently ecclesiastics, and lowermost is another compartment containing the figure of a man seated and playing on a harp. The sculpture on the other face and the two edges consists of knot-work. The monument would appear to have been cruciform.

PLATE LXXXI.

The two cross slabs here delineated had been also built into the wall of the church, and were taken out at the same time for the purpose of examination. They are very interesting specimens, having the cross on one face and symbols on the other. They are unusually small, the larger slab measuring about three feet in height, and the smaller about half that size. The larger slab is grooved on the face and edge, which seems to show that another stone had at some time been mortised into it, and that it had been used for some secondary purpose.

As has been stated in the former volume (Preface, p. 29), Monifieth was the seat of a Culdee monastery.

Among the traces of early settlement in this parish is the curious fort on the summit of the Laws.[4] A little north from Linlathen is a large heap of stones called "Cairn Greg," besides numerous smaller cairns within the circuit of a mile around the larger one. On the top of a small knoll near Kingennie is "St. Bride's Ring," consisting of a circle of stones (large blocks forming the outer rim and smaller boulders the inner) about 60 feet in diameter. On the eastern side is an entrance several feet in width, having somewhat the appearance of regular masonry, but the blocks are undressed.[5]

A few yards north of the glebe lies a huge block of stone with a socket in the centre, in which it has been supposed that the shaft of the cross, afterwards built into the wall of the church, originally was placed; but there is no evidence of this, and Mr. Jervise states that the sculptured stones referred to were found in the foundations of the old church.[6]

[1] New Stat. Acc. of Caithness-shire, p. 73.

[2] Stat. Acc. p. 74.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 73. At Kildonan, in Sutherlandshire, there was "a large hollow stone, destroyed during the last century, which stood half-way between Kildonan and Helmsdale, and was known as Cathair Donan or Suigh Donan, Donan's Chair or Seat."—Orig. Par. vol. ii. p. 737.

[4] For an interesting description of this structure, and the objects dug up in it, see a paper by Mr. Neish in Proceedings of the Soc. of Antiqs. of Scotland, vol. iii. p. 440.

[5] New Stat. Acc. of Forfarshire, p. 546.

[6] *Ibid.* p. 546. Proceedings of the Soc. of Antiqs. of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 445.

PLATE LXXXII.

I. AT WARKWORTH.

In the year 729 Ceolwulf, one of the descendants of Ida, the first Saxon king of Northumberland, ascended the Northumbrian throne. According to Venerable Bede, he was a prince of studious habits, eager to hear and read the Holy Scriptures, as well as the deeds and sayings of former times, especially of the heroes of the Angles, and to him Bede dedicated his great work on the ecclesiastical history of that people.

In the year 737 he renounced the cares of royalty, and dedicated himself, with many possessions, to God, becoming a monk in the Monastery of Lindisfarne; "barbam deposuit, coronam accepit."[1] That he carried with him some of the Saxon tastes we may infer from a license given to the monks of Lindisfarne, on his joining their body, of drinking wine or ale, for before that time they were wont to drink nothing but milk or water, according to the tradition of Aidan, the first bishop and monk of that church.[2] Among the lands which he conferred on the church of Lindisfarne was "Werceworde cum suis appendiciis, simul et ecclesiam quam ibidem ipse ædificaverat."

We read, however, that Werceword and Tillemuthe were soon sacrilegiously seized on by Osbert the king of Deira, who, along with his partner Ella, king of Bernicia, was slain in 867;[3] and when we next hear of Warkworth, it formed part of the demesne possessions of the Crown, and was granted in the fourth year of Henry II. to Roger Fitz Richard. John Fitzrobert succeeded to the barony in the time of Edward I., and assumed the name of Clavering, from his manor in Essex. Dying without male issue, he conveyed Warkworth and other manors to Stephen de Trafford for his life, with remainder to King Edward I.[4] In the reign of Edward III. Warkworth, with its manors, became part of the possessions of the Percies by grant from that monarch.

The present church of Warkworth is a building of late Norman work. In the course of recent alterations and repairs portions of an earlier structure were found. Among these was the present cross, which may have been of the period of the church erected by Ceolwulf in the eighth century. It is now placed in the chancel. Several fragments of a larger cruciform monument, with projecting bosses, have been found in the bed of the river, which flows close to the churchyard. It will be remarked that the size of this cross is only about 18 inches in height by 12 in breadth.

II. AT DARLINGTON.

The church of Darlington is dedicated to St. Cuthbert, and was an early possession of his see. We read that one of the nobles, Styr, the son of Ulphus, obtained licence of King Ethelred that he might give Dearningtun, with its dependencies, to St. Cuthbert, and the donation was solemnised at York before the Archbishop Wulstan and the other nobles who attended the king. Nothing more is known of Darlington till after the Conquest, when William de Carilephe (1082), having restored Durham Abbey to the monastics, this was one of the places assigned to the expelled secular clergy. A century later the magnificent Bishop Hugh Pudsey built a mansion-house at Darlington, on the banks of the Skerne, which was frequently the occasional residence of his successors. The present beautiful church is said to owe its foundation to the same prelate, from whom it received its collegiate constitution.[5]

The fragments in this Plate were found during the recent restorations of the church. They appear to be parts of at least three different monuments, and are very rude in style, two of them being cruciform, with bosses, and the other a cross slab.

PLATES LXXXIII. AND LXXXIV.

MONK'S STONE.

This cross stood in a field about two miles north-west of Tynemouth. Grose, writing in 1773, says, "A gentleman in the neighbourhood remembers it standing, and much out of the perpendicular. He thinks it was then near 10 feet high. It has lately been thrown down and broken. Two pieces of it are now remaining, one of which, measuring $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet in height, has been set up; the other, of about 3 feet, is lying on the ground. It stood in a square pedestal of stone, on which was cut a modern inscription, "*O horrid dede, to kill a man for a pige's hede;*" the origin of which was a tradition that, on a certain time, a monk of Tynemouth carried off from Seaton Delaval Hall a pig's head, then in the course of being roasted, and being pursued by the baron, he was overtaken and whipped to death where

[1] Hist. de S. Cuthb. ap. Twysden, p. 69.
[2] Simeonis Hist. De gestis regum Anglorum ap. Twysden, p. 139.
[3] De Dunelm. Eccles. ap. Twysden, p. 14.
[4] Manorial Hist. of Warkworth, in Proceedings of Arch. Inst. at Newcastle, vol. ii. p. 193. Lond. 1858.
[5] Surtee's Durham, vol. iii. p. 350.

the monk's stone stands, between Seaton and Tynemouth, in memory of which the cross arose with the above inscription.

This inscription is not now to be traced, nor is there any appearance of its ever having been cut on the stone; and whatever fragment of truth there may be in the story, it is plain that it could have had no connection with the original purpose of the cross, which appears to be a work of very early date. It is of sandstone, and has been greatly injured.

The monument seems to be referred to in a charter of Henry Faukes to the monks of Tynemouth, dated in 1320, in which he releases in their favour his rights in the moor of "Rodestane."[1]

It seems also to be referred to as the "Cross of Seaton" in a deed of grant probably made in the beginning of the thirteenth century.[2]

Its site is called "Cross-close pasture" in a "Plan of the Manour of Tinmouth and Tinmouthshire, 1757," now at Northumberland House.[3]

The history of the cross is probably connected with that of the monastery of Tynemouth. Here, on the site of a Roman station, arose first a chapel of wood erected by Edwin, King of Northumbria, about 626. This humble building was succeeded by an edifice of stone erected by King Oswald, the successor of Edwin. "It sufficiently appears that the monastery, at an early period, possessed in a high degree the reputation of local sanctity, and sepulture within its precincts was sought for the remains of more than one possessor of a sceptre on earth." One of these was Oswin, who was treacherously slain by orders of his brother Oswy in 651, who afterwards became the patron saint of the foundation, and whose remains were found in a stone coffin in the year 1065. The body of King Osred was brought here for interment in 790.

The church at Tynemouth was ruined by the Danes, and after the confusions of the times is found in the hands of Waltheof, Earl of Northumberland, who, at the instance of Walcher, Bishop of Durham, made it over to Aldwine, the Prior of Jarrow, about the year 1075. William de Carileph, the Bishop of Durham, ten years afterwards, confirmed to the monks of Jarrow, now translated to Durham, the church of Tynemouth, the building of which had been repaired, it having previously remained unroofed for a period of fifteen years.[4]

This arrangement did not, however, long continue, for Robert de Mowbray, the next Earl of Northumberland, having restored the monastery, procured monks of St. Albans to be established there in the year 1090. He endowed them with ample possessions, expelled the monks of Durham from the church, and granted it, with the monastery thus refounded and re-endowed, to the Abbey of St. Alban for ever, to which it became a cell, and so continued to the time of the Dissolution.[5]

The remains of the church are partly Norman, but mostly of early English work.

The cross may have stood originally in the burial-ground of the monastery, according to the custom of the time of placing such monuments at the tombs of bishops and great men. It is of early character, and doubtless was constructed before the time of the destructions by the Danes, and it may have afterwards been erected on its present site at a time long subsequent to its original appropriation.

It is possible, however, that it may have been one of the crosses which defined the limits of the sanctuary of the early Saxon monastery, like the "cruces lapidee nobiliter insculpte"[6] which were erected at Beverley by order of King Athelstane for a like purpose.

In a commission from King Edward III. dated in 1342, whereby he empowers Edward de Baliol, King of Scotland, to array the felons in certain sanctuaries who are willing to join the army against Scotland, and grants pardon to such "Grithmen," the sanctuary of Tynemouth is ranked with Beverley, Ripon, Hexham, and Wederhale.[7]

The monument now remaining is a tapering shaft of about 7 feet in height, elaborately sculptured on the four sides. It is very much weather-worn,—the result of its exposed situation. The north face is sculptured with a running ornament of foliage springing from a central stem, with animals in the branches, in which last respect it resembles the pillars at Bewcastle and Ruthwell.

Mr. Gibb is of opinion that the fragment at Jarrow (Plate LXXXV.) has originally formed part of the top of this monument, from the close resemblance which it bears to the "Monk's Stone" in point of style (having the *central* stem with diverging foliage and birds in the branches, as well as from both being of the same kind of stone. If this idea could be received, the fragment must have been broken off at an early period, as it is in a high state of preservation.

[1] Printed by Brand from the Registry of the Priory, in History of Newcastle, vol. ii. p. 90.

[2] Arch. Æl. vol. ii. p. 410.

[3] Gibson's Monastery of Tynemouth, vol. i. pp. 12, 13.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 25.

[5] *Ibid.* p. 27.

[6] Sanctuarium Beverlacense, p. 99 (Surt. Soc.)

[7] Rotuli Scotiæ, vol. i. p. 629.

PLATE LXXXV.

AT JARROW.

The monastery at Jarrow will be for ever illustrious as the place within which the Venerable Bede was sheltered from the storms of his rude times, and where he wrote those memorable works which have acquired for him the character of being the most distinguished scholar of his age.

Benedict Biscop had founded and dedicated to St. Peter the monastery of Wearmouth in the year 674. Eight years after this time, Ecgfrid the king gave to Biscop forty hides of land at Jarrow that he might build thereon a monastery in honour of St. Paul. As has happened in so many other like cases, Benedict erected this latter monastery on a foundation laid by Roman hands, of whose monuments two were discovered in the repairs of the church—the one an inscribed tablet, the other the fragment of an altar. Of this monastery Ceolfrid became the first abbot, and shortly after of both monasteries, and its church was dedicated in the year 685. At the close of the eighth century the Danish invasions began, and in the year 793 the monastery at Jarrow was ravaged by these pirates. After that time Northumbria was unmolested by them for a time, but in 867 the sons of Lodbrok arrived, and the kings Osbert and Ella fell in resisting them. Then, according to Simeon of Durham, the pagan army destroyed the churches and monasteries with fire and sword, and departing left nothing standing but roofless walls.[1] The monasteries of Wearmouth and Jarrow were destroyed in the year 875. About two centuries after that date,[2] Aldwine, Prior of Winchelcombe, who had learned from the history of the Angles that there had once been in the province of Northumbria many fraternities of monks and armies of saints who lived on earth the life of heaven, conceived a desire to visit their desolate monasteries, and there, in imitation of them, to spend his life in poverty. On his journey he came to the monastery of Evesham, where two of the brethren joined themselves to him in the prosecutiou of his design. The three monks set out from Evesham on foot, with an ass to carry the books and vestments required in the celebration of the sacred mysteries. After a time they came to Monk-chester, uear Newcastle, where they remained for a time. Walcher, then Bishop of Durham, sent for them and took them under his protection, giving to them the monastery of Jarrow, founded by Benedict Biscop, of which the roofless walls alone were now standing, without almost any trace of its pristine grandeur. Having covered the wall with a roof of unhewn timber and thatch, they began to celebrate divine service, constructing a hut beneath the walls, in which they ate and slept. Soon after this, and with the view of enabling them to restore the church as well as the monastic buildings, the bishop gave them the township of Jarrow with its appendant hamlets—viz., Preston, Monkton, Hedworthe, Heaburn, Westoe, and Haiton.[3]

The same prelate conferred on the fraternity the ruined church of Monkwearmouth, which also was speedily restored, and at length, in the year 1083, the whole congregation, partly located at Jarrow and partly at Wearmouth, was removed by William de Carilepho, the successor of Walcher, and placed in his newly-established Benedictine convent at Durham, of which house Jarrow and Wearmouth became cells.

It seems most probable that no considerable part of the present church at Jarrow is of earlier date than the time of Aldwine. The tower seems to be of early Norman work, and is of a peculiar character; in its northern outside face are two portions of a Saxon cross of fretwork inserted as common building-stones at the time of its erection, from which we may gather that it was constructed out of the older materials which Aldwine found here. In the ruins of the conventual buildings south of the church there are some similar fragments much defaced by exposure to the weather. The chaucel also is of the same early period, with insertions of decorated windows. It may be doubted, indeed, whether the chancel be not of Saxon work.

A stone placed over the chancel arch in 1782 (having been previously in the north wall) preserves a record of the dedication of the Saxon church in 685. The stone was found among the ruins by Aldwine and his companions, according to an anonymous monk of Whitby, who wrote about the middle of the twelfth century, quoted by Leland (Collectanea, vol. iii. p. 42)—"Inscriptio ibidem reperta in quadrato lapide, majusculis literis Romanis scripta, 'Dedicatio basilicæ S. Pauli viiij° Calendis Maii anno xv. Ecgfridi regis Ceolfridi abbatis ejusdemq. M. Ecclesiæ Deo auctore conditoris anno iiij°.'" This writer informs us that, in his day, Jarrow was a cell to Durham, tenanted by three mouks, who exhibited to strangers the oratory of the Venerable Bede and a little altar which had belonged to

[1] Hist. de Dunelm. Eccl. 14.

[2] We learn from Simeon, that during these two centuries very few churches were erected, and those of wattles thatched with straw, but no monasteries—"Denique postquam sævissima paganorum devastatio gladio ac flamma ecclesias ac monasteria in cineres redegerat, deficiente pene Christianitate, vix aliquæ ecclesiæ et hæ virgis fœnoque contextæ sed nulla uspiam monasteria per cc annos reædificabantur tepescente paulatim fidei religione, cultu vero religionis penitus deficiente; monachorum nomen erat provincialibus inauditum."—De Gestis regum Anglorum, col. 206, ap. Twysden.

[3] Simeon, Hist. de Dunelm. Eccl. p. 44.

him, in the middle of which was a piece of green serpentine instead of a gem. The oratory has perished, but it is said that its position is still remembered, and in the vestry of the church is preserved the fragment represented in this Plate. In the same place there is a rude oak chair also connected by tradition with the hallowed name of Bede. Brand has left some account of various sepulchral and other remains discovered in the repairs of the church in 1782.[1]

The style of ornament of this fragment has much in common with that on the crosses at Bewcastle and Ruthwell, and would appear to be of the same period as they are.

The letters of the dedication-slab are of the same character as those of the Latin inscription on the latter cross. The two fragments here represented (I. and III.) are built into the north wall of the tower, and probably formed portions of the shafts of crosses. The inscription is in the following terms:—

It has prefixed the Greek monogram—

☧ Dedicatio Basilicae
Scī Pavli VIIII. Kl Mai
Anno XV. Ecfridi Reg
Ceolfridi Abb Eivsdemq
Q. Eccles. Dō Avctore
Conditoris Anno IIII.

PLATES LXXXV. LXXXVI. AND LXXXVII.

AT ROTHBURY AND NEWCASTLE.

The manor of Rothbury, lying among the hills northward from Morpeth, was in ancient times a royal domain, and of the inheritance of the crown of England. King John, in the sixth year of his reign, conferred the manor on Robert Fitzroger, baron of Warkworth. It remained with this family till the time of Edward III., when, having become vested in the crown by gift of John Fitz-roger or Clavering, who died without issue, it was conferred by Edward on Henry de Percy, and it has continued as part of the Percy possessions ever since.

The old church of Rothbury, dedicated to All Saints, which was mostly of early English work, was taken down in the year 1849. In some part of the structure two fragments were found, which are now in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries at Newcastle, and appear to have formed portions of two crosses. That on Plate LXXXVI. seems to have been the upper part of a pillar, of which the lower portion remains at Rothbury, where it supports a font on which the date 1664 appears. In this case the monument, when complete, would have been about 10 feet in height. On the upper part of the pillar is, on one side, a nimbed figure, under a canopy, holding a book, and on the opposite side are the remains of three figures, one of them touching with his hand the eye of a bearded man, probably portraying the miracle of giving sight to the blind man. The third side has a group of heads, and the fourth has a grotesque animal with foliage.

On the portion of the pillar at Rothbury is a central figure, apparently in the act of benediction, between two others, and having underneath eleven figures looking upwards, four of them with books, and two of them pointing upwards; the whole probably representing the Ascension of our Lord.

The opposite face is filled with interlacing ornament. One of the sides has grotesque animals and foliage, the same as on the corresponding side of the upper part, and the rest is filled with grotesque creatures resembling lizards and apes. These two fragments correspond in shape and design.

The other fragment (Plate LXXXVII.) forms part of the arms of a cross of a different character, the monument having been cruciform in design—broad on the face and narrow on the edge like the cross at Dupplin (vol. i. Plates LVII. LVIII.)—while the fragments first described form part of a square tapering pillar of the shape of those at Bewcastle and Ruthwell.

Various vestiges of primitive occupation are found in the neighbourhood, and early Christian remains are generally found near them, showing how soon the church penetrated into remote localities where the early tribes were gathered.

At Tosson, on the south bank of the Coquet, about a mile to the west of Rothbury, short cists have been recently opened containing skeletons doubled up, with urns, ornaments of jet, and an iron weapon. In the neighbourhood is Brough Hill, with its fortified top, besides other forts and barrows. At Cartington Cave, on the opposite bank of the Coquet, were inscribed concentric circles similar to those on the rocks at Routin Linn, and old Bewick in Northumberland, at High Auchinlary in Galloway, and on Standing Stones at Ballymeanach, near Lochgilphead.

[1] Brand, ii. 63, 64, quoted by Surtees, vol. ii. p. 68, *note*. Hutchison mentions a sepulchral monument, and adds, "Even lately short Saxon columns and fragments of Saxon tombs were scattered about upon the site of the monastery."

Clusters of circular foundations appear on the slopes of the hills, the most remarkable of which is at Greaves Esh, near Linhope Burn, where the groups of circular houses are surrounded by stone walls. On the hillsides of Northumberland, in the neighbourhood of forts and circular foundations, long irregular horizontal furrows have been observed which are not referable to recent times; they have by some been held to be the marks of ancient cultivation[1]—a conclusion which I do not adopt.

PLATE LXXXVIII.

AT SPITAL, NEAR HEXHAM.

This place, about a mile west from Hexham, on a eminence on the south bank of the Tyne, is named from the hospital of St. Giles, belonging to the monks, which stood here. The greater part of the hospital has recently disappeared, but some walls and a wooden image of St. Giles still remain.[2]

It greatly resembles the other monuments at Hexham.

PLATES LXXXIX. and XC.

AT AYCLIFFE.

Aycliffe was among the early possessions of the see of St. Cuthbert, and the two Aycliffes were among the villages which Bishop Aldune mortgaged or pledged for a time to the Earls of Northumberland,[3] most of which, as we learn from Simeon, were by the violence of succeeding earls wholly wrested from the church.[4] Aycliffe was given or restored to the church when King Canute the Dane made his barefoot pilgrimage from Trimdon to the shrine of St. Cuthbert. But at a later date, according to the registers of the church, Scot, the son of Alstane, gave Aycliffe to St. Cuthbert, to which Bishop William de Carilèphe added Cattun.

There were formerly in Aycliffe churchyard two crosses standing upon rough square pedestals. At some time they were destroyed, and built into the walls of the church as materials, from which they have since been rescued, and replaced on pedestals in the churchyard.

On the east face of the cross (Plate LXXXIX.) is a Crucifixion of a rude character, with three figures under canopies, and panels of interlacing work and grotesque creatures. On the other face are figures, probably of ecclesiastics, under canopies. One of the edges has knot-work; on the other is a panel containing an inverted human figure crucified, and another filled with lacertine animals.

The smaller cross (Plate XC.) has on the lower part of the shaft a grotesque animal, with interlacing work above. The cross limbs have been broken off.

This cross is placed above the fragment of another cross of similar character, which is fitted into the pedestal.

Beside it is another fragment represented at the bottom of Plate XC.

Surtees hazarded a suggestion that these crosses might have been erected in memorial of ecclesiastical synods there holden in 782 and 789.

But while it is doubtful whether Aycliffe can be identified as the place where these synods were held, it is unnecessary to adopt any such improbable idea as to the origin of the crosses, when we bear in mind the Saxon custom of placing crosses at the head and foot of graves, as in the case of Acca, the Bishop of Hexham, of whose burial Simeon records, "Duæque cruces lapideæ mirabili celatura decoratæ positæ sunt, una ad caput alia ad pedes ejus."[5] The crosses in Penrith churchyard seem to have been thus placed, as well as those at Dearham (p. 18).

PLATE XCI.

FRAGMENTS AT CHESTER-LE-STREET.

There seems every reason to think that Chester-on-the-Street occupies the site of a Roman station. The place was called Cuncaceaster by the Saxons, from the name of the rivulet.

At this Cuncaceaster Eardulph settled in the year 882, after his seven years' wanderings with the body of St.

[1] Mr. Tate, in Proceedings of Soc. of Antiqs. of Scotland, vol. iv. p. 58.

[2] Arch. Æliana, vol. v. p. 158.

[3] Surtees' Durham, vol. iii. p. 325.

[4] Hist de Dunelm. Eccles. lib. iii. cap. 4.

[5] De Gestis Regum Anglorum, ap. Twysden, p. 101.

Cuthbert, becoming the first bishop of Chester-le-Street; and here sat nine bishops, his successors, during a space of 113 years, till the troubled times compelled Bishop Aldune to remove for safety to Ripon. After a short stay he resumed his wanderings northwards, and finally settled at Durham in the year 995.

The cathedral of Cuncaeeaster, as we learn from Simeon,[1] was of wood, and was replaced by a church of stone in the time of Bishop Egelric, who ascended the Episcopal throne in the year 1042. It was munificently endowed by Guthred, whom the Abbot Eadred had been instrumental in raising to the throne. By this prince the whole country betwixt Tees and Tyne was added to the patrimony of St. Cuthbert, and the church was made a place of refuge for fugitives, so that every one, for whatever reason he might flee to the body of St. Cuthbert, should enjoy inviolable protection for thirty-seven days.[2]

Cuncaceaster, stripped of its mitre, became first a rectorial and afterwards a collegiate church. The collegiate establishment was founded by Bishop Bek in 1286. The tower of the present church is of this period, with a spire of decorated work, but modern improvements have destroyed the architectural character of the body of the church.

The manor has remained constantly vested in the see of Durham.[3]

The fragments here represented have been found at various times in the walls of the church and in the churchyard.

PLATE XCII.

I. AT DILSTON.

Dilston, a contraction of Devilstone, so called from its situation on the eastern banks of the brook Devil, near Hexham. The stone is built into the wall of a cottage, and forms the lintel above the entrance-door.

II. AT WARDEN.

The stone here represented lies in the churchyard of Warden, on the banks of the North Tyne, at its confluence with the South Tyne, about two miles above Hexham. The figure is that of a man rudely cut in low relief.

PLATES XCIII. and XCIV.

AT HEXHAM.

The church of Hexham, dedicated to St. Andrew, was built by Wilfrid, Bishop of York, about the year 674, on a site given by Ethelreda, the Queen of Ecfrid. According to one authority this foundation was merely the restoration of an earlier church, "ab antiquissimis fundata regibus."[4] It was built in the Roman fashion, and Wilfrid's friend Benedict Biscop was engaged in erecting his church at the mouth of the Wear about the same time, after that mode, with which they had both become familiar during their stay at Rome, and other early foreign ecclesiastical seats. The splendour of Hexham is celebrated by Prior Richard in a work devoted to the history of that church, a chapter of which, devoted to an account of its construction, thus concludes:—"Sicut enim antiquæ historiæ et cronica testantur inter IX monasteria quibus predictus præsul pater et patronus præerat et inter omnia alia totius Angliæ artificiosa compositione et eximia pulchritudine hoc præcellebat. Denique citra Alpes nullum tale tunc temporis reperiri poterat."[5] And we may believe that an establishment, of whose "pulcherrimæ habitationes"[4] Alcuin could write, must indeed have merited the character with which its Prior has invested it. It would appear that the gentle eminence on which Hexham stands in the rich valley of the Tyne had attracted the Roman settlers near the wall, and again that the well-peopled valley had suggested the early Christian settlements which followed.

On the division of Northumbria into four dioceses at the instance of Archbishop Theodore, Wilfrid's monastery of Hexham was selected as the seat of one of the bishops, which was first filled by Eata, the abbot of Melrose, then by Tumbert and John of Beverley, and by Wilfrid on his return from banishment, and after him by Acca.

Eata was buried within the church, and Aeca, in the year 740, was buried in the churchyard eastward of the church. "Duæque cruces lapideæ mirabili celatura decoratæ positæ sunt, una ad caput alia ad pedes ejus. In quarum una, quæ scilicet ad caput est, literis insculptum est, quod in eodem loco sepultus sit."[6]

Tradition yet points out the place where others of the early bishops and the King Efwald were buried, and

[1] Hist. de Dunelm. Eccles. p. 34.

[2] Simeon, Hist. de Dunelm. Eccles. lib. ii. cap. xiii. ap. Twysden.

[3] Surtees, Hist. of the County of Durham, vol. ii. p. 136.

[4] Raine, Fasti Eboracen. p. 62, *note*. Lond. 1863.

[5] Ricardus, Prior Hagulstald. de Stat. et Episcopis Hag. Eccl. ap. Twysden, cap. iii.

[6] Simeon, de gestis Regum Anglor. col. 101, ap. Twysden.

history concurs in assuring us that many of the great and good of early times did really seek their rest within the hallowed precincts of Wilfrid's monastery.

Besides the crosses here delineated, the quantity of coped tombs and slabs in the place must at one time have been very great. The fate of many of the latter may be gathered from the following notice :—"On the day we visited the church they were forming a large warm-air drain 6 feet wide, and 6 feet deep, and 120 feet long, through the length of the north transept; and to form a cover for this drain, the contractors were using up fragments of Norman coffin-lids with zigzag ornaments, and entire gravestones of more modern date, because the sexton thought the churchyard too full of them, and wanted them put out of his way."[1]

The tapering shaft of a cross (Plate XCIII.) was discovered in the ruins of the parish church, which was close to the abbey on the east. Mr. Longstaffe writes of this monument (No. I.)—"We can hardly resist the conclusion that we have here the exquisite cross which denoted Acca's burial outside of the east end of the church."[2] If so, the faint traces of letters which can be seen on the unsculptured face may be the inscription described by the historian. The larger fragment (Plate XCIV.) was found during the recent demolition of the Lady Chapel of the Abbey Church. The fragment at the top of this Plate has an ornamented pattern of chequer-work, like that on the Bewcastle cross, and which also occurs on stones in the tower and monastic buildings at Jarrow. This and the other fragments were found among the ruins of the abbey, and the whole are now to be seen in the garden of Mr. Fairless at Hexham.

There were other two churches in Hexham, both believed by Prior Richard to have been built by Wilfrid and finished by Acca. One was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, and stood near to the walls of the mother-church. The other, which was dedicated to St. Peter, stood at rather a greater distance from St. Andrews. Remains of St. Marys are found in the houses in and near St. Mary's Chare.

The present church is of early English work, and may date about 1200.

The date of the crosses may be pretty well established by a reference to the history of the establishment. The church of Wilfrid was probably ruined with the other monasteries amid the flames of the Danish invaders in the year 875. Half a century before that time the succession of its bishops had failed, and when the land between Tyne and Tees was afterwards given to Bishop Earldulph of Durham, it is stated that long before that time the Bishops of Hexham had ceased. The lands of the monastery were taken possession of by the Bishops of Durham, who appointed civil officers, called provosts, to manage them. One of these, appointed by Bishop Aldwine as tein or thane, is called Colam, son of Eadred, which Eadred was grandson of Hunred, one of the seven bearers of St. Cuthbert in the first flight. Collan, grandson of Collan, was appointed provost by Bishop Egelric (1042-50).

During these disordered times the spiritual cure of Hexham had fallen into the hands of a hereditary priesthood descending from father to son.[3]

Bishop Edmund, who ascended the Episcopal chair in 1021, gave the church of Hexham to a priest called Ælfred or Ælfred Westone. Both he and his children, being also canons and officers in the church of Durham, exercised their duties at Hexham by curates. This Ælfred was a great collector of the relics of saints, and he wandered about among the monasteries and ruined churches of Northumbria for the purpose of recovering them and transporting them to Durham. In this way he removed the relics of Balther and Bilfrid the anchorites; also he removed those of the abbot Boisil from Melrose, and those of Acca and Alcmund, the bishops, from Hexham,[4] with those of Beda from Jarrow.

Eylaf Laurea, the son of Ælfred, held the church of Hexham for forty years. Like his father he was an office-bearer at Durham, being treasurer of the church and hereditary canon, and he executed the duties at Hexham by placing there a priest called *Sproh*. About this time happened the devastation of the Conqueror, and for two years the church at Durham was without a shepherd, the Bishop Egelwine quitting it by flight in 1070. At this time the Archbishop of York took possession of Hexham, after which time the territory of Hexham ceased to belong to the see of Durham.

The Norman Bishop of Durham, William of Carilephe, loved not the lazy canons who, without submitting to any rule whatever, lived on the broad patrimony of St. Cuthbert. Of this prelate we read that he (almost in the words of David I. to the Culdees of Lochleven) commanded those who were canons in name, but in nowise followed the rule of canons, if they wished to remain in the church, to adhere to the monastic rules and live the life of monks.[5] One alone was persuaded to abide and take the vows. In this change Eylaf the priest of Hexham was among the secular canons who refused to take the monastic habit. It is probable that the expelled seculars

[1] "The Builder," in Arch. Æliana, vol. v. p. 158. 1861.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 153.

[3] See Mr. Longstaffe's valuable paper on the Hereditary Sacerdotage of Hexham—Arch. Æliana (New Series), vol. iv. p. 11; and for a full account of the antiquities of Hexham see Mr. Raines' exhaustive Introduction to the Hexham Historians, printed for the Surtees Society, where engravings are given of the cross at Dilston and the tapering shaft described in the text.

[4] Simeon, Hist. de Dunelm. Eccles. cap. vii. According to a MS. in the Bodleian Library, quoted in the Life of Ælred, the bodies of Acca and Alcmund were found in two stone coffins.—Lives of the English Saints, No. 13, p. 8. Lond. 1845.

[5] Simeon, Hist. de Dunelm. Eccl. b. iv. c. ii.

were deprived of the hereditary churches they held as canons. Eylaf, therefore, took the best course for himself that he could. He went to the Archbishop of York, and received from him the church of Hexham, which he had previously received from Bishop Egelwine, and on his death his son Eylaf entered upon the church of Hexham through the same archbishop. When the father came to reside at his benefice, which he had formerly served by a curate, he found everything in ruins,—the walls roofless, with trees and shrubs growing out of them, and the land so desolate that for two years he had to trust for his maintenance to his hounds and hawks.[1]

In 1113 the Archbishop of York planted canons regular in the church, but the priest Eylaf was allowed to enjoy the cure with the greater part of the benefice, and among other lands six oxgates of land in Elnewic.[2] The claims of Eylaf's sons would probably have been barred by the cessation of that prebendal arrangement at Durham, under which Hexham church had been held by his ancestors, and by Anselm's constitutions, enacted in 1102, providing that the sons of priests be not heirs to the church of their fathers; but Eilaf, in the year 1134, sent for Robert the Prior, the historian of Hexham, and surrendered the lands of his church which he held, thanking him and his canons for having treated him more like a father than a chaplain, and repenting him of the course he had held towards them. In token of his restitution, he offered a fair phylactery with a silver cross, in which were contained the relics of Acca and Alemund as a perpetual memorial of the church's freedom. The three sons of Eilaf—Ethelred, monk and afterwards Abbot of Rievaulx, Samuel, and Ethelwold—were assembled to witness, and probably to consent to the act.[3]

The present church of Hexham may date about the beginning of the thirteenth century, and no fragment of Norman masonry has been found in the walls. It would therefore seem that the crosses found in the building must have been erected before the destruction by the Danes in the year 867; for, as we read in Simeon, "Denique postquam sævissima paganorum devastatio gladio ac flamma ecclesias ac monasteria in cineres redegerat deficiente pene Christianitate, vix aliquæ ecclesiæ et hæ virgis fænoque contextæ sed nulla uspiam monasteria per ce annos reædificabantur, tepescente paulatim fidei religione, cultu vero religionis penitus deficiente; monachorum nomen erat provincialibus inauditum."[4]

This was not a state of matters in which we could look for the erection of crosses; and as the style of art of the crosses at Hexham corresponds with that of other specimens of the Anglo-Saxon period, we may fairly believe that they are of the seventh or eighth century. They are in every way full of interest, and are valuable as affording authentic subjects of contrast with the Celtic cross-slabs of Pictland, which are probably of the same period.

They would not harmonise with the work or design of the time of the restored buildings in the beginning of the thirteenth century, when the erection of crosses had given way to the coped tombs and sepulchral slabs of which we have so great a variety.

Of the church of St. Andrew, erected by Wilfrid, Prior Richard states—"The foundations were laid by Wilfrid deep in the earth for the crypts and oratories, and the passages leading to them, which were then with great exactness contrived and built underground."

The crypt, which was discovered in the beginning of the last century at the west end of the church, corresponds in character so much with the description of the historian as to leave no doubt that it is the work of Wilfrid. The stones of which it is built have been declared to be all Roman, and several of them exhibit Roman mouldings and cornices, as well as inscriptions.

In digging a grave in the year 1832 at the west side of the north transept a brass vessel was discovered, and in it a number of Anglo-Saxon stycas, estimated to have amounted to 8000. Mr. Adamson, who has given an account of these, suggests that the horde was buried for concealment about the year 867, when fresh ravages of the Danes took place.[5]

Hexham enjoyed the privilege of sanctuary, and the frithstol, or chair of peace, which was the palladium of the privilege, is still preserved.

The origin of the privilege at Hexham can be less definitively traced than at Beverley, on the church of which King Ethelstane, besides many gifts, conferred the right of sanctuary, ordaining that the ground for a mile on every side from the door of the church should have the peace of St. John in such manner that all criminals escaping within these limits should have security of life and limb. There were distinctions of this "peace," the first bound of which was "a cruce quæ est ultra vallem Mollescrofte usque ad cruces juramentorum lapideas; quas nobiliter insculptas in introitu Beverlaci ex utraque parte viæ erigi jussit." The second was from the last-named crosses to the door of the church [porch]; the third from the entry of the porch to the door of the church; the fourth from the door of the church to the entrance to the choir; the fifth from thence to the presbytery; the sixth, which is the last bound, was within the presbytery, where was the high altar with the sacred body of our Lord, the relics of saints, and the precious body of St. John of Beverley, and near the altar a stone seat called the frithstol, or chair of peace, to which a fugitive

[1] Life of Ælred, in Lives of English Saints, p. 10, *note*.

[2] Simeon, de Statu et Episcop. Hagulstald. Eccles. lib. ii. cap. viii. So well was the remembrance of the family kept that a street in Hexham was called Eillan's Gate.—Wallis, Antiq. of Northumberland, vol. ii. p. 79.

[3] Prior Richard, de Statu et Episc. Hagulstald Eccles. cap. ix.

[4] Simeon, de Gestis regum Anglor. col. 206, ap. Twysden.

[5] Arch. Æliana, vol. iii. p. 102. Newcastle 1840.

coming had full security of protection. A breach of sanctuary was punished with varying severity as it occurred within these limits, increasing as the sixth limit was approached. A breach of sanctuary within it was *boteles*, and the offender was at the mercy of the church. To this privilege it was added that the town of Beverley should be the head not only of the hundred in which it is situated, but of the whole South Riding, because within it rests the glorious body of St. John.[1]

A place like Hexham, the gift of a queen, the site of a church and monastery of a grandeur before unheard of in England, the burial-place of Wilfrid and other great bishops, and hallowed by the presence of the relics of apostles and martyrs, might expect the privilege which the memory of one of its own bishops, St. John, had secured for Beverley. The territory of the monastery, called the manor and shire of Hexham, enjoyed many peculiar franchises and exclusive jurisdictions, which probably grew up with the reputation of St. Wilfrid's Church.[2] These were the subject of inquiry in the time of Edward I. in an *Iter* of Hugh de Cressingham, when the Archbishop of York was warned to show by what warrant these were claimed. The archbishop answered, "that he claimeth all the said liberties from antient time; and that he and all his predecessors from immemorial time, without any interruption, have used the said liberties."[3] They were accordingly affirmed by the king's council in Parliament, but the archbishop was deprived of them (2 K. Henry V.) for being an asylum to outlaws and robbers, and the right of sanctuary was struck at by 25 K. Henry VIII. 1534, when it was enacted that gross offenders against the laws taking sanctuary at the altar or any consecrated place should be out of the protection of churches.[3]

The shire of Hexham enjoyed its separate jurisdiction as a county palatine for long, and was only united to the county of Northumberland in the time of Queen Elizabeth (stat. 14 Eliz. cap. 13).[4]

Like Beverley, the sanctuary of Hexham extended for a mile around it, and the low limits were marked by four crosses. There were grades of punishment for violating the sanctuary, the sanctity and fine increasing in these steps—1. Between the four crosses and the town; 2. Within the town; 3. Within the churchyard; 4. Within the church; 5. Within the choir. An offence was the seizure of any fugitive seated on the frithstol near the altar, or at the feretrum of relics behind the altar, and this was inexpiable, and the offender termed *boteles*.[5]

The frithstol was broken in two on the occasion of some former repairs, and has now been removed from beside the altar to the south transept.

PLATE XCV.

FRAGMENTS AT HEXHAM.

Of the upper stone on this Plate, which appears to have been a coped tomb of the same character as those at Abercorn and Govan,[6] Mr. Longstaffe remarks—"In the ruined nave now lies a most curious Saxon stone formerly preserved in the transept. It looks like a rude canopy, being carved at the top and both sides with arcades, crosses, and roundels."[7] The crosses within circles are entirely of the character of those on a Gaulish coped tomb before the eighth century, figured by Blant.[8] The stones figured in the lower part of the Plate are a very small cross-slab and a roof-shaped tomb of early date.

PLATES XCVI. and XCVII.

I. AT MONREITH HOUSE.

The early history of this cross is unknown. It stood for long on the court-hill at the Mower, the old mansion-house of the barony of Monreith, and it is said that the jougs which were fastened into it were not always unemployed by the laird who, in the time of the Commonwealth, got his lands erected "in baroniam et liberam forestam." When his son, the first baronet, purchased Myrton and lands from Sir Godfrey M'Culloch in 1685, the story goes that he wished to take this old cross with him to his new castle, and that when he arrived with it at the march-burn betwixt the baronies of Monreith and Myrton flames burst out of the stone, the cart was upset, and the stone broken in two, and on hearing from a wise woman that there never would be luck to the house of Monreith if the stone was carried away from the barony, the baronet ordered it to be taken back. Since that time it has been removed to the place where it now stands, near to the house of Monreith. The cross differs much in character from the monuments in

[1] Libertatis Eccles. S. Johannis de Beverlaco, p. 99. Surtees Society, 1837.

[2] Prior Richard of Hexham, lib. ii. cap. xiv. ap. Twysden.

[3] Wallis, Antiquities of Northumberland, vol. ii. p. 89, quoting 21 King Edward I.

[4] *Ib.* p. 90.

[5] Ricardus, de Statu et Episcopis Hagnldstald. col. 308, ap. Twysden.

[6] Sculptured Stones of Scotland, vol. i. Plates CXXVIII. CXXXIV.

[7] Arch. Æliana, vol. v. p. 153.

[8] Inscriptions Chretiennes de la Gaule Anterieures au viii^e^. Siecle, Plate XXII. Paris 1856.

Alba, while it resembles those found at Whithorn. The five bosses on the circular disc do not occur on other examples.

In the burying-ground around the ruined church of Kirkmaiden, which is situated on the sea-shore in a recess of "the Heughs," about three miles from Monreith, there is a fragment of another similar cross, but sculptured only on one side, now used as a headstone, and it seems probable that the cross in this Plate, as well as that on Plate XCVII., have originally been situated at Kirkmaiden. In the traditions of the Scottish Church there was a connection between the founders of Kirkmaiden and Whithorn.

St. Medan was believed to have been a virgin of Ireland, who, like St. Triduana, fled from the addresses of a nobleman of the country. Crossing the channel, she landed at the Rinds, near the Mull of Galloway. To this place, however, after an interval, she was followed by her lover, and on his approach she took refuge on a neighbouring stone in the sea. In answer to her prayers she was carried on this stone across the Bay of Luce to the country called Farnes, where she was again followed by her persevering lover. On her inquiry at him what he discovered in her to excite his lust, he referred to the beauty of her face and eyes; on which she tore out her eyes and gave them to her persecutor, who thereupon became penitent and left her.[1] Here, after a life of poverty and sanctity under St. Ninian, she died on the 31st October, and here her relics remained in the early part of the sixteenth century for the veneration of the faithful, who held her festival on the second of the octaves of St. Martin.

At both these places churches arose dedicated to St. Medan. At the former, in the parish of Kirkmaiden, are the remains of an oratory called St. Medan's Chapel, in a wild and secluded spot in the rocks which girdle the Bay of Luce. Medan's Croft, or Cave Croft, is yet described in Lord Stair's investitures of the surrounding lands. The chapel has been thus described by Mr. Muir, who has done so much to illustrate our primitive ecclesiastical remains, when noticing the class of buildings which combine natural caves with built walls in their structure. "The cave is very small, its length being only eleven feet, its width where greatest rather over nine, and the roof so low as scarcely to admit of an upright posture under it. In the making of the chapel which joins to in front as the nave, so to speak, of the chancel-like cell, it is curious to observe how largely the labour has been economised by using the rocks which, rising perfectly upright and smooth, form its two side walls. The builded walls which, with those of nature's furnishing, enclose an area of nearly 15 feet by 11½, are of great thickness, and are composed principally of clay-slate well put together, but without lime; that forming the now only rather more than breast-high elevation fronting the sea has at about its middle a narrow window, and there is a pretty wide doorway wanting the lintel close to the rock-wall on the south. The rear-wall covering the face of the crag rises much higher, and may perhaps be as high as ever it was, but on no part of it is there any trace of a roof."[2]

The ruined building near Monreith was also the church of a parish called Kirkmaiden, now united to that of Glasserton. The barony of Moureith, which is co-extensive with the ancient parish of Kirkmaiden, formerly belonged to the M'Cullochs, and on 14th July 1504 James IV., by a charter in favour of Sir Alexander M'Culloch, erected his place of Mertou into a burgh of barony for various reasons, and among others, "pro asiamento et hospitacione ligeorum nostrorum extraneorumque versus Sanctum Ninianum in Candida Casa aliasque adjacentes partes peregrinacionis et als negociandi causa proficiscentium et reuertencium."[3]

II. AT WHITHORN.

Ninian, from whom Whithorn derived its fame, was the son of a British chief in the Roman province between the walls. He is supposed to have been born shortly after the middle of the fourth century. His father was a Christian, and the son consequently was baptized. Having grown up to manhood, he was seized with a desire to visit Rome, whither he accordingly went, and where, as we learn from Venerable Bede, his education was completed. After that he received episcopal consecration from the Pope in order to his being sent as a missionary to Britain. On his way from Rome he paid a visit to St. Martin at Tours, and on his return to Britain he erected his see at Whithorn, a spot probably in the district where he was born, and which certainly was the site of a Roman settlement, the Leucophibia of Ptolemy.

According to his biographer Ailred, Ninian brought with him from Gaul workmen who could erect a church

[1] Breviar. Aberdon. Pars Estiv. Pl. CLVIII.

[2] Characteristics of Old Church Architecture, pp. 2, 3. Edin. 1861. A similarity of idea led to the use of structures like St. Medan's Chapel on the Rocks in other localities in Scotland and in other countries. The following description of a primitive oratory of the sixth century in Brittany, which occurs in the Acts of St. Gildas the Wise, corresponds entirely with that of the chapel on the shores of the Bay of Luce, just quoted:—"Tunc denique construxit parvum oratorium super ripam fluminis Blaveti sub quadam eminenti rupe, ab occidente in orientem ipsam concavans rupem, et ad latus ejus dextrum erigens parietem, congruum fecit oratorium sub quo de rupe emanare fecit fontem perlucidam." The saint also made use of a quern for grinding his wheat—"Molam quoque ibi fecit cui triticum immisit, ac manu vertit, quæ usque in præsens tempus in eodem loco servatur, et a fidelibus, operantibus cum Christo Sancti viri meritis, languores ad eam expelluntur."—Extrait des Actes de S. Gildas, Abbe de Rui [Ex sæculo I. Benedic] apud Morice, *Memoires sur l'Histoire de Bretagne*, tom. i. p. 189.

[3] In charter-chest at Monreath.

after the Roman fashion, and we know from Bede that at Whithorn he erected a church of stone after a fashion which was new to the Britons, and that the place took its name of "ad Candidam Casam" from this circumstance.[1] This church he dedicated to his friend St. Martin of Tours, the news of whose death, which probably occurred in the end of the year 397, reached him before the dedication. Here also Ninian seems to have erected a monastery after the custom of the time, where he gathered a religious community to assist him in his missionary operations, and in the education of the youths which the parents (tam nobiles quam mediocres) committed to his charge.[2] "That a monastery existed, known by his name and famous as one of the chief ecclesiastical schools of Britain, we learn from authorities to be afterwards alluded to, and there is every reason to suppose that it took its rise from Ninian himself."[3] If Ninian brought workmen from Gaul to help him to build his material church, it is not unlikely that he may have been accompanied by some of the brethren of Tours to aid him in his mission, as Augustine on a like occasion brought companions with him. If we should assume this, it does not seem improbable, as I have elsewhere said, that the crosses at Kirkmadrine may commemorate some of these associates of Ninian. If we can put any trust in a statement of the biographer of St. Monenna, who died about 517, a church was erected by her at Chil-na-Cas, in Galloway, by which Candida Casa doubtless is meant.[4]

We do not know how long the church and monastery of Ninian lasted. About three centuries after the time of their foundation Bede speaks of Candida Casa as illustrious for being the place where the body of Ninian and many saints reposed, and we know that Alcuin, the founder of the schools in St. Martin's monastery at Tours, who died in 804, addressed one of his letters to the brethren at Whithorn. In this letter he says—"Deprecor vestræ pietatis unanimitatem ut nostri nominis habeatis memoriam in Ecclesia sanctissimi patris vestræ Niniæ episcopi qui multis claruit virtutibus, sicut mihi nuper delatum est per carmina metricæ artis quæ nobis per fideles nostros discipulos Eboracencis ecclesiæ scholasticos directa sunt in quibus et facientis agnovi eruditionem et ejus perficientis miracula sanctitatem per ea quæ ibi legebam."[5]

At the time when Bede wrote Galloway was subject to the English, and the historian of the Angles tells us, as a recent event, that a Saxon bishop had been appointed to the see of Ninian at Whithorn. The first bishop of the restored see was Pecthelm,[6] who died in the year 735, in which year Bede also died, and the line of Pecthelm came to an end in the early part of the next century in the person of Baldwulf, the fifth Saxon prelate.

Galloway was now the battle-field of contending tribes—Picts and Scots, Britons, Saxons, and Danes—and amid these dissensions we lose all trace of the church of Ninian till the time of David I., when Candida Casa, for the third time, became the seat of a bishop.

Although Galloway was now nominally subject to the Scotch monarch, it had lords of its own, by whom its turbulent tribes were ruled under a law and by judges different from those of Scotland. Fergus was lord of Galloway in the reign of David, and after the reconstitution of the see he founded a Premonstratensian Monastery at Whithorn. The prior and canons of this house formed the chapter of the diocese.

Soon after this event Ailred, the abbot of Rievaulx, was in Galloway,[7] and he undertook to write the life of Ninian at the request of the canons of Whithorn.

Amid the many vicissitudes to which the church and monastery of Ninian were exposed, and while the material fabric which he erected had given way to more than one successor on its site, the sanctity of the founder's name seemed only to gather strength as time went on. Pilgrimages continued to be made to his tomb down to the period of the Reformation by all ranks from the monarch to the peasant.[8] In a letter of King James V. to Pope Innocent X. he says that the tomb of Ninian was still to be seen at Whithorn; and in a subsequent letter to the same pope it is added, that pilgrims from England, Ireland, the Isles, and adjoining countries, yearly flocked to pay their devotions at his shrine.[9]

[1] Hist. Ecclesiast. lib. iii. 4.

[2] Vit. Nin. cap. x. p. 16.

[3] Grub's Eccl. Hist. of Scotland, vol. i. pp. 14-20. Edin. 1861.

[4] Usher, Britan. Eccles. Antiqnitat. p. 369.

[5] Alcuini Opera, tom. i. col. 512 (ap. Migne). Willelm. Malmsbur. de Gestis Pontif, apud Scriptores post Bedam, p. 272. Franc. 1601.

[6] Boniface, the great apostle of Germany, was a friend of Pecthelm's, and corresponded with him. On one occasion we find him sending to his friend "pro indicio charitatis" "corporale pallium albis, stigmatibus, variatum et viliosnm ad tergendos pedes Dei seruorum." He also requested Pecthelm's opinion on a question then agitated as to the validity of marriages between two persons who had contracted a spiritual relationship at the baptismal font.—Epist. xi. ap. Mag. Bib. Patrum, vol. viii. 1618, et ap. Migne Epist. xxxix.

[7] Viz. in 1164.—Reginaldi Monach. Dunelm. Libellus, cap. LXXXIV.

[8] In the High Treasurer's account of 9th August 1506 there occur the following entries of the king's offerings at Whithorn—"To the kingis offerand in Quhithern at the Rude altar; at the fertir in the vtir kyrk; at the reliques at the hye altair; at the Lady altar, and in the chapel on the hill—ilk place xiiis. and 4d."—MS. in Gen. Reg. House.

[9] Epist. Regum Scotiæ, vol. i. pp. 231, 282. Edin. 1722. It has sometimes been suggested that the site of Ninian's church was at the isle of Whithorn, on the sea-shore, about four miles from the cathedral, where a ruined chapel still stands. We are told that Ninian was buried in "sarcophago lapideo," placed near the altar of his own church of St. Martin. This tomb remained as the object of the pilgrim's devotion till the sixteenth century. The "reliqnes at the hye altar" above noticed were doubtless those of Ninian's body. It was this precious deposit which, in the devotional belief of the time, contribnted so greatly to make Whithorn illustrious, and we cannot doubt that the Saxon church of the eighth century and the subsequent church in the time of David were both erected on the site hallowed by the tomb of the founder of the first "White church."

No fragment of anything of the time of Ninian's church has been preserved, unless we except the interesting crosses at Kirkmadrine as possibly of this period.

That there were crosses erected at Whithorn in the time of the Saxon episcopate seems in every way probable, but if so they have either perished or are imbedded in the walls of subsequent buildings. The two fragments represented in these Plates are probably of this period.

Amid extensive ruins there still remains the chancel of the ancient church of the priory and cathedral. It is principally of early English work, with a rich Norman doorway on the south side of the west end. It had no aisles, and the church had no transepts, but there are traces of a south-western tower. In 1684 the tower of the church was still standing among the ruins of the extensive monastic buildings. "All these are gone; but we may still trace them partly in their foundations, partly as portions of houses, partly as used for building materials, or kept as ornaments. The chancel has been preserved, being used by the parishioners till of late years as their place of worship. It was built upon the site of much more ancient buildings which had been the crypt, as it would seem, of an extensive church; for there are large vaults of old and rude masonry around, which rise higher than the level of the chancel floor. They must have been part of the original church of St. Ninian of the fourth century, or built by the Saxons in the eighth century; and it would be interesting to ascertain whether they are not really part of a church the building and date of which are so marked in the Ecclesiastical History of Scotland."[1]

The cross-slab (Plate LXVII.) stands on the high ground above the town of Whithorn, on the side of the road leading towards the Isle of Whithorn. It is about four feet in height by two in breadth. Its original site is unknown, but it may have been placed at the "chapel on the hill," where King James IV. made one of his offerings when in pilgrimage to St. Ninian in 1506, as noticed on last page (*note*).

On the upper part of one of the faces is a cross within a circle, with the following inscription, curiously arranged, in letters obviously of early date, and resembling the inscriptions on the ancient Welsh stones—"Loci t i Petri Apvstoli." The monogram is added to the upper limb of the cross on the right hand, which may be regarded as another evidence of the early date of the monument. The occurrence of the monogram on the pillars at Kirkmadrine has been already noticed (p. 35). Except in these two instances it has not as yet been observed on any other Scotch monument.

A small hole is made on the top of the stone like those found on the crosses at Bewcastle and Rothbury.

We are told by Fordun[2] that in the year 1260 a cross of great magnificence was dug up at Peebles. The popular belief was that it had been hid in the times of persecution in the second century. The stone on which the cross rested had the following inscription—*Locus* [or *Loculus*] *Sancti Nicholai Episcopi*.[3]

PLATE XCVII.

I. FRAGMENT AT MONREITH.

This fragment of a cross was found in the foundations of old buildings on the farm of Craiglemyre, on the estate of Monreith. The memory of them had been lost, and the site appeared to be a series of whinny knolls. On clearing away these the foundations of the buildings appeared, and in them the fragment was discovered along with a skull, a sword, several querns, and a small bottle. All these relics, except the stone fragment, have been lost, and are now only known by description.

The style of one of the faces of this cross corresponds with that of a fragment still remaining in the neighbouring old burying-ground at Kirkmaiden; and of the other with the other cross at Monreith (Plate XCVI.)

II. AT WHITHORN.

This fragment of a cross is in the churchyard, but nothing is known of its early history.

PLATES XCVIII. and XCIX.

AT ROSSIE PRIORY.

The ruined church of Rossie, adjoining the modern mansion of Rossie Priory, in the Carse of Gowrie, seems to mark the site of a monastic establishment which is mentioned in the early records of the church of St. Andrews under the name of "Rossie-Clerauch." As was the case with so many of these primitive monasteries, its possessions had become secularised before the commencement of our period of record; and the first notice of it is a gift by David I. to Mathew,

[1] Lives of English Saints. Life of Ninian, p. 147.

[2] Forduni Scotichron. vol. ii. p. 96.

[3] *Locus* pro sepulcro seu loco sepulcri occurrit passim in vet. inscriptionibus. *Loculus*, Feretrum in quo cadaver mortui deponitur. Du Cange apud verbos.

the archdeacon of St. Andrews, when it is called "Abbacia de Rossim cum appenticiis suis," and it was given to him "et heredi suo in feudo et hereditate."[1]

The archdeacon conveyed the abbatial foundation to the canons of St. Andrews, and it is referred to in various deeds of confirmation of the possessions of the canons. Among others a charter by Malcolm IV. confirms the gift of Mathew, when the subject of it is called "Rossinclerauch cum rectis divisis suis et ea que nobis inde debebantur;" also "cum ecclesia ejusdem ville cum omnibus eidem ecclesie pertinentibus."[2]

The possessions of the priory having been erected into a temporal lordship in favour of the Duke of Lennox, were reacquired by Charles I. and conferred on the see of St. Andrews. Among the lands thus conveyed is Rossie-clero, which was one of three properties whose suitors were first called at the head courts of the archbishop.

It appears that the parish of Rossie was united to that of Inchture in 1670.[3]

The fragment of the old church is said to be of early English character.[4] It probably was the "Ecclesia de Rossinclerach" consecrated by the Bishop of St. Andrews under the invocation of St. Laurence, martyr, and St. Coman, confessor, in the year 1243.[5]

The beautiful monument here represented was found in the burial-ground. It is of sandstone, and has on each face a cross of elaborately-ornamented knt of different design. On the one face the spaces between the cross and the edge of the slab are sculptured with various grotesque figures. Among these is a lion with a human head, and a man with a beast's head handling a battle-axe. Creatures eating their own tails, and in one case devouring a man, occur below. On the other face a man appears with a bird like a duck in each hand. In the centre panel of the shaft of the cross is a figure on horseback, and opposite to him is the crescent in relief, while the "broken sceptre" is incised. In a lower panel of the shaft are two horsemen, and opposite to them is the "elephant." Behind these figures are two men on horseback, and animals, probably representing a hunting scene.

The crosses, as in most of the Scotch examples, are of the Greek form, the four limbs being of equal length, with the lower limb prolonged into an ornamented stem. On one side of this slab the cross is filled up in three of its limbs with the usual interlacing and fretwork, while the fourth is filled up with the figure of a man on horseback, in which last respect this is an exceptional example.

PLATE C.

AT LINLATHEN.

Some years ago, in describing an underground chamber[6] and galleries then recently opened on the hill of Conan, near Arbroath, I recorded a local tradition that an ancient keep, called "Castle Gregory or Gory," formerly stood on this site, and that the chief from whom the castle took its name was slain and buried under a cairn called "Cairn Greg," in the adjoining parish of Monifieth—adding some reasons for believing that an ancient rath or fort had originally been placed in this neighbourhood.

Cairn Greg is placed on an eminence on the lands of Lunlathen or Linlathen, belonging to Mr. Erskine, in the parish of Monifieth, from which an extensive view of the surrounding country is obtained.

This cairn was opened by Mr. Erskine in the year 1834, in presence of the late Lord Rutherfurd (then Mr. Rutherfurd) and Mr. George Dundas, advocate. It was found to contain a central cist, in which nothing appeared except a bronze dagger and a small urn. These were removed to the house of Linlathen, where they have been preserved since that time. A piece of a sculptured stone was found between the covers of the cist, and was replaced when the cairn was closed up. Having recently heard that this fragment had on it figures resembling those on some of our sculptured pillars, I was anxious to have an opportunity of examining it. For this purpose Mr. Erskine was so obliging as to open up the cairn a second time, and an inspection of it took place on the 31st of August 1864, in presence of Mr. Erskine, Mr. Neish of Laws, Mr. Paterson, Mr. Cosmo Innes, Rev. J. G. Young, Mr. Joseph Robertson, and myself.

Alexander Brymer, a mason who took part in the operations at the first opening, and who recollected the circumstances of it very distinctly, was also present.

The cist in the centre of the cairn, now again exposed, rested on the natural surface of the ground. It was formed of great slabs of sandstone much honeycombed by the action of water.[7] The bottom of the cist was paved

[1] Registr. Priorat. S. Andree, p. 200.

[2] Registr. Priorat. S. Andree, p. 201.

[3] Old Stat. Acc. vol. iv. p. 191.

[4] Muir's Old Church Architecture of Scotland, p. 48.

[5] Registr. Priorat. S. Andree, p. 348.

[6] An account of the underground chambers will be found in the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, vol. iii. p. 465; vol. iv. p. 492.

[7] A great cairn formerly stood near Glassaugh in Banffshire. On opening it a cist containing a human skeleton was found laid in its natural order, along with a deer's horn. The stones of this cairn were different from those found in the neighbourhood, and from the shells of mussels included in many of them seem to have been principally brought from the sea.—Old Stat. Acc. vol. iii. p. 57.

with small water-worn pebbles, and the top was covered by an enormous slab of freestone, also honeycombed, measuring about 7 feet in length by 4½ in breadth. Above this was another cover, of still greater size and weight, broken into two pieces.

The cist was placed east and west. It measured 4 feet 10 inches in length by 2 feet 9 inches in breadth and 2 feet 10 inches in depth. When it was opened in 1834 a small urn lying on its side[1] was found about the centre of the south side, and near the west end a bronze dagger appeared.

Between the two great covering slabs there was a layer of earth of perhaps a foot in depth, and in it was the sculptured fragment here represented. It is obviously part of a larger slab, of freestone, and appears to have been broken across. There was found about the cist (but the exact spot could not be recollected) a large ball of stone of the size of a 25-pound cannon-ball. This ball was carried to Linlathen at the time, but was subsequently lost.

The joints of the slabs forming the cist were closed with clay, on which the marks of the thumbs which had pressed it remained. Portions of this clay were still to be seen in 1864.

Many stone cists were found in the adjoining fields and on Pitkerro, and were used in the construction of drains.

The evidence as to the spot where the sculptured fragment was found in 1834 rests on the recollection of Alexander Brymer. His memory, however, was peculiarly exact; as an instance of which I may mention that on my asking him about the bronze dagger (which at the time was believed to have been lost), he described its appearance very accurately, especially dwelling on the fact that it was rather square-shaped at the point. In any event, it cannot be doubted that the sculptured fragment was found in connection with the cist.

There is no reason for supposing that the cist had been opened prior to 1834, or that the sculptured stone could have been introduced at a period subsequent to its first arrangement. The cairn was apparently untouched until the neighbouring dykes began to be built. On the whole, it is difficult to conceive the introduction of the sculptured stone at a period subsequent to the first arrangement of the structure.

The obvious inference from these circumstances is, that at the time when the cist was formed the sculptured fragment was part of an older monument, probably on the spot, and that it was used for some purpose in the construction of the cist, possibly to assist in steadying the two slabs between which it was found, in much the same way that sculptured crosses are so frequently found in the walls of old churches as mere building materials.

If this inference be well founded, the result would afford one aid in approximating to the date of the pillars with symbols, for we could not doubt that they were at least contemporary with, if not earlier than, the people who used bronze and buried their dead in cairns.

It will be remarked that the fragment is sculptured only with the figure of the elephant, and is of the same class as the unhewn pillar-stones, which have merely the symbols in incised outline. This class I have always been inclined to believe to be the earliest, and to have been succeeded by the dressed slabs, on which the cross occurs along with the symbol figures in a more elaborate style of art. It seems to me, on the whole, that the symbols, although not necessarily anti-Christian, are yet vestiges of a pre-Christian system, and are probably the work of pagan people; while the slabs on which they occur with the cross mark a period of transition to the Christian system. If the symbols had arisen out of the Christian system, they would probably have been found wherever the Christian religion took root.

In several cases where the rude pillars were found *in situ* they were in connection with burial-mounds or cairns. The pillar at Keillor stood on a mound in which cists containing unburnt bones were found.

The greater number of our early sepulchral vestiges, however, show that burning the body was the most common use, and it would seem that both methods were adopted contemporaneously.[2] The cist in Cairn Greg, besides the dagger, contained nothing except an empty urn, in this last point resembling those at Warraekstone, which only contained some empty urns.[3]

[1] One of the cists at Warrackstone, recently opened, contained a small urn also on its side, but here the position resulted from partial decay of the urn.

[2] In a barrow on Ballidon Moor in Derbyshire five bodies were found in a contracted position, and in a different part of it an urn resting on a surface of charcoal of wood and other burned matter (Crania Britannica, decade I.) In two of the great tumuli at Carnac in Brittany the chamber of the one (St. Michael's Mount) contained incinerated human remains, while that of the other (Tumiac), which was of the same character as the first in every other respect, contained the unburned remains of a body in its natural position (Arch. Cambr. Jan. 1864, p. 47). We now know that flint and bronze weapons, which have been held to symbolise periods of time widely separated, have been found in the same interment of an unburned body. In a barrow near Scarborough, which was opened in 1835, a skeleton was found with an ornamented earthen vessel, and an urn with ornaments of the same character as the other, with burnt bones.

[3] It may be questioned whether, in all the cases where a cist is found containing an urn, without any appearance of a body or incinerated bones, we are to presume that the urn had accompanied an unburnt body which had been wholly wasted, or whether it did not rather accompany a burned body of which the bones were disposed in another part of the cairn. It is certain that in such cases as the cairn at Warrackstone, where four cists were discovered, of which three contained urns and nothing besides, very large quantities of burned bones were found in two urns by themselves, with many traces of burning and bones in the centre. Here also one of the cists contained neither urn nor any trace of bones, while the bottoms of the cists were in all the cases formed of a soft bright yellow substance, apparently the subsoil of the hill. Cists have been at various times opened in a field at Lesmurdie in Banffshire,

The remains of burnt matter have been found in the centre and in other parts of cairns, sometimes in urns, as at Warrackstone and St. Andrews, but in some cases in cists, which have been found filled with calcined bones and ashes.[1] At Cairn Greg the examination of the cairn was mainly directed to the central cist, and in the course of it no trace of burnt matter was observed.

In some of the stone circles which have been examined, portions of bronze have been discovered among the deposits of incinerated bones,[2] and in one of eighteen large urns filled with burnt bones found in the ground at Lawpark, near St. Andrews, without cists or pillars, two bronze knives were found, each nearly 3½ inches in length, from which, and from other points of analogy, we may gather that interments in stone circles, and in urns without pillars, took place in the same period.

There can be no reason to doubt that these are practices of a pagan character; and if so, the conclusion that the sculptured fragment associated with the interment at Cairn Greg was one of a pagan class will be greatly strengthened; for, although we have instances of the continuance of the ancient mode of contracted burial in early Christian sites, yet I am not aware of any instance of incineration on such sites. A very interesting example of what I consider the transition period occurs in the case of a short cist near the stone cross of Alloa, the lid of which was marked on the under side with two small crosses. It appeared that around this cross there had been a cluster of burials, but that the bones were unburnt. By way of contrast, a pagan cemetery was discovered at the opposite end of the town of Alloa, in which were many stone coffins of the same size as the cist at the stone cross, but they contained only calcined bones, with urns, in one of which were two gold armlets.[3]

In one of the Capitularies of Charlemagne, dated in 789, there is a chapter providing, "Si quis corpus defuncti hominis secundum ritum paganorum flamma consumi fecerit, et ossa ejus ad cinerem redegerit, capite punietur;"[4] while another directs "Ut corpora Christianorum Saxonum ad cœmeteria Ecclesiæ deferantur, et non ad tumulos paganorum," from which we may gather that the half-converted Saxons were still inclined to follow the funeral customs of their fathers, while it is plain that these were not considered matters of compromise like those referred to in the celebrated letter of Pope Gregory to the Abbot Mellitus, but were entirely proscribed.

We learn from Gregory of Tours that the customary burial in Gaul in the early part of the fifth century was under a "tumulus" of earth. Chanao, an earl of Brittany, having slain three of his brothers, was in pursuit of a fourth, who took refuge with another earl of that country. He "cum sentiret persecutores ejus adpropinquare, sub terra eum in loculo abscondit, componens desuper ex more tumulum parvumque ei spiraculum reservans unde halitum resumere posset. Advenientibus autem persecutoribus ejus dixerunt: Ecce hic Macliavus mortuus atque sepultus jacet. Quod illi audientes atque gaudentes et super tumulum illum bibentes renunciaverunt fratri eum

of which three are described in the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. In two of the cists skeletons in a doubled-up position were found along with an urn in each. In the third an urn was found, but there was no trace of bones. The floors of the first two cists were paved with pebbles from the neighbouring river, the Deveron, but the floor of the third cist was unpaved.

Of the third cist Mr. Robertson, who opened it, says—"I am disposed to look upon the cist as a cenotaph constructed in honour of the manes of some one whose body could not be recovered for the performance of the usual rites of sepulture." This case is the same as that of Cairn Greg, where an urn was found without any trace of bones; and in regard to such instances, and in those where no urn or bones appear, it has been concluded by some that an unburnt body had originally been placed in the cist, and been wholly absorbed in the soil. It may be doubted whether this could be held under all circumstances.

Would the theory of absorption hold in cases like Cairn Greg, where the floor of the cist was closely paved, or like Warrackstone, where there was the absence of any discolouring matter in the bright yellow subsoil which formed the bottom of the cist, and neither urn nor bones appeared? and would not the absence of all sepulchral traces in one of several cists rather suggest that the whole may have been prepared as a family burial-place, but had not all been used? Dr. Petrie quotes from the Book of Lecan a passage which shows that sepulchral cairns, like modern mausolea, were at times erected in the lifetime of the person who was to be laid in them:—"Carn Amhalgaidh—*i.e.* of Amhalgaidh—son of Fiachra Elgaidh, son of Dathi, son of Fiachra. It is by him that this carn was formed, for the purpose of holding a meeting of the Hy-Amhalgaidh around it every year, and to view his ships and fleet going and coming, and as a place of interment for himself" (Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland, p. 108). On the subject of absorption it has been remarked by Dr. Davis—"It seems difficult to admit that some pounds of hard mineral matter, triphosphate of lime, insoluble in water, of which the skeleton is composed, should entirely disappear when laid in the earth, after any lapse of time, unless there were some active solvent at work carrying it off. The facts adduced by Mr. Robertson contravene the presence of any such solvent, as these cists were placed in the same sandy soil and exposed to the same influences for, we have no doubt, pretty much the same length of time, and yet the bones were absent in one only."—Crania Britannica, decade II. (Cist. at Lesmurdie).

[1] Old Stat. Acc. v. 97; vii. 557.

[2] Sculptured Stones of Scotland, vol. i. App. to Preface, p. xx.

[3] According to Boece, the practice of burning the dead was adopted by the Scots and Picts from the Romans. Plautius, a Roman general, having died at Camelon, "his body wes brint eftir the custome and rite of Romanis, and consecratit in the temple of Clandius and Victory" [that is, Arthur's Oven]. "Thus rais ane consuetude, mony yeris eftir observat amang the Scottis and Pechtis, to birne the bodyis of thaim that deis, as apperis yet he mony signis to our dayis." Boece then relates the discovery of two urns full of bones in an ancient sepulchre at Findon, near Aberdeen, in the year 1521, and also the discovery about the same time of two sepulchres, "sectis quadratisque structas lapidibus," at Kenbacten in Marr, about ten miles from Aberdeen. In these, four urns were found half-filled with bones, and of the like size and ornamentation (or inscriptions, as Boece calls them) as those at Findon. It is added that similar remains are found in numerous places throughout Scotland.—Scotor. Histor. lib. iii. fol. xlix. 1526. Bellenden's Translation, vol. i. p. 108.

[4] Corpus Jur. Ger. Antiq. by Ferdinand Walter, tom. ii. pp. 106, 107.

mortuum esse." Machiavus, on being released from his durance, went to Vannes [Veneticam urbem], where he was "tonsuratus et Episcopus ordinatus." On his brother's death, however, "apostavit et demissis capillis, uxorem quam post clericatum reliquerat, cum regno fratris simul accepit."[1]

On this subject Mr. Kemble has recorded his belief that in all cases the urn burials are pagan.[2]

It may be difficult to say how long the custom of burning the body continued in Scotland, but it seems to me unlikely that it survived the first influences of Christianity.

We can trace the practice of consecrating cemeteries to the time of Ninian. The devout disciple Fregus was the first to be buried in one, at the place called *Cathures*, now Glasgow, by Kentigern, but the cemetery had been consecrated by Ninian. According to Joceline the monument of Fregus was to be seen in his day surrounded by overshadowing trees.[3] The southern Picts, in whose province Cairn-Greg is situated, were converted by Ninian, and at a later period Kentigern carried on the good work in the same country, where we are told he founded many monasteries, converting the people from the worship of idols and the profane rites of idolatry.[4]

One of the early inscribed stones of Wales at Penmachno records the burial of Carausius under a cairn in the following words:—CARAVSIVS HIC JACIT IN HOC CONGERIES LAPIDUM. This stone has sculptured on it the Greek monogram of the name of Christ, and thus remarkably connects the burial in a cairn with the Christian system. Such a monument is entirely exceptional, and the inscription is believed by Mr. Westwood to be of great antiquity.[5]

We read also of the erection of a cairn over a converted Pict in the time of St. Columba.[6] This occurred in the Isle of Skye, and may have taken place before a cemetery was consecrated; but we may gather from various sources that burials in cairns and sites of old usage soon came to be regarded as heathenish.[7]

From an expression elsewhere used by Adamnan it would rather appear that inhumation was the practice in Pictland, where he says that Columba, while crossing the river Ness in a province of the Picts—"alios ex accolis aspicit misellum *humantes* homunculum.[8] Of St. Columba himself he relates—"debita humatur cum veneratione." In the Life of Kentigern it is related that the cook at Culros whom he raised from the dead had been restored to his mother earth, and the saint commanded the earth of which the grave was formed to be removed; and Fregus was laid in consecrated ground at Glasgow.

On the whole, while it may be incorrect to assert that all burials in cairns are necessarily pagan, yet from the appearance of an urn, with a bronze weapon, in the cist at Cairn-Greg, and the character of the cist itself, I cannot doubt that this monument was the work of pagan people.

Our annals make us acquainted with a King Grig, who, along with Eocha, reigned over the Picts and Scots towards the end of the ninth century. It is possible that the traditional "King Greg," the predecessor of Dufsyth of Conon, who appears in the dawn of the period of record,[9] may have been the chief of a Pictish tribe like one of those "clans" who, according to the "Book of Deir," were flourishing in Buchan "when Bede the Pict was maormor" of that country; but if so he must have lived at a period long before that of his historical namesake, who after dying at a place called by our chroniclers "Dundorne," "Dornedeore," which has been identified with Dunadeer in the Garioch, was, according to the statements in the Chronicles, buried at Iona,[10] where Wyntoun tells us his epitaph was to be read in his days.[11]

The urn found in the cist at Cairn-Greg is of a rude early type. As its character enters somewhat into the question of the period of the deposit I have given a drawing of it, as well as of the bronze dagger, on the same plate with the sculptured fragment. They are all in the possession of the proprietor at Linlethen.

[1] Gregor. Turon. Hist. lib. iv. cap. 4.

[2] "Burial and Cremation," in Arch. Journal, vol. xii. pp. 328-330.

[3] Vita Kentigerni, p. 220.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 270.

[5] Arch. Camb. July 1863, p. 256.

[6] Adamnan, Vita S. Columbæ, by Reeves, p. 62.

[7] It is stated by Tirechan, in his "Annotations" in the Book of Armagh, as an evidence of the continued paganism of King Laoghaire and his inability to believe, that he insisted on being buried after the manner of his fathers, saying to St. Patrick, "For Niall my father did not permit me to believe, but [commanded] that I should be buried on the ramparts of Tara as men stand up to battle;" for the Gentiles are wont to be buried in their sepulchres armed, with weapons ready, face to face, until the day of *Erdathe*, as the Magi call it; that is, the Day of Judgement of the Lord. "I the son of Niall [must be buried] after this fashion, as the son of Dunlaing [was buried] at Maistin in the plain of Liffey, because of the endurance of our hatred," (quoted in Dr. Todd's St. Patrick, p. 438). But the old pagan modes and sites of burial gradually gave place to the Christian mode of burial in the resting-places around the church. Thus we read that in A.D. 933 the royal heir of Ailech was buried "in Cimeterio Regum" at Armagh.—Annals of Four Masters, vol. i. p. 631, *note*.

[8] Adamnan, Vita S. Columbæ, by Reeves, p. 140.

[9] Regist. de Aberbroth. pp. 40, 162.

[10] If the correct reading of this place be "Dundorne," it may be suggested that the remarkable fortified site on the hill of Durn, in the parish of Fordyce in Banffshire, has some claim to be considered the seat of Grig. This hill was surrounded by a triple fosse and rampart. In the neighbourhood are the remains of stone circles and cairns. One of the cairns, which was of great size, was found to cover a cist in which were the bones of a man and a deer's horn. The Danes landed in this neighbourhood in the tenth century, and were defeated by King Indulf.—Old Stat. Acc. vol. iii. p. 56.

[11] Forduni Scotichron. vol. i. p. 196; Wyntoun's Cronykil, vol. i. p. 174.

PLATE CI.

STRATHMARTIN.

A FRAGMENT of a cross dug up in the old churchyard of Strathmartin is figured in the previous volume of "The Sculptured Stones of Scotland" (Plate LXXVII.)

On the present Plate are represented fragments of two separate monuments which have been more recently found in digging in the same burial-ground. One of them has been cruciform, and the other (No. 3) a slab with a cross and grotesque animals, *in relief*, on one side, and some of the symbols *incised* on the other. The cruciform fragment has been lost since this drawing of it was made. The dress of one of the figures on it is remarkable.

It seems likely that an early ecclesiastical settlement was made in the strath of the Dighty. This church was dedicated to St. Martin, and the adjoining one, now called Mains, was dedicated to his disciple St. Ninian[1]—an arrangement resembling that which occurs so frequently in the churches dedicated to St. Columba and to St. Adamnan, his biographer and one of his successors.[2] Both parishes now form the united parish of Mains and Strathmartin.

PLATE CII.

CASTLE OF STRATHMARTIN.

ABOUT a mile westward of the old churchyard, in a dyke on the farm of Castle of Strathmartin, this monument is inserted. It is of whin, and resembles the rude "symbol" pillars of Aberdeenshire. The symbols are incised.

PLATE CII.

KINNELL.

THIS stone forms the lintel of a door in the garden-wall of the manse of the parish of Kinnell, which bounds with Aberlemno in Forfarshire. Nothing certain is known of its history.

PLATE CIII.

I. AT FORTEVIOT.

A SKETCH of this fragment appears as an ornament on the first page of the Preface to the former volume, but I think it desirable to give a more finished drawing of it in this place.

Forteviot—or, as it appears in our early annals, Fothuir-tabaicht—seems to have been a seat of some of the Pictish kings. When St. Regulus went in search of Hungus the Pictish monarch, who was absent on an expedition in Argyll, he went to Forteviot, and then crossing the Monnth he met the king at a place called Chondrochedalvan. At last the king returned to Forteviot, where he founded a church in honour of St. Andrew.

According to the Pictish chronicle, Kenneth, the son of Alpin, died "in Palacio suo de Fothnir-tabaicht" in the year 859.[3] During the short reign of Donald, his brother and successor, the laws of Aodh the Fair, son of Eocha III., were confirmed by the Gael and their king "in Fothur-tabaicht."[4]

In the year 904, during the reign of Donald, son of Constantine, the Annals of Ulster record an incursion of the Danes, and that their leader Ivar O'Ivar was killed by the men of Fortren;[5] while the Pictish Chronicle tells us of the same—oppidum Fother occisum est a gentibus.[6]

In the reign of Constantine, son of Aodh, who succeeded Donald, the Pictish Chronicle records "that the king, with Kellach the bishop, with the Scots, swore to observe the laws and discipline of the faith, and the rights of the Churches and the Gospels, at the mount near the royal city of Scone, called thenceforth from that event The Mount of Belief.[7]

[1] Registr. Priorat. S. Andree, p. 35.
[2] Reeves' Adamnan, Preface, p. v.
[3] In Pinkerton's Inquiry, vol. i. App. p. 495.
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] Coll. de rebus Alban, p. 263.
[6] Pinkerton, *ut supra.*
[7] *Ibid.* Its ecclesiastical character is referred to in later times. Thus in 1669 certain tofts in the town of Scone are said to lie "ex parte boreali montis ecclesiastici ab antiquo vocati Mute-

This is the first mention of Scone in these chronicles.

It has been said that Forteviot was still a royal residence in the time of Malcolm III., and that Alexander I. occasionally resided there.[1] It is certain that some of the charters of William the Lion are dated at Forteviot, and that the church of Forteviot, and certain lands there, belonged to that king, for he made a grant to the Abbey of Cambuskenneth of the church of Forteviot, with its chapels, lands, and tithes in excambion, "decimarum placitorum et lucrorum meorum de Striveling et de Strivelingschiria et de Calathir." He also granted to them four acres of land in Forteviot, and a toft and croft to build their houses on.[2] The subjects thus reacquired by the king had been given to Cambuskenneth by David I., who conferred on them the church of Clacmanan, with forty acres of land, and the toft of the priest in the said town, and the tithes of all his pleas and profits of Striveling and Strivelingschire, and of Kalentir, and a toft in his burgh of Stirling.

Tradition points to a small eminence which was formerly to be seen at the west end of the village of Forteviot, called the Halyhill, as the site of the royal residence. It has now been entirely swept away by the encroachments of the May. The ruins of the castle on it were seen by Henry Adamson, author of the "Muses Threnodie," at the time of a visit in 1633, which he describes (p. 82 of that work)—

> "Right over to Forteviot did we hy,
> And there the ruined castle did we spy
> Of Malcolm Ken-more."

In 1772 the minister of Forteviot speaks of the ruins as a heap of rubbish, and as appearing to have been under the action of fire.

The curious arched stone figured in this Plate was found lying in the bed of the May immediately under the Holy Hill, and was removed by Lord Ruthven to his house of Freeland, where it now is.

There seems no reason to doubt that it had formed part of the structure on the Holy Hill, and that it must be assigned to a very early period, probably not later than the eleventh century.

It seems likely that the Dun Fother spoken of in the Chronicles was of a different character from the building to which this stone was related. About three-quarters of a mile to the east of Forteviot the ground rises and forms an eminence of considerable extent, on the top of which are the remains of a rath or hill-fort, protected on the most accessible side by five large earthen ramparts, through which there is an entrance to the fort. It commands an extensive view of the surrounding country on all sides, and is only one of a number of similar raths on the neighbouring hills. It is probable that the residences of our early kings were of this description, like the raths which protected and sheltered the Irish kings at Tara.

In the Irish Annals we read under the year 681 of the siege of Duin-Foithir,[3] and again in 694 of the siege of Dun-Foter.[4] In 763 Brude, king of Fortren, is said to have died.[5] In 768 a battle is said to have happened in Fortren.[6] In 820 the death of Constantine, king of Fortren (An. Ult.), or king of Alban (Ann. Inisf.), is recorded. In 834 Angus, king of Fortren, is said to have died; and in 839 a battle against the men of Fortren is spoken of.[7]

It has been suggested that this Dun-Fothir is to be identified with Dunotter in the Mearns, but it seems more likely that it is the *dun* of the district, or of the men, or of the king of Fortren, for "in the Irish Annals Fortreim is latterly almost synonymous with the kingdom of the Picts."[8] It may be, however, that the Holy Hill, as the site of the church of Regulus, was originally within the area of a rath, and that the "palace" came to be erected within the same area in succession to the wooden or wattled erections which originally occupied its central space. In Ireland the early monasteries were frequently erected within the walls of raths, and Kirk Manghold in the Isle of Man is within a fortified site, which also encloses groups of hut-circles.

There were two crosses at the distance of about a mile from the Holy Hill—one on the south side and the other on the north. The first stood on a rising ground called Dronachy, sloping down to the May. The pedestal on which it stood still remains in the north-east corner of the policies of the house of Invermay, but the cross was broken to pieces not many years before 1772. A fragment of an elaborately ornamented cross, now in the church-

hill" (Index of Retours, vol. ii. *voce* Perth, No. 799). Mr. Robertson suggests that "this expression, 'the laws of Aodh,' may have found its way into the Chronicle without the transcriber being aware of its meaning. In the Irish Annals the *lex Patricii* or *lex Columbæ* alludes to the right of visitation and other dues belonging to the representatives or *coarbs* of those saints, and the confirmation of the 'lex Aodh Fin' by the Gael may mean the recognition of the claims of his descendants, the MacAlpin family, to *can* and *cuairt* over the provinces of the Picts. Royal *law* was identical with royal supremacy."—Scotland under her Early Kings, vol. i. p. 41, *note*.

[1] Notices of Forteviot, Arch. Scot. vol. iv. p. 276.

[2] Chartulary of Cambuskenneth, Macfarlane's Transcript, Adv. Lib.

[3] Reeves' St. Columba, p. 377.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 378.

[5] *Ibid.* p. 386.

[6] *Ibid.* p. 386.

[7] *Ibid.* pp. 389, 390.

[8] Scotland under her Early Kings, vol. i. p. 39. *note*. Edin. 1862.

yard of Forteviot, is believed to have formed part of it, and of it a drawing will be found in the former volume (Plate CXIX.) The second cross was placed on a rising ground at Bankhead, near Dupplin Castle, where it still stands, and is figured in Plates LVII. and LVIII. of that volume. This monument differs from the cross-slabs which are so common in Angus-shire, being cruciform in shape. It has interesting sculptures on all the four sides. In two of the compartments are men in tunics bearing round shields. Four of them have rich fringes to their garments, while the robes of the other two are plain. In another compartment a man playing on the harp is seated on a chair. About a mile north from this cross is a cairn in which were found several stone coffins containing bones, together with "some trinkets in various figures of a vitrified substance and blackish colour.[1]

When William the Lion gave the church to the monks of Cambuskenneth his grant included the appendant chapels. It does not appear from any remains that the crosses in question were in connection with these establishments.

According to the early traditions of the church of St. Andrews, when Regulus and his companions came to Forteviot the Pictish king was absent on an expedition in Argyll. His sons were anxious about his safety, and gave to God and St. Andrew a tenth-part "de urbi Forteviot." Thereupon the clerics erected a cross, and blessed the place and the king's sons whose abode it was.

According to the same tradition Regulus held the third part of the whole of Scotland in his hand and power "et per Abbatias ordinavit atque distribuit."[2] The crosses may have marked the limits of the girth or property of his monastery at Forteviot. When Hungus gave to the church certain lands about St. Andrews we read that the clerics erected twelve stone crosses "in signum Regis commendationis."[3] The concluding portion of the rubric of this chapter sets forth—"Quomodo contigerit quod tantæ abbatiæ ibi factæ antiquitus fuerunt quas multi ad hunc seculares viri jure hæreditario, possident;"[3] and suggests the steps by which the church and lands in the grant of the king to Cambuskenneth had again become vested in the Crown after their early dedication in the time of Hungus. Other parts of Forteviot formed the subjects of royal grants long after this.[4]

II. AND III. EILAN MORE AND HARRIS.

Nos. II. and III. are specimens of crosses on small headstones from the Hebrides. The first is from Eilan More in Argyllshire, and the second is from the isle of Harris. The last was found in the walls of a farm-house, and is said to have been removed from the ruined chapel of St. Taran in the neighbourhood. Both stones are in the National Museum of Antiquities.

PLATE CIV.

I. AT KINTRADWELL.

THE description of this monument occurs at page 39.

II. AT FIRTH.

THE united parish of Firth and Stennes is on the mainland of Orkney, lying to the westward of Kirkwall.

The stone here represented was brought to light by Mr. Petrie of Kirkwall, who discovered it in a cottage at Firth in the wall above the fireplace. The cottager stated that about fifty or sixty years ago he removed the stone from an older house inhabited by his father, and beyond the fact that he found it in the "auld biggings" nothing certain is known of the stone.

From the vicinity of the houses to a ruined "broch" Mr. Petrie conjectures that the stone had originally been taken from this older structure. In the outer wall of the broch a stone was discovered which had been inserted as a building-stone, on one end of which a spiral ornament is sculptured of the same character as one of the upper figures on the accompanying woodcut, which represents a sculptured slab found in a "Pict's house" in the island of Eday, Orkney, now in the National Museum of Antiquities.

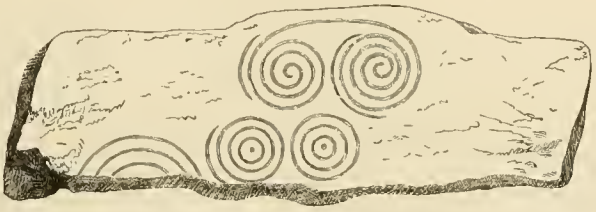
[1] New Stat. Acc. Perthshire, p. 1173. A letter in the Weekly Magazine, dated 2d June 1772.

[2] Hist. B. Reguli, Pinkerton's Inquiry, vol. i. p. 460.

[3] *Ib.* App. p. 498.

[4] King Robert Bruce granted to Duncan Murdisone the lands of Kurdeny and Fortuvett (Rob. Index, p. 19). King Robert II. gave a charter to James Stewart, gottin betwixt the king and Marion Cardny, of the lands and mill of Forteviot (*Ib.* p. 124).

The symbols on the stone found at Firth resemble those on a similar monument at South Ronaldshay.[1] Both slabs are now placed in the National Museum of the Antiquaries at Edinburgh.



In the parish of Stennes are many remains of early times, including the well-known circles of stones of Stennes and Brogar, single pillars, and tumuli on the shore of the loch.

III. AT BALNEILAN.

This stone is built into the wall of the farm-offices of Balneilan, parish of Knockando, Banffshire. It is said to have been one of a circle of standing stones which was placed on a neck projecting into the valley, and was removed about fifty years ago. On another similar projection in the same neighbourhood there stood another circle of pillars and several large cairns, all of which have been removed. This neck of land was protected on the one side by two ditches and two walls, and on the others by steep banks.

PLATE CV.

AT KNOCKANDO.

The present parish of Knockando is formed of the united parishes of Knockando and Macalen, and lies on the north bank of the Spey, above the well-known rock of Craig-Ellachie, which bounds it on the east. "There are two or three places in the parish where chapels or religious houses are supposed to have stood."[2]

The three slabs figured on this Plate are now placed in the graveyard of the parish, but are said to have been brought thither from an old burial-ground called Pulvrenan, on the bank of the river below Knockando House, about fifty years ago. The stones are much weathered and are undressed.

The inscription on No. 3 is in runes. It has been read by my friend Professor George Stephens of Copenhagen as "SIKNIK." This appears to be the name of a man, and it occurs on another runic monument at Sanda Södermanland in Sweden (figured in Dybeck's "Svenska Run-urkunder," No. VII.) Professor Stephens, to whom I am indebted for this fact, adds that the inscription at Knockando is in Scandinavian runes of the oldest and simplest class, and may date from the ninth or tenth century.

PLATE CVI.

I. AT FINLARIG.

This fragment is at Finlarig, in Cromdale, near the old castle of Muckrach.

There is here a ruined chapel in a circular enclosure formed by a ditch and wall about 85 feet in diameter. The stone was turned up towards the west side of this enclosure, where the ancient font was also found, and it was afterwards built into a neighbouring farm-house. The ruin is on a flat space on the west side of the hill rising from the Dulnan, a tributary of the Spey, which flows past Muckrach.

II. NEAR GRANTOWN.

This slab was recently found in digging a knoll called *Cnoc-an-fraich*, near Grantown, on the Spey, and is now in the National Museum of the Antiquaries of Scotland

[1] Sculptured Stones of Scotland, vol. i. Plate XCVI.

[2] New Stat. Acc., Elginshire, p. 68.

PLATE CVII.

AT CONGASH.

THESE pillars were recently noticed by Dr. Arthur Mitchell on the farm of Congash, in the parish of Abernethie, on Speyside, within a small circular enclosure. Several similar structures are on the same farm, and are believed by the country people to have been ancient burial-grounds. The stones are rude undressed blocks of whin, and have the simple "symbols" incised on one of their faces. The figure below the "spectacles" on one of them is not found elsewhere.

Congash is in the east end of the parish of Abernethie, and here there was a chapel of old.[1] The church of Abernethie is said to have been dedicated to St. George. It now forms one parish with Kincardine.

PLATE CVIII.

BURGH-HEAD.

THIS promontory, running out from the coast of the Moray Firth, must have suggested its capabilities as a place of defence at an early period, and there can be no doubt that one of the early British strengths was placed here. A recent observer, who has exhausted the materials of the history of the place, has been led to believe that at one time a circular tower or "broch" stood on the peninsula, similar to those structures so common on the other side of the firth which are called "Pictish castles."[2] It is certain that the name of the place for a long time was *The Broch* or *Bruet*, by which title it is set down by Gordon of Straloch in Blaeu's Atlas. An enclosed space within the fortified area was called the chapel-yard, and is still used as a burying-ground, and about a quarter of a mile to the east of the village of Burgh-head a spring is called "St. Ethan's Well," from which we may conjecture that an early religious establishment here had been dedicated to St. Ethernan, or perhaps St. Aidan.

One set of the fragments represent the figures of bulls sculptured on small slabs, some of them waterworn. They do not appear to have formed parts of one larger monument, but to have always been separate stones.

Of these, one was engraved in the previous volume (Plate XXXVIII.) Nos. 2 and 3 of the present Plate have been found among rubbish in carrying out improvements in Burgh-head. The first is in the possession of Mr. Young, the proprietor, and the second belongs to Mr. T. Miln, Elgin; and a fourth bull, of the same style and sculpture, has been discovered.

Professor Stuart, who visited Burgh-head in 1809, reported that among the stones of the rampart were pieces of freestone, on some of which were mouldings and carved figures, particularly of a bull, very well executed.[3]

Of a different class are the fragments of sculptured crosses. Of these, No. 1 is built into the wall surrounding the "chapel-yard," and was found close to this spot. It represents a hunting-scene spiritedly executed, and probably formed part of a large monument like that at Shandwick. No. 4 is a fragment of a slab, with a cross in relief on one side and the figure of a horseman incised on the other. This is a mere fragment, only sufficient to indicate its character. No. 5, which, along with the last, was found among the debris at Burgh-head, seems to have been part of an incised slab.

Burgh-head affords an example of an early religious foundation within a fortified site, in which respect it resembles the numerous instances on record of early Irish monastic settlements within raths, and of which other Scotch examples are the old churches on the Mull of Deerness[4] and the old church of St. Ninian,[5] which stood on the insulated Craig of Dunottar. It seems probable that a similar early church and burying-ground had been placed on the rock of Dinacair, where sculptured stones of a like character with those of the bulls at Burgh-head have been found, and are figured in this volume (Plate XV.)

[1] Shaw's Hist. of Moray, p. 370. Elgin 1827.

[2] Historical Notices of "The Broch," or Burghead, in Moray, with an Account of its Antiquities, by James Macdonald, Esq., A.M., in Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, vol. iv. p. 321.

[3] Pinkerton's Enquiry, vol. i. advertisement, p. viii.

[4] The Mull of Deerness is a large peninsulated rock, the access to the top of which is very difficult. Of the ancient church my friend Mr. Petrie of Kirkwall writes to me that "the ruins measure 17¼ feet in length by 9½ feet in breadth, inside measurement. Only about 4 feet of the wall are seen above the debris, which fills up the interior to a great extent. The side walls converge as they rise in height, and I found that on the 4 feet of height the wall overlapped about 8½ inches. The outside is at that height still perpendicular. In the west gable there is an opening about 2 feet in height and width, which is no doubt the top of the doorway; and part of one side of a window, with the splay on the inside, is visible in the east gable."

[5] Memorials of Angus and Mearns, by Jervise, p. 443.

PLATE CIX.

I. AT TILLYTARMENT.

This stone was recently found in ploughing a field on the tongue of land formed by the junction of the Isla with the Devcron, and I owe my knowledge of it, with other favours of a like kind, to the kindness of Mr Jervise. This field (called Donald-Stone Haugh) is on the farm of North Tillytarment, in the parish of Ruthven, now annexed to that of Cairnie, and takes its name from a large stone in the Isla called Donald Stone. The stone was found with its carved face in the earth, and no remains were discovered about its site, which probably was not that on which it originally stood. The figures are incised in broad and distinct lines on the rough surface. About a mile westward, on the farm of Haddoch, are the remains of the stone circle of Arnhill, and about another mile south from that, an urn was recently discovered in a sand hillock, protected by a stone on one side and another over the mouth. In the urn were fragments of human bones and black dust, and, for about two feet around, the earth was mixed with bones and black coloured matter.

The country along the river-side was probably settled on in the earliest times.

II. AT GAINFORD.

A description of Gainford and its monuments will be found at page 64.

PLATE CX.

I. COLDINGHAM.

On the projecting rocky headland known as St. Abb's Head a monastic establishment was founded by the Saxon Princess Ebba before the middle of the seventh century. It was honoured by a visit from St. Cuthbert, and it gave shelter to Etheldreda, a daughter of one of the East Saxon kings, while it was also the resort of men like the monk Adamnan, a Scot who, as we learn from Venerable Bede, here passed a life of strictness and devotion. It seems probable that the inmates of this establishment, among other pursuits, were instructed in the art of weaving cloth, for while we learn from Bede that two pieces of linen were presented to St. Cuthbert by St. Ebba, abbess of Coldingham and St. Verca, abbess at South Tiningham, and were used for enveloping the body of the saint, we are told, by way of complaint against the inmates at Coldingham, that they gave themselves to the weaving of fine garments, with which they adorned their persons like brides.[1]

This monastery of St. Ebba was consumed by fire in A.D. 679, and a second monastery, which, according to Wendover, was presided over by another Ebba, was desolated by the Danes about a century afterwards.

It would seem that the remains of St. Ebba were buried in her own monastery at Coldingham, and when Alfred Westoue, a monk of Durham, began to collect the relics of Northumbrian saints in the early part of the eleventh century, he carried off at least a foot of St. Ebba, as that member of hers appears among the relics at Durham long after this time.

In the account preserved in the Breviary of Aberdeen of the translation of St. Ebba's remains from her monastery on the headland to the neighbouring priory, founded by king Edgar, we are told that her oratory or chapel having become almost obliterated, a new building was erected on the site of the earlier one in the year 1088. The chapel of St. Abb was again restored towards the end of the fourteenth century.[2]

There are still the remains of two chapels on the headland of St. Abb, which may probably be of the date of this last restoration.

The fragment of a cross here figured was recently discovered in the wall of a farm-house, in a field called God's Mount, which is part of Coldingham Hill, but its original site is unknown.

It partakes of the character of many of the fragments at Norham and Lindisfarne, and must be assigned to the time when Saxon influence prevailed in Lothian.

A sculptured fragment, apparently of early character, is described and rudely figured in Carr's History of Coldingham, p. 318 (Edin. 1836).

II. ST. OSWALD'S, DURHAM.

On the bank of the Wear, opposite to the stately shrine of St. Cuthbert, a church was founded in honour of Oswald, king and saint of Northumbria, by whom the see of Lindisfarne was founded. When this pious king fell

[1] Vita S. Cuthberti, by Bede, cap. xxxvii.; Raines' St. Cuthbert, p. 123; Beda Hist. Eccl. lib. iv. cap. 25.

[2] Breviar. Aberd. Part. Estiv. fol. lxxxvii.

in battle at Oswestry in A.D. 643, his head became the property of the monks of Lindisfarne, and was so much esteemed by them as a relic, that when in the year A.D. 857, through the Danish invasions, they were compelled to flee from their Holy Island, carrying with them St. Cuthbert's body, they placed the head of St. Oswald in the coffin beside the body of their great saint. In later times St. Cuthbert was always represented as carrying the head in his hand.[1]

It is said that a church was originally founded here by Bishop Carileph before the year 1156, but there are no architectural traces of it in any part of the present edifice.

The tower is of fifteenth century work, and in it the fragment here represented was found in the course of recent repairs, having been used as building material. It is now in the library of the dean and chapter at Durham. I learn from the Rev. William Greenwell of Durham that other like fragments of very minute interlacing work yet remain in the wall.

The character of those figured in this Plate is very much the same as that of some of the sculptured crosses at Billingham and Gainford. They appear to belong to an earlier period than the foundation of Durham as an ecclesiastical site, and may have been brought from another church. It is certain that the stone cross of Ethelwold, the bishop, which he caused to be carved and erected during his own lifetime, was removed from Lindisfarne by the monks in 857, and after sharing the wandering of St. Cuthbert's body, was erected in the cemetery at Durham, where it stood when Simeon the monk wrote his History of the Church of Durham, in the end of the 11th century.[2]

PLATE CXI.

AT BILLINGHAM.

We learn from Simeon, the monk of Durham, that Ecgred, or Egfrid, who became bishop of Lindisfarne in the year 830, among his other munificent gifts to St. Cuthbert, conveyed to the see his village of "Billingham in Heorternesse," along with those of Eleclif and Wigeclif, of all which "conditor fuerat."[3]

We have seen that the same prelate granted to the bishopric the church of Norham (which he erected), the vill of Jedburgh, and the vill of Gainford, with its church (which he built).

The tower of the church of Billingham is of late Saxon or early Norman work. In its walls are built many fragments of crosses, of which those here figured (Nos. 1 to 7) are the only specimens that could be drawn. No. 8 is built into the west gable of the church in the inside.

The first set of fragments have much in common with those at Gainford and Norham.

PLATES CXII. CXIII. CXIV.

FRAGMENTS AT GAINFORD.

We learn that Ecgred, bishop of Lindisfarne (830-845), who founded an ecclesiastical establishment at Jedburgh, and conferred it on the see of St. Cuthbert, was also the founder of a church at Gainford, on the banks of the Tees, which, with an extensive territory, he likewise gave to the church of the great saint of Northumbria.[4] Simeon of Durham, who records this fact, speaks of a monastery at Gainford at a still earlier date, and adds that Edwine, a chief of the Northumbrians, who renounced the world and became abbot of Gainford, was buried in the church of the monastery in 801.[5]

On this site Bishop Egred erected his church. No part of this early structure now remains. The present building probably dates from about the middle of the thirteenth century. The tower is placed at the west end of the nave; and it is believed that its original windows were removed in the sixteenth century, when portions of sculptured crosses were introduced into the walls as building materials, where some of them still remain. In the course of recent restorations of the church, the outer walls of the nave on the south side were taken down. These fragments, represented in the present drawings, were thus brought to light. They are obviously of an early date, and in many respects correspond in style with the crosses from other Saxon sites, such as Billingham, Norham, and Aycliffe, while their form has been the same as that of the cross at Rothbury.

The two fragments figured on Plate CXII. are in the vicar's garden, and are said to have been found in the foundation and old walls of the church during recent restorations.

[1] The vicinity to each other of churches dedicated to saints who have been connected in their lives, or through subsequent tradition, has been referred to in the cases of St. Columba and Adamnan and Saints Ninian and Martin (Notices of the Plates, p. 58). In Galloway, during the Saxon occupation, a church was dedicated to St. Cuthbert on the Solway Firth (now Kirkcudbright), and the adjoining parish of Kelton is dedicated to St. Oswald.

[2] Hist. de Dunelm. Eccles. ap. Twysden, cap. 12, p. 7.

[3] *Ibid.* col. 13, ap. Twysden.

[4] Hist. de S. Cuthberto, ap. Twysden, col. 70.

[5] De Gestis Regum Anglorum, ap. Twysden, col. 117.

Of the drawings on Plate CXIII. Nos. 3, 4, 6, 7, 9, and 12, represent fragments of mutilated crosses now in the garden of the vicar. No. 5 is the sculptured end of a limb of the cross, of which Nos. 6 and 7 are the two faces. No. 10 is built into the old north wall of the nave of the church, and No. 11 is built into the east wall of a modern porch to the nave.

Of the drawings on Plate CXIV., Nos. 13, 14, 16, 17, 18, and 20 represent fragments of crosses in the vicar's garden. No. 19 is very much worn, and is built into the north wall of the nave.

PLATES CXV. AND CXVI.

AT JARROW.—AT NEWCASTLE.

In the summer of 1865 the nave of the church of Jarrow was taken down. In the walls were found the fragments Nos. 1, 2, 3, on Plate CXV., and Nos. 1, 2, and 3, on Plate CXVI. The stone No. 4 of this Plate is built into the wall of the tower, and other similar fragments are built into the wall of the chancel on the north side. Many stone balusters resembling those at Monkwearmouth were found in the walls of the nave.

The fragment No. 1, Plate CXVI., is very curious, and represents a man armed with a round shield, in the act of attacking or repelling some animal which appears about to spring on him amid trees.

The similarity of the man's dress to that worn by some of the figures on the Scotch stones (as at St. Andrews and Drainie, vol. i., Plates LXI. and CXXX.) is remarkable.

The fragments Nos. 1, 2, and 3 of Plate CXV., and Nos. 2 and 3 of Plate CXVI., are in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle. The letters of the inscription on the last fragment correspond in character to the capitals of the Lindisfarne Gospels.

PLATE CXV.

AT MONKWEARMOUTH.

In the year 674 Ecgfrid, the Northumbrian prince, conferred on Benedict Biscop seventy hides of land on the north bank of the Wear, and near its mouth, on which he might erect a monastery; and in 676 Benedict went to France in quest of masons "qui lapideam sibi ecclesiam juxta Romanorum, quem semper amabat, morem facerent." These he brought with him, and within a year after his return the church was completed and dedicated in honour of St. Peter.

The monastery and church thus founded and beautified by the pious care of Benedict were ruined in the time of the Danish incursions, and for two centuries remained waste. Towards the end of the eleventh century the walls of the church were yet standing, and were again re-roofed under the circumstances already detailed in the notice of Jarrow (p. 44).

The church now standing on the site of this building is of various dates. No part of it, however, approaches to Saxon times except the tower at the west end.

The character of this tower has much in common with that of Jarrow, but the arches in the substructure appear to belong to an earlier time.

The figures engraved in this Plate (No. 3) occur on a string course in the west wall of the tower.

The fragment (No. 1) is built into the south inside wall of the church.

PLATE CXVII.

FRAGMENTS AT ALNWICK CASTLE.

The fragments here represented were discovered in the year 1789, near to the ruined church at Alnmouth, a site of early Christian settlement, and are now placed in the museum of antiquities at Alnwick Castle. They are portions of a cross which had been sculptured on its faces and edges with elaborate ornament and inscriptions.

One of the latter commemorates the sculptor of the stone, MYREDEH ME WO—that is, *Myredch me wrought*. Another inscription on the edge reads AEDVLFES TH.

Of these inscriptions Mr. Haigh writes:—"Most of the letters on these fragments agree in their forms with those of the Latin inscriptions at Ruthwell, but the G more resembles those on the cross at Hackness, which is of the eighth century, and I think the beginning of the century is the date of these fragments. At this period we have an Eadulf figuring for a short time in history, and although we know but little about him, that little tells us that his reign and life ended in the neighbourhood of Alnmouth, where this cross was found. He usurped the crown on the death of Aldfrid, A.D. 705, and at the head of his partisans besieged Berehtfrid, the guardian of the

young Osred, in the fortress of Bamborough, but was repulsed, put to flight, and slain. Bamborough is not many miles to the north of Alnmouth, and still nearer to it, on the south-west, is a place which may possibly bear his name, and mark the direction of his flight—Edlingham (formerly Eadulfingham). If the probability be admitted that the cross at Alnmouth marked the grave of this Eadulf, its date must be referred to the year 705."[1]

Elsewhere[2] Mr. Haigh remarks of the fragments of the cross at Alnwick, that "they deserve special notice here, because they and the Ruthwell Cross[3] mutually illustrate each other. The position of the Crucifixion on the cross at Ruthwell shows what was probably the relation of the fragments at Alnwick to the cross of which they formed a part; and the carving on the latter being a better representation than that on the former, shows what was its general design—viz. our Saviour extended on the cross (not depending), the sun and moon above, below apparently the two thieves, and lower still two executioners. Very similar in design to these is the Crucifixion represented on one of the crosses at Ayecliffe,[4] where we have the two executioners only, without the thieves."

The mixture of runes and Roman characters in the inscription points to the early date of the monument.

PLATE CXVIII.

JEDBURGH.

Till the beginning of the eleventh century the country stretching from the Tweed towards Edinburgh, and westward beyond Abercorn, formed part of the Saxon principality of Northumbria. On the foundation of the see of Lindisfarne, A.D. 635, King Oswald bestowed on it large territories on both sides of the Tweed. That on the north of the river comprehended the land between the Eder and the Leder, and all the land belonging to the monastery of St. Balther at Tiningham from the Lammermoors to Eskmouth. The see had also considerable possessions on the Bowmont Water, conferred by the grant of King Oswy.[5] During the greater part of the Saxon occupation there were probably no parochial divisions in this district, the spiritual necessities of the people being supplied by ministrations from the monasteries within its limits. We gather from the Life of St. Cuthbert by Venerable Bede that when the saint was prior of Melrose, he used to spend a week, and sometimes even a month, in preaching to the people in the villages among the hills. It is probable that the population was then greater on the banks of the streams among the Cheviots than in the low country. At the time of Oswy's grant, before A.D. 670, there were many settlements on the Bowmont, which are named in the history of the see of St. Cuthbert, and some of which it is easy to recognise, as Clifton and Minethrum or Mindrum.

It would seem that the low country was more sparsely peopled, and even unappropriated. It was a century after the acquisition of Lothian by the Scottish crown when King Edgar granted to Thor the Long a tract of land on the Eden, still "desert," which Thor, by his own exertions, reduced into cultivation and settled. Having there built a church in honour of St. Cuthbert, the surrounding lands came to be the parish of Edenham, now Ednam.

About 250 years earlier Ecgred was bishop of Lindisfarne (830-845). He was a man of noble birth and great possessions. Among other gifts which he conferred on his see was that of the church of Norham, which he built.[6] With the church and town of Norham he also conveyed two other vills which he had settled,[7] both called by the name of Geddwearde, with their pertinents.[8]

It is not here said that Ecgred built a church at Jedburgh, but there is little reason to doubt that he did so; for, besides that he was a great founder of churches,[9] we learn that in 1093 there was a church at Jedburgh.[10]

The grants also of large territories by the king would perhaps lead us to believe that they were still folk-land, or land unappropriated to the use of private individuals, although they might be partially occupied as pasture-lands by the flocks of those who had settlements in the neighbouring districts, as has been suggested by Mr. Hodgson Hinde (Arch. Journal, xiv. p. 310). The munificent Ecgred gave to St. Cuthbert, besides the two Jedworths, a territory described as Aduna usque ad Tefegedmuthe (where the Jed flows into the Teviot), et inde ad Wiltuna (Wilton, near Hawick), et inde ultra montem versus austrum.[11]

[1] Archæologia Eliana, vol. i. p. 186. A description of the fragments, with a drawing, will be found in Tate's History of Alnwick, p. 40. Alnwick 1865.

[2] *Idem*, p. 173. [3] See Plates XIX and XX.

[4] See Plate LXXXIX.

[5] Hist. de Sancto Cuthberto, col. 67, 69, ap. Twysden.

[6] Raines' North Durham, App. p. 38.

[7] "Quas ipse condiderat." Hist de Dunelm. Eccl. lib. ii. cap 5. (See Du Cange, voce *condita*.)

[8] Gedwearde, et altera Gedwearde, et quicquid ad eas pertinent (Hist. de S. Cuthberto, ap. Twysden, col. 69).

[9] Simeon Dunelm. de gestis Regum Anglorum, col. 139, ap. Twysden.

[10] The authority of the bishop in this northern part of his diocese gradually declined after the removal of the episcopal seat, in 995, from Holy Island to Durham; yet Jedworth was still subject to the church of St. Cuthbert in 1093, for it is related that Eadulf, one of the assassins of the Bishop Walcher, having been himself murdered by a woman, and buried in the church of Geddewerde, his body was afterwards cast out from thence as execrable, by Turgot, the prior and archdeacon of Durham, and history informs us that Turgot was appointed to the archdeaconry in 1093 (Morton's Monastic Annals of Teviotdale, p. 2; Simeon, Hist. Eccles. Dunelm. lib. iv. cap. 8; Roger de Hoveden, in Monumenta Hist. Britann. p. 688, *note*).

[11] Hist. de S. Cuthberto, col. 69, ap. Twysden.

We have seen that at the church of Norham, which Ecgred built, there were many crosses of Anglo-Saxon character. The cross at Jedburgh here figured seems undoubtedly to be of the same early period, and must be classed with similar remains found at Abercorn, Norham, Coldingham, Lindisfarne, Jarrow, and Hexham—all sites of Saxon foundation.

On the site of the church of Ecgred, King David I. erected a monastery before the middle of the 12th century, in which he placed a body of canons regular.

The stone figured on this plate was recently brought to my notice by my friend the Rev. William Greenwell of Durham. It was built into the south aisle of the chancel as the lintel of an opening, but at my request it was removed from the wall by the kind permission of the Marquis of Lothian, for the purpose of obtaining a correct drawing of it, and it is now placed in the north transept. Portions of other two crosses are built into the capehouse on the tower, but, judging from the exposed portions, they seem to be of less elaborate work than the present example. They are probably, however, of the same period.

PLATE CXIX.

AT LOCHGILPHEAD.

In the Crinan district of Argyllshire, including the parishes of Kilmartin and Kilmichael, there are many vestiges of early occupation, such as stone forts, groups of standing-stones, cairns of great size, and circles of earth.

On some of these standing-stones, as well as on rocks in the neighbourhood, groups of circles are cut resembling those on the stone at High Auchinlary in Galloway (vol. i. Plate CXXIII.), along with small cups surrounded by circles.

This plate represents one of these groups, and two of the sculptured stones forming part of it.

Similar figures have been found on standing-stones and rocks in England and Ireland. They occur in great numbers on rocks near Wooler in Northumberland, and have been admirably described by Mr Tate in "The Ancient British Sculptured Rocks of Northumberland and the Eastern Borders."

Some of the Scotch examples have already been communicated to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland by Professor Sir James Simpson, and he is now engaged on a memoir which will fully illustrate the whole of the Scotch sculptures of this class.

PLATE CXX.

I. AT FRIARS CARSE.

At this place, which is in the parish of Dunscore, Dumfriesshire, are several mutilated fragments of pillars with dressed pedestals. Of these, the monument here represented is said to have been removed from a neighbouring site by Mr James Riddell of Glenriddell, who was a collector of relics, towards the end of the last century.

On the stem of a rude cross, which appears to have been surmounted by a circular disc, a shears is sculptured, and on the pedestal is cut on one face a cross, and beneath it in modern letters the word "Lauchmoor." On the top of the pedestal an inscription is cut, the first part of which seems to read † ORA PRO ANIMA. . . .

The cutting of the letters has probably been sharpened, and doubts have consequently been entertained as to the age and authenticity of the inscription. It is probably genuine, but the character of the letters is unusual.

II. KIRKMAIDEN.

This fragment is placed in the graveyard of the ruined church of Kirkmaiden, in the parish of Glasserton, already described (page 51).

PLATE CXXI.

I. AT GLENCAIRN, DUMFRIESSHIRE.

This fragment is said to have been found in the old church of the parish of Glencairn, and is now in the possession of Dr. T. B. Grierson of Thornhill, but nothing certain is known of its original site.

II. AT MANSFIELD, AYRSHIRE.

The fragment of a cross here figured was found some years ago in a moss near the house of Mansfield, in the parish of New Cumnock, in the south-east of Ayrshire. Of its original site and previous history nothing is known.

The drawing has been made from rubbings kindly furnished to me by Dr. Grierson of Thornhill. He reports that the stone is very much defaced, and that the figures have been partially restored in the drawing.

PLATE CXXII.

I. AND II. AT KIRKINNER, WIGTONSHIRE.

THE parish of Kirkinner was dedicated to St. Kenneir, virgin and martyr, who in the legends of the Scottish church was represented as one of the companions of St. Ursula. According to the Breviary of Aberdeen, St. Ursula, who flourished about the middle of the fifth century, was moved by some divine suggestion to leave her country of Britain and to pay a visit to Rome. At the same time she sent messengers "in Orchadam minorem ad urbem dictam Orchadam" to request her kinswoman St. Kenneir to accompany her, which she agreed to do. On their journey homewards, St. Ursula, with all her companions except St. Kenneir, suffered martyrdom at Cologne, and she escaped only to suffer a violent death some time afterwards.[1]

The parish of Kirkinner was granted to the prior and canons of Whithorn by Edward Bruce, the lord of Galloway. In Bagimont's Roll, as it stood in the reign of James V., Kirkinner was taxed £26 : 13 : 4, being a teuth of the estimated value, which was the highest of any parochial benefice in Wigtonshire.[2]

The parish of Longcastle was annexed to Kirkinner about the middle of the seventeenth century. Its church stood on the banks of the loch of Dowalton, in which a group of artificial stockaded islands was found in 1863, and a rath occupies the crest of a rising ground on the south-east side of the loch.

The fragments of the two crosses figured on this plate are used as headstones in the churchyard of Kirkinner. They are of a type peculiar to Whithorn and the neighbouring parishes of Kirkmaiden, Wigton,[3] and Kirkinner. In the first of the two the circular disc is perforated by the holes which define the cross.

III. AT WHITHORN.

THIS fragment is the upper part of a cross of the same character as that already figured (Plate XCVII.), and referred to in Notices of the Plates, p. 53. I there omitted to state that in the seventeenth century there was still to be seen at Whithorn a bell with an inscription in Saxon letters in honour of St. Martin,[4] to whom St. Ninian dedicated his church of stone in the beginning of the fifth century.

IV. AT KILBRIDE, ARRAN.

THIS primitive cross is in the old churchyard of Kilbride, a parish which occupies the east side of the isle of Arran. It resembles in character some of the crosses in the neighbouring islands of Cumbrae (Plate LXXIV.) and Rothesay (St. Blanes, Plate LXXIII.), and the whole of these monuments are of the same type as the Cornish crosses figured by Mr. Blight (Ancient Crosses of Cornwall).

In this parish the vestiges of early settlement are numerous, in the shape of pillars (both single and in circles), cairns, and cists.

PLATE CXXIII.

I. AT LESLIE, ABERDEENSHIRE.

THIS stone is said to have been found about twenty-five years ago, in trenching a piece of ground on the farm of Newbigging, near other large stones which were buried in the ground. The sculptured stone was used in building a dyke, and part of it was then broken off. It was recently taken out of the dyke, when the sculptures attracted attention, and were brought under my notice by Captain Courtney, R.E., who is now engaged in the ordnance survey of Aberdeenshire.

The figure of the dog among the symbols is peculiar, for although dogs appear on many of the pictures on the cross-slabs, they are generally represented as in the chase.

Newbigging is part of the barony of Leslie, which towards the end of the twelfth century was conferred by Earl David, brother of King William the Lion, on Malcolm the son of Bartholf, from whom the family of Leslie is descended.

The stone is of the kind of granite found in the neighbouring hill of Bennachie.

[1] See *De S. Cunera Virg. Mart. Rhenis apud Belgas in Dioec. Ultrajectina*, in "Bollandi Acta SS." Junii, tom ii. p. 557. The acts of this saint have been appropriated to St. Kenneir, whose festival in the Scottish Calendar was on 29th October (Breviar. Aberd. Part. Estiv. fol. cxxxiii.)

[2] Caledonia, vol. iii. pp. 425-6.

[3] Sculptured Stones of Scotland, vol. i. Plate CXXII.

[4] Symson's Description of Galloway, p. 46. Edin. 1823.

II. AT MONIFIETH.

This stone has been recently discovered near to the church of Monifieth, of which an account has already been given (vol. i. Notices of the Plates, p. 29).

PLATE CXXIV.

I. AT DUNECHT.

The stone here figured was recently observed in a dyke on the farm of Upper Mains of Echt, on the south slope of the hill of Dunecht. According to the farmer's account, it had been removed in the course of reclaiming the moor, about thirty years ago, from a spot farther up the hill.

On the top of this hill is "the Barmekyn," a remarkable British strength formed of five concentric walls. It is described by Mr James Skene of Rubislaw,[1] who adds: "On the skirts of the Barmekyne Hill itself there are three Druidical circles still existing, two on the south side and one on the north, which last has the misfortune to encumber a cultivated field, a situation it has little chance of enjoying long; while that on the south side of the hill, being the largest and most entire, is so successfully buried under a clump of trees as to have rendered any examination of it perfectly unsatisfactory. The latter structure is described as a circular entrenchment formed by the earth dug out of the ditch, and sixty feet in diameter, surrounded by six great stones placed at irregular distances, the remnants most likely of an entire circle. In the centre is a cairn of loose stones, supporting five large ones, which have all the appearance of sepulchral monuments,—a fact which I had not then the means of ascertaining by opening the cairn."

I was desirous of examining the site of these stone circles, in connection with that of the stone here represented, but a personal search which I made, and a more thorough one made by orders of Lord Lindsay, among the wooded slopes, were unsuccessful.

The monument is of a primitive character, and we may class it with the early crosses within circles which are found generally on rude pillars in England, Wales, and Cornwall. Its vicinity to the British fort is also a remarkable circumstance.

II. THE SKEITH STONE, FIFESHIRE.

This stone stands on a rising ground to the west of the village of Kilrenny. The cross on it resembles that on the monument at Bressay in Shetland (vol. i. Pl. XCV.) Nothing is known of the history of the stone, nor has any tradition connected with it been preserved. One of the divisions of the parish of Kilrenny was known as "the skaith quarter."[2]

PLATE CXXV.

I. AT KILDRUMMIE CASTLE, ABERDEENSHIRE.

The cross here figured stands on the north side of the old castle of Kildrummie, and close to its walls.

Nothing is known of its history, but it is introduced as a specimen of a numerous class of crosses of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries which are found in many parts of Scotland.

The venerable pile, under whose shadow the cross is placed, is associated with many stirring events in the time of King Robert Bruce, which are minutely described in Barbour's picturesque poem of "The Bruce."

"Kildrummie may be pronounced the only castle in Scotland of which a chapel forms a conspicuous portion, and its three simple and solemn windows form from almost every point a marked feature of the ruins."[3]

Kildrummie, as the messuage of the earldom of the Garioch, belonged to Earl David, the brother of King William the Lion. With the daughter of Earl David it went to the family of Bruce, and with the sister of King Robert Bruce it fell to the family of Marr. After this it became the capital of Marr as well as Garioch.

II. AT DUNDEE.

The ancient church of the blessed Virgin at Dundee, which is said to have been founded by David, Earl of Huntingdon and the Garioch, the brother of William the Lion, was consumed by fire in the year 1841. Previous to its destruction the building was divided into four churches, the one formed from the chancel of the old building being styled the East Church. In excavating the foundation for the new East Church in 1842, a number of sculptured cross slabs were found, one of which bore a pair of woolcomber's shears. Among them was the cross here figured.

[1] Arch. Scot. vol. ii. p. 327.

[2] The East Neuk of Fife, by Wood, p. 10 (Edin. 1862).

[3] The Antiquities of Scotland, by Billings, vol. iii.—"Kildrummie Castle."

PLATES CXXVI. AND CXXVII.

AT ST. VIGEANS, FORFARSHIRE.

THE beautiful cross-slab here represented is one of the many monuments in the churchyard of St. Vigeans, a site whose history has been already sketched (Notices of the Plates, p. 7). A drawing of it was given in the former volume of the Sculptured Stones of Scotland, which shows one edge with the inscription in a panel below the ornamental scroll-work. It is here repeated, and the Plate exhibits the ornaments on the other edge, formed of a running pattern of fruit and leaves.

I have elsewhere referred to the frequent occurrence on Saxon monuments of a similar pattern of fruit and foliage, with birds in the branches, and to the single example of its appearance on one of the sculptured stones of Scotland (Appendix to the Preface, p. lxxiv.) The sculptured edge of the slab at St. Vigeans exhibits the stiff and awkward attempt to represent leaves and fruit by an artist who revelled in grotesque forms and intricate and graceful knot-work.

PLATE CXXVIII.

ST. VIGEANS INSCRIPTION.

THE drawing on this Plate is a full-size copy of the inscription on the cross at St. Vigeans, described in the preceding notice. If the style of art of the ornamental sculpture of this monument be of importance from its conformity with the illuminations of Celtic manuscripts of ascertained date, so also is the character of the inscription, which appears to be the same as the *writing* of the same manuscripts.

The late Mr. Patrick Chalmers of Aldbar, who was the first to direct intelligent attention to the sculptured stone monuments of Angus, communicated a cast of the St. Vigeans inscription to Mr. Westwood, one of the most experienced English palæographers, in the year 1847.

From it, Mr. Westwood was led to read the inscription as follows :—

drosten : ·
ireuoret
ett For
cus

He remarked that the inscription is "entirely in that debased form of the Roman uncial and minuscule characters which has been termed Anglo-Saxon, but which is too exclusive a name for it, as it was not the creation of the Anglo-Saxons, but is used in Irish and British, as well as in *subsequent* Anglo-Saxon monuments; it might more appropriately be termed Hiberno-Britannic." "It will be observed that at the end of the first line there are three dots placed in a triangle, which in early inscriptions and manuscripts written in these islands indicated a full stop,[1] and hence we arrive at the certain conclusion that this inscription consists of two separate divisions."[2]

Mr. Chalmers, at the same time, sent rubbings of the inscription to Dr. Petrie, the author of the celebrated essay on the Origin and Uses of the Round Towers of Ireland, who was peculiarly familiar with the palæography of the early stone monuments and manuscripts of Ireland. This accomplished scholar described the letters of the inscription as being "wholly of that class usually called Irish, though in reality only the corrupt form of the Roman alphabet general in Europe during the fifth and some succeeding centuries," and he concluded that the first line plainly gave the name "Drosten," without giving any opinion on the subsequent lines.[3]

The opinion of the Rev. Dr. J. H. Todd of Trinity College, Dublin, expressed in a letter to Dr. Daniel Wilson in 1852, is to the same effect :—"I have not met any competent Irish antiquary who doubts for a moment that the first word is *Drosten*, but the rest of the inscription I confess baffles us."[4]

Assuming that this conclusion is correct, there can be little violence in concluding that Drosten is the person commemorated by this monument.

DRUST is the name of many of the Pictish kings, and DROSTAN is the form of the name in some of the Irish Annals. Thus, in the Annals of Ulster, we read—"Tolarg, the son of Drostan, burned by his brother Nectan the king." Again, in the same Annals, under the year 729, it is recorded—"The battle of Monitcarno, near the Marsh of Loegdea, between the army of Nechtan, and the army of Angus, and the officers of Nechtan, were slain—viz.

[1] Palæogr. Sacra Pict. Plates of the Gospels of MacDurnan and Book of Kells. N. Tr. de Diplom. iii. 471.

[2] Arch. Journal, vol. ix. pp. 287, 288.

[3] Proceedings R. I. Academy, iii. p. 453.

[4] Prehistoric Annals of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 243.

Bisceot the son of Moneit, and his son, and Finguine the son of Drostan, and Feret the son of Finguine, and many others."[1]

Under the same year the following entry occurs in the Annals of Tighernach :—"The battle of Drumderg Blathmig, between the Piccardach, between Drust and Angus, king of the Piccardach, and Drust was slain on the twelfth day of the month of August."[2]

The site of this battle has not been determined, but it has been suggested by Professor Sir James Simpson that it probably was at Kin Blethmont, in the neighbourhood of St. Vigeans. This place is on a ridge, of which the colour is a dark red, in the neighbourhood of the promontory still known as "The Red Head," from the colour of the rock of which it is formed. The words Drumderg Blathmig, or the "red ridge Blathmig," would certainly describe the present Kin-Blethmont, and if this reading should be adopted, the probability that Drust, who fell in the battle, was buried at St. Vigeans—an early site of religious importance—is great, and in that case we may almost be justified in recognising the sculptured cross as his monument.

In any event, it must be regarded as a work of the period, and as the monument of some one of the Pictish "Drusts" or "Drostans" or "Drostains" who figure in the lists of the Pictish kings and in the Irish Annals.

The correct reading of the inscription is as follows :—

drosten : ·
ipe uoret
elt for
cus.[3]

For the following memorandum on the subject of this inscription I am indebted to the kindness of Professor Sir J. Y. Simpson, Bart.—

"In 1863, in a communication made to the Royal Society of Edinburgh, but not yet published, Sir J. Y. Simpson suggested the following, among other points, relative to the St. Vigeans inscription :—1. The inscription is, in all probability, in the Pictish tongue, as it contains three well-known Pictish proper names—Drost,[4] Voret, and Forcus (or Fergus).[5] 2. The special 'Drost' whom this elaborately-sculptured stone commemorates was evidently a person of high note or rank, and most likely that Drost, king of the Picts—(Drost VII. according to Pinkerton's enumeration)—who fell in the battle of Blathmig, only two or three miles distant, in A.D. 729. 3. In the Pictish annals ten king Drosts are mentioned, and the father of all of them except—unfortunately for better identification—Drost VII. who was killed at Blathmig, is given in the Pictish Chronicle and by Tighernach. 4. But sometimes these records mention a king under a double name,[6] and three of the six lists of Pictish kings collated by Pinkerton give the name of the father of the Pictish king at the date of Drost VII. as Voret or Forath, and the son as Garnath.[7] 5. The chief difficulties connected with the inscription consist in the interpretation, not of the proper names, but of the two short words at the beginning of the second and third lines—viz. "ipe" and "elt."[8] 6. The expression "Drosten ipe Voret" is merely, in all likelihood, the common memorial formula—Drost, *son* of Voret. 7. For the Gaelic, Cymric, and Cornish name for son—viz. Mac, Map, or Mab—has in one of these Celtic dialects—the Welsh—dropped the initial M, and become "ap;" and if this has happened in one Celtic tongue, it might occur also in another—the Pictish—and pass into "ipe" in the latter, as it has done into "ap" in the former. 8. But the formula is not improbably in the possessive case—as most of the many olden post-Roman monumental inscriptions of Wales, etc., usually are—and signifies "[stone or cross of] Drost, son of Voret"—the terminal "an," "en," and "on," as in Drosten, constituting an old occasional form of the Celtic genitive. If so, the "ipe" of the inscription would correspond to the "mhic" (or, as it is pronounced, "vich"), "meic," or "mic,"—the genitive of the Scottish and Irish Gaelic for Mac—(where the "a" of the nominative is softened into "i")—and which, from the elision or quiescence of the initial consonant, approaches in pronunciation in many districts to "ic";[9] and hence, phonetically in spelling, to the form on the St. Vigeans stone "ipe"—the *c* and *p* in "ic" and "ipe" being, as is well known, letters readily interchangeable, as we see indeed in the Gaelic and Welsh nominatives for son—

[1] Coll. de Rebus Albanicis, p. 237.

[2] *Idem*, p. 243.

[3] See on the reading of this inscription Mr. Skene's paper in the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, vol. i. p. 82, and Proceedings R. I. Academy, iii. p. 445.

[4] The correct form of the nominative is Drust. In such nouns the "u" is occasionally changed to "o" in the formation of the genitive and other cases.

[5] For Forcus being the equivalent of Fergus, see Dr. Reeves' edition of Adamnan's Life of St. Columba, p. 33.

[6] Thus Fordun speaks of Drust I. as sometimes styled Nectan—"Drust qui alias vocabatur Nectan" (Pinkerton's Enquiry, vol. i. p. 300). In the same way, Garnath V. is, in four of the lists of Pictish kings, called Nectan (*Idem*, p. 299).

[7] Vol. i. Table I. p. 522.

[8] Mr. Westwood is now satisfied that the words should be "ipe" and "elt," and not "ire" and "ett," as he at first read them.

[9] In the Ulster Annals for A.D. 560, 568, 574, 580, etc., the genitive of Mac is spelt "ic," as "Mors Galbraiu ic Domangairt," etc. In an old Gaelic manuscript, written about the year 1450, and containing the genealogies of the Highland clans, the genitive of Mac is spelt "ic" in two or three hundred instances, and seems to be occasionally used interchangeably for the nominative Mac. (See this document printed in the Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis, etc., vol. i. pp. 50 and 357.)

viz. "Mac" and "Map."[1] 9. The word "elt"[2] is probably derived from the old Celtic word for offspring or family "al" (in genitive "ail" or "ael") :—one of the modifications of it for "stock of a family," in Welsh, being, according to Owen Pughe, "helyth," and if the initial and terminal aspirates in this noun are dropped, the resultant word, "elyt" approximates very nearly to the "elt" of the St. Vigeans inscription. 10. The whole inscription should probably therefore be read as "DRUST, SON OF VORET, OF THE FAMILY (OR RACE) OF FERGUS." 11. Possibly, however, the "elt" of the inscription may specially indicate Drost as the foster or adopted son of Forcus, or the reverse, for the addition of "t" to the radical term "al," seems sometimes to signify in different Gaelic dialects the relationship in question—as in "alt," a nursing (*nutricatus*) ; "altrum," to nnrse ; "altra," a foster-father ; "dalta," a foster-child, etc. 12. The possibility of referring this Pictish inscription so nearly to a precise date, like A.D. 729, is archæologically of importance as affording an approximative era for the erection of the more elaborate types of the sculptured stones of Scotland—such as that of St. Vigeans. 13. That this is the correcter a of the inscription is further corroborated by the circumstance that the debased Roman minuscule letters composing it do, in some of their peculiarities—as in the shortness of the limb of the *d* in Drosten, the length and form of the *f* in Forcus, etc.—coincide very exactly with similar peculiarities observable in a manuscript at Durham, which Professor Westwood of Oxford (our greatest living authority in such a question), considers as an autograph of the Venerable Bede's ; and the annals of Tighernach record the death of Drosten at Blathmig, and the conclusion of Bede's Ecclesiastical History, as events which happened under the same year—viz. A.D. 729. 14. The St. Vigeans inscription is interesting philologically, as containing the only sentence which is known to have been left us in the Pictish language."

PLATE CXXIX.

EDDERTON, ROSS-SHIRE.

THIS stone is placed in the churchyard of the parish of Edderton, in Ross-shire. A drawing of it appears in the first volume of "The Sculptured Stones of Scotland," Pl. XXXI. ; and in the relative description (Notices of the Plates, p. 11) it is stated that a compartment with sculptures on it was probably hid under ground. My friend Mr. Joass, the minister of the parish, in consequence of this notice, lately got the soil removed from the base of the pillar, and thus brought to light the figures in question. They represent two mounted horsemen, armed with spears, short swords, and round shields. In these respects, as well as in the peculiar contour both of the men and horses, and in the saddle-cloths of the latter, they correspond with the like figures in the pictorial representations on the crosses of Forfarshire. The foremost horseman wears the short wide breeches which appear in an ornamented shape on the fragment of Strathmartine (Pl. CI. No. 1), and perhaps in the arch at Forteviot (Pl. CIII.) On his shoulder is a figure resembling the flower which occurs as a symbol at Dunnichen (vol. i. Pl. XCII.) and elsewhere. I am indebted to Mr. Joass for drawings and rubbings of this stone, as well as that at Balblair.

PLATE CXXX.

AT BALBLAIR, INVERNESS-SHIRE.

THIS stone now stands close to the school of the parish of Kilmorack, to which place it was removed about forty years ago from a spot about 100 yards farther west.

The ground from which it was thus removed was brought into cultivation at that time. If any deposits were there found they have been lost sight of, and neither by history nor tradition do we learn anything to connect the locality with the monument.

Mr. Joass, the parish clergyman of Edderton, who brought the stone under my notice, reports, however, that in the same neighbourhood there still occur vestiges of early settlement, in the shape of hut-circles and a fortified neck of land.

[1] As bearing on what is stated by Sir James Simpson, I may note that the continued use of *ap* in Scotland can be traced in the thirteenth century. Thus, in the year 1296, it is recorded that Macrath ap Molegan, along with Galmyhel mac Eth, in the county of Dumfries, swore allegiance to King Edward I., where the *ap-* and *mac* seem to be used in the same sense.

Several families in Galloway were, till comparatively late times, designated with the prefix *a*, which seems to be another form of *ap*. Thus, the Hannays were Ahannays, the Sloans were Aslowanes or Asloanes. (The Ragman Rolls, p. 124 Edin. 1834. Printed for the Bannatyne Club.)

Perhaps we may recognise the kindred *map* in the following entry in the Pipe Rolls of 2 Hen. II. anno 1156, for the counties of Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Durham, published by the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle (p. 2) :—"Gospatricius filius Mapbennoc debet l. m. Arg. pro terra de Carlatune."—J. S.

[2] Mr. Skene at one time read this word as *ett* ; he is now satisfied that the correct reading is *elt*. (Prehistoric Annals of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 243.)

[3] The Gaelic equivalent for "family" in the Book of Lismore (about A.D. 1520), is "tylych" or "telych" (see p. 2).

AT KINELLAR, NOW AT BANCHORY HOUSE, ABERDEENSHIRE.

This stone came into Mr. Thomson's possession in the early part of the present century. Its history before that time will appear from the following note furnished by Mr. Thomson :—"This stone 'bird' lay from time immemorial in the churchyard of Kinellar, and the constant tradition in the parish was, that it was somehow or other connected with the sculptured stone in the churchyard (vol. i. Pl. X.) From the shape of the latter, the 'bird' could never have been laid upon it; latterly it lay upon the top of the churchyard wall close beside it. The connection of the two monuments is exclusively traditional. A bird occurs among the 'symbols' on various sculptured stones, as at Tyrie, vol. i. Pl. XIII.; Mortlach, Pl. XIV.; and Birnie, Pl. XVII."

I did not include a drawing of this stone in the first volume of "The Sculptured Stones," in the belief that it was only a natural boulder. Mr. Thomson, however, is of opinion that the stone has been fashioned by art, and therefore, and on account of its supposed connection with the monument at Kinellar, it is now figured.

As the sculptured stone was dug out of the foundations of the old church in 1801, the tradition of a connection between it and the "bird" must either have been very recent, when the latter was removed, or it must have arisen at a period when the sculptured pillar was in its original position as a "standing stone."

AT DURISDEER.

This fragment of a cross was found in the wall of the old parish church of Durisdeer, in Nithsdale.

It partakes of the character of ornament on some of the English crosses, as at Bewcastle, Monks' Stone, and Jarrow, and on the border of that at Hilton of Cadboll, in Ross-shire (vol. i. Pl. XXV.)

PLATE CXXXI.

AT MEIGLE.

This monument is placed in the churchyard of Meigle, where so many crosses of early date have been found (Sculptured Stones of Scotland, vol. i., Notices of the Plates, p. 22; vol. ii., Notices of the Plates, p. 2). Stones of the same character are found at Abercorn, Inchcolm, and Govan (Sculp. Stones of Scotland, vol. i., Notices of the Plates, p. 43). In the churchyard on the Mull of Deerness, in Orkney, a similar slab was to be seen in the end of last century, which is thus described in Low's "Tour through Orkney and Shetland in 1774 :"[1]—"In the churchyard observed a coffin-shaped stone, without any inscription—the shape a triangular prism, one side plain, the other cut into such figures as the heralds call vairy. Tradition is silent to whom it belonged; but there is another at Rendall, in an uncultivated spot of ground about twenty miles from Deerness, of the very same dimensions, and carved with the same figures. It appears to be about 6 feet long."

Monuments of the same class have been found at Repton in Derbyshire, Bedale in Yorkshire,[2] and at Hexham in Northumberland (Sculp. Stones of Scotland, vol. ii. Pl. XCV.)

[PLATE LXVI.]

The beautiful slab at Kirkapol, given on this Plate, is one of those referred to in the previous notice of Kirkapol (p. 29). The inscription on it reads :—FINGONIVS : PRIOR : DE Y : ME : DEDID : PHILIPPO : IOANNIS : ET : SVIS : FILIIS : ANNO DOMINI M° CCCC° XCII°—"This prior was of the clan Mac Finngnine, now called Mackinnon."[3]

The highly-ornamented pedestal of a cross erected to the abbot himself is also here represented.

The curious cross at Soroby, represented on Plate LIII., bears in fine relief the figure of death, as about to aim a blow at a female ecclesiastic beside him. Above this is the inscription HEC EST CRVX MICHAELIS ARCHANGELI DEI. SOROR ANNA ABBATISSA DE. Y., surmounted by a sculptured panel of St. Michael and the Dragon.

Dr. Reeves conjectures that this stone may have been a memorial or votive cross erected during the incumbency of Anna, but afterwards carried away to Tiree, and that she was the Prioress Anna whose tombstone is figured on Plate LXI.[4] It appears that in some instances memorial crosses for themselves were erected by ecclesiastics during their own lives (Appendix to the Preface, p. xlv.)

A notice of Kilchoman, where the fragment on the upper part of this Plate is, has already been given (p. 23).

[1] MS. in the possession of David Laing, Esq.

[2] Manual of Sepulchral Slabs and Crosses, by Cutts, pl. xxxiii.

[3] The Island of Tiree, by Dr. Reeves, in the Ulster Journal of Archæology, vol. ii. p. 241.

[4] *Idem*, p. 239.

NOTICES OF PLATES IN THE "ILLUSTRATIONS."

PLATES V. VI. VII. VIII.

FROM THE BOOK OF DEIR.

THE Book of Deir is a small volume, the principal contents of which are the Gospel of St. John and portions of the other Gospels, in the Latin Vulgate, recently discovered by Mr. Bradshaw of King's College, in the Public Library at Cambridge.

It contains a colophon, said to be in the same handwriting as the Gospels, "which, in point of language, is identical with the oldest Irish glosses in Zeuss' Grammatica Celtica." Mr. Stokes, the accomplished Celtic scholar who made this remark, believes the writing of this part of the volume to be as old as the ninth century.[1]

The illuminations and initial letters are the work of the scribe by whom the text was written. There can be no doubt that the entries of gifts to the monastery of Deir, which occur at the beginning and on the margins of several pages of the volume, were written by a Scottish Gael in his native dialect shortly after the middle of the twelfth century, and there seems every probability that the volume formed part of the possessions of the early Celtic monastery planted at Deer by Columcille and Drostan, who came thither from Hy towards the end of the sixth century.

The illuminations of a volume with these associations are of a very high interest, and the examples here given will show that the scribe has adopted many of the ornamental patterns which are conspicuous on the sculptured stones of Scotland.

The marginal notes on the pages (Plate V.) record in Celtic the following grants:—"Donchad, son of Mac Bead, son of Heded, gave Achad Madchor to Christ, and to Drostan, and to Columcille, in freedom for ever. In witness thereof, Malechi, and Comgell, and Gille-Crist, son of Fingune, in testimony, and Malcoluim Mac Molini."

"Cornac Mac Cennedig gave as far as Scale Merlec."

"Comgell Mac Caennaig, chief of Clann Canan, gave to Christ and to Drostan, and to Columcille as far as Gort-lie-mor, at the hither end, which is nearest to Aldin-Alenn, from Dabaci to Lurchari, both mountain and field, in freedom from chief for ever, and their blessing on every one who shall fulfil [this] after him for ever, and his curse on every one who shall go against it."

"Colbain, high steward [*mormaer*] of Buchan, and Eva, daughter of Gartnait, his wedded wife, and Donnachac Mac Sithig, chief of Clann Morgainn, mortmained all the foregoing offerings to God, and to Drostan, and to Columcille, and to Peter the apostle, [free] from all burden for ever, except so much as would fall on four davachs, of such burdens as came upon all chief monasteries of Alba generally, and upon chief churches. Witnesses these: Broccin, and Cormac, abbot of Turbruad; and Morgunn Mac Donnchaid and Gilli-Petair Mac Donnchaid, and Malaechin, and two sons of Matne, and Nobles of Buchan, all in witness hereof in Elan [*Ellon*]."[2]

PLATE IX.

SILVER ORNAMENTS FOUND AT GAULCROSS.

THE similarity between the ornaments represented on this plate and some of those found at Norries Law is very remarkable. It may indeed be said that the silver pins are, in shape, size, and style of art, the same. Some of the pins and other relics found at Norries Law having been ornamented with the "symbols" of the sculptured stones, come to be associated with these monuments, and I have elsewhere made some remarks on the connection (p. 77). It will be remarked that the silver pin here represented corresponds with those found at Norries Law in size and in style of art, except that none of the symbols occur on it. Similar pins of bronze have been found in the crannog of Dunshaughlin, and at other places in Ireland, some of them having the traces of enamel still visible.[3]

[1] The Saturday Review, 8th Dec. 1860.

[2] See Antiquities of the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff, vol. iv. pp. 548, 549 (Spald. Club), where it is stated that the first and second grants were dated "before 1153," and the third "about 1150."

[3] Wilde's Catalogue, p. 559; Arch. Journal, vol. vi. p. 105.

They all seem to be products of one and an early period of Celtic art, and as the circumstances of the various deposits come to bear on the question of their date, I have taken pains to ascertain the facts connected with the discovery of the pin and ornaments here represented.

Gaulcross is said to have been the earlier name of the lands of Birkenbog, but it is now restricted in its application to a spot on the farm of Ley, which is part of Birkenbog.

In early charters the place is called "Galchull." By a charter dated at Aberdeen on the 14th September 1371, King David II.[1] endowed the see of Aberdeen with the whole land of his park of Galchull for the maintenance of a chaplain to perform divine service within the cathedral church of Aberdeen. By a subsequent charter, dated at Kintore on the 23d of November in the same year, the king conferred on the chapter and college of canons a right to levy the escheats of old exacted from those who should cut, hunt, or pasture in the park without licence —viz. six cows, which should be payable even if the land of the park should have been brought into cultivation, or houses built on it. In the following year the bishop and chapter feued out the park to Alexander Abercromy of Pitmachy and Harthill for a yearly payment of ten marks.

The park of Galchull now forms the estate of Birkenbog, and belongs to Sir George Abercromby, Bart. One of the farms on it is named Ley, and on a piece of waste ground lying to the north of the farm-house of Ley is a spot which on the plan of the estate is called "Gaulcross." On this spot two circles of stone pillars stood till a comparatively recent period.[2] Some of the stones were blown up, and were used as building materials in the erection of the present farm-house of Ley. The site of the circles is on high ground in view of the Moray Firth, from which it is about two miles distant. The circles stood about forty yards from each other. The one was about forty yards and the other about thirty-five yards in diameter, and an old man informed the present farmer that he remembers when there were six pillars in each circle. These pillars were placed in a circular foundation of small boulders, about thirty feet broad and two deep. Only one now remains of all the pillars. It marks the site of the circle which stood farthest to the north. In the course of trenching the area of this circle about twenty-eight years ago the workmen found the silver chain and pin here represented, with other silver pins and brooches. "The articles were found between two stones." The deposit was found at a spot not far from the pillar (which still remains) on the south side of the circle. It was under and towards the centre of the circular belt of small stones in which the large pillars stood. On the opposite side of the circle there was a large flat slab of limestone about seven feet long and three in breadth. The present farmer was present when this stone was raised up, and observed below it there was a thin layer of darkish greasy earth, which rested on the common soil. There was no appearance of cansewaying in either of the circles—nor of burned matter, nor of bones of any sort. There was nothing found in the other circle. The ornaments were presented to the museum of the Banff Institution for Science by the late Sir Robert Abercromby.

If we can regard them as part of a sepulchral deposit, we may the more readily acquiesce in the conclusion come to by some—that the deposit of similar ornaments at Norries Law was also of that character.[3]

The particulars of the circles at Gaulcross have been kindly furnished to me by Mr. Lawtie, the present tenant of Ley, whose father entered on a lease of the farm in 1837, and began to improve the site of Gaulcross soon afterwards.

The drawing of an Irish bronze in this Plate represents in full size an ornament in the collection of the late Mr. John Bell, Dungannon, for the use of which I am indebted to his brother, Mr. Allan Bell, who is now its owner As will be seen from the holes, it has been rivetted to some other object. The conformity of the style to that of the bell-covers, shrines, and other Irish ornamental bronzes of early ascertained date, as well as to that of the sculptured stones of Scotland, led me to give a drawing of it.

PLATE XI.

CASKET AT MONYMUSK.

The curious and interesting reliquary here figured, which belongs to Sir Archibald Grant, Bart., was first brought into public notice by being exhibited in the Archæological Museum at the meeting of the British Association held at

[1] Registr. Aberdon. vol. i. pp. 91-92. Spald. Club.

[2] The circles were visited by Tennant in the course of his tour in Scotland in 1769. He describes an extensive group of cairns on the Cotton-hill, a mile south of Birkenbog, "probably in memory of the slain in the victory obtained in 988 by Indulphus over the Danes," and adds: "Not far from these are two circles of long stones called *Gael-cross;* perhaps they might have been erected after that battle; and as *Gaul* is the *Erse* word for a stranger or enemy, as the Danes were, I am the more inclined to suppose that to have been the fact." (A Tour in Scotland, p. 140. Warrington, 1774.)

[3] In the year 1832, in the centre of a stone circle near Quentin in Brittany, a deposit of gold objects, apparently ornaments for the neck, was found. The value of the objects in bullion was upwards of £1000. (Archæologia, vol. xxvii; Akerman's Archæological Index, p. 58, *note.*)

Aberdeen in 1859. Nothing certain is known of its history, but it seems very probable that it descended to its present owners with the lands of the monastery at Monymusk, which were secularised at the period of the Reformation, when the priory was seized by Duncan, son to William Forbes of Corsindae, who, it is said, "built the mannour of Monimusk out of the stones of this monastery, and founded the family of Forbes of Monimusk, Baronet."[1] A charter from Robert, commendator of Monymusk, to William, son of Duncan, narrates that the whole members of the convent had died out, and that there was now no suitable residence at the ruinous houses of the monastery, he having previously got the lands of the manor of Monymusk. The purpose for which the prior destined the houses thus conveyed was "ut ruinose domus et edificia dicti loci edificentur et ut in eisdem gymnasium literarium pro pueris in honestis studiis et literis erudiendis institui poterit."[2] The lands of Monymusk were purchased from the Forbeses in 1712 by Sir Francis Grant of Cullen, one of the senators of the College of Justice. His eldest son, Sir Archibald Grant, was the first proprietor in the north of Scotland who planted on an extensive scale; and he has recorded the details in a "description of the present state of Monymusk, and what hath been done to make it what it is."[3]

The monastery at Monymusk was one of the old Culdee establishments, and the monks were known as Keledei till towards the end of the 13th century, after which their house is known as a priory of canons regular.

From its style, which corresponds with much of the ornamentation on the sculptured stones of Scotland, and in early Irish MSS., we may be justified in regarding the casket as of a period nearly contemporary with them.

PLATE XII.

The drawings on this plate have been introduced as exhibiting specimens of early Scottish ornamental work in metal, in some of which the patterns so prominent on the sculptured stones are introduced.

"The Guthrie Bell" is an heir-loom of the family of Guthrie in Forfarshire, and was probably used in the ancient church of Guthrie, which was a prebend of early foundation of the Cathedral Church of Brechin.

"It measures $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, including the handle, and $5\frac{1}{8}$ by $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches at the mouth, and is obviously a relic, pertaining, in its present state, to more than one period. It has consisted originally of one of the rude primitive iron hand-bells [already described, p. liii.], and this, after suffering considerable dilapidation from age and violence, has been enclosed in a casing of bronze, and richly decorated with gilded bronze, silver-work, and niello, as shown in the engraving. The inscription, which is inlaid in niello on a broad silver plate attached to the lower edge of the bell in front, is

Johannes Alexandri me fieri fecit.

The principal figure, that of our Saviour on the cross, is of bronze gilt, and obviously belongs to an earlier period than the other figures of silver with which it is now surrounded. Instead of the crown of thorns He is represented wearing a cap closely resembling the Scottish blue-bonnet; and in this, as well as in other respects, the decorations correspond to early Byzantine work."

"The figure represented in the woodcut, the full size of the original, is the only decoration on the right side of the bell, though the pins remain by which a second has been attached to the same side."

"This figure corresponds in style and material to that of our Lord, though greatly worn, and the features of the face nearly obliterated, owing to its more exposed position. It retains the traces of gilding, and is the only one ascribable to the same period as the principal figure, certainly not later than the eleventh century, and probably of a much earlier date." "It will be seen that it represents an ecclesiastic in a plain sleeveless gown, and holding a book in his left hand against his breast."[4]

The Kilmichael Glassary bell-cover was found in a wall on the farm of Torrebhlaurn, in the parish of Glassary in Argyllshire, in the year 1815 (see Notices of the Plates, p. 30). It is not quite six inches in height, and it contained the fragment of a bell of hammered iron within.

Near to it was found a brass chain about three feet six inches long, the extremities of which are connected by a small cross pattée of the same metal, the pendant of which (whether of metal or stone) has been lost.[5] This chain is figured in the engraving of the bell.

"The Hunterston brooch" was found on the estate of Hunterston, in the parish of West Kilbride, Ayrshire, in the autumn of 1830, in quarrying for stones. "It is," says Dr. Wilson, "of silver, richly wrought with gold filigree work, and measures four inches and nine-tenths in greatest diameter. The only injury it has

[1] Collections on the Shores of Aberdeen and Banff, p. 171.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 184.

[3] Printed in the Miscellany of the Spalding Club, vol. ii. pp. 96, 97.

[4] Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, vol. i. p. 55.

[5] Archæologia Scotica, vol. iv. p. 117.

received, with the exception of the point of the acus being broken off, is in some of the amber settings, occasioned either by the action of the weather, to which it was exposed from lying so near the surface, or possibly from the recent burning of the whins which abound along the cliff where it was found. But the most remarkable feature of this beautiful personal ornament is the inscription engraved in large Runic characters on its under side."[1]

This inscription has been variously read. Dr. Wilson believes that what is decipherable admits of being read in Gaelic as follows:—*Malbrithà a daimiheh i dœol Maolfridi—i.e.* Malbritha his friend in recompense to Maolfridi. Of the style of art there can be little doubt. "The Irish antiquary," says Dr. Wilson, "will recognise in these interlaced patterns, and the intertwined dragons and other ornamental devices, a style of decoration rendered familiar to us by engravings of the Scottish sculptured stones, and introduced on nearly every native ecclesiastical and personal ornament pertaining to the early Christian period."[2]

SILVER ORNAMENTS FOUND AT NORRIES LAW, FIFESHIRE.

(Appendix to the Preface, vol. ii. p. 83. Vol. i. Plate CXXXIII.)

The ornaments here referred to formed part of the hoard of silver relics found at Norries Law, near Largo, in the year 1819. The symbol which is engraved on the plates is the "spectacle ornament" intersected by the "broken sceptre," with the head of an animal like a dog below.

The occurrence of the symbols on ornaments of silver is a remarkable fact in the history of these mysterious figures, and if we could be sure of the circumstances of their deposit at Norries Law, their discovery would have an important bearing in any discussion on the date of the sculptures, and the people by whom they were executed.

If, for instance, we could regard the silver ornaments as belonging to one individual, and deposited with him in a cist, we might venture to draw some conclusions from that fact. If, on the other hand, the articles are to be regarded as a miscellaneous hoard of silver relics, with no individual destination, not placed in a cist, but in a sandhill near to the Law, the whole character of the discovery, and the deductions from it, are altered.

After every attempt to get at the details of this discovery, it seems to me most likely that the ornaments were found in the sand at the base of the Law.

Mr. Robertson, jeweller in Cupar-Fife, who purchased a large quantity of the silver, is still alive, and was recently requested to state all that he knew about this point. This he readily did, but added that he, along with Mr. Leighton, who wrote a History of Fife, had made a full investigation of the circumstances, and that the result was given in Mr. Leighton's work, published in 1840.

It is there stated that in 1819 the relics were found "on an artificial tumulus. A man digging sand at this place came accidentally upon a stone coffin, in which he found a complete suit of scale armour, which, with the shield, sword-handle, and scabbard, was entirely of silver."[3]

The late Dr. Buist prepared a report to the Fifeshire Literary and Antiquarian Society on the Norries Law relics in 1839, in which he says that "they appear to have been found about the year 1819, *in or near* a stone coffin *in* an artificial heap or tumulus of sand or gravel called Norries Law."[4]

The account which Mr. Robertson recently furnished was, that the relics were discovered in a stone-coffin by two labourers while digging for sand in a spot at the base of Norries Law.

If we can conclude that the relics were found *in* a cist, it seems in every way probable that this cist was *in* the Law.

I am informed by Mr. Charles Howie of Largo, that about seven years ago a cut was made from the north side to the centre of the Law, where a large flat undressed stone was found resting on four undressed slabs, forming a cist, in which nothing was found. Mr. Howie states that there is a report of cinerary urns having been found in the course of the diggings for sand, with bones in them.

I am able to speak of the character of the Law from excavations recently made by Mrs. Dundas Durham, under Mr. Howie's charge, at which I was present. The Law is a tumulus of about 53 feet in diameter, surrounded by a fosse, and wall on the outside of the ditch. From the outside of the wall surrounding the ditch to the base-wall of the Law is 16 feet. On the inner side of the ditch the base of the Law was defined by a circle of large boulders. Portions of an inner concentric wall were also observed. Between these walls a quantity of travelled earth was found, and within the inner circle the eminence was mostly formed of a cairn of stones. Here, towards the centre, vestiges of charred wood appeared, and many of the stones of the cairn showed that they had been under the action of fire. A small triangular cist formed in the foundation of the outer base of the Law between two of the stones, and covered with a flat stone, contained incinerated human bones. On the west, and on the outside of the base in which the triangular

[1] Prehistoric Annals of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 267.
[2] *Ibid.* pp. 272, 276.
[3] History of the County of Fife, vol. iii. p. 134.
[4] Report, p. 3. Cupar 1839.

cist or hole was discovered, a small urn of baked clay was found lying on its side among charred wood. Nothing was found in the urn.

The tumulus rests on a hillock of sand on the summit of a ridge commanding an extensive view, and there can be no doubt that the remains which it covered had been burned.

The character of the deposit of silver will be gathered from enumerating the objects of which it consisted.

In 1860 Mr. Robertson stated that the portion purchased by him consisted of a sword-handle, the point of a sheath, a shield of the old pointed shape, but much of which was wanting, although it appeared to have been embossed, and the design of the edge was distinct;[1] eight bodkins, a very large number of scales or plates, some of which had hooks attached; a number of coins.

These relics were all melted down.

Another portion of the ornaments was sold to a jeweller in Edinburgh. This was done after Mr. Robertson had declined to make further purchases, and, according to Mr. Robertson's statement, the portion thus disposed of was larger than that acquired by himself, and consisted mostly of the scales or plates.

Some of the scales were acquired by a farmer in the parish of Ceres.

Mr. Robertson further states that some time after the first discovery in 1819, General Durham, having heard of it, employed some men to search in the sand-pit at the base of the Law, when they found the relics preserved till lately at Largo, but recently presented, with the exception of a scale and bodkin, to the National Museum of the Antiquaries of Scotland, by Mrs. Dundas Durham. These consisted of two portions of ring fibulæ of a description of common occurrence in Ireland; a plate of silver, enriched with scrolls or foliated ornaments in high relief; two plates, resembling a leaf in shape, on which the spectacle ornament, with broken sceptre, is incised; two bodkins with ornamented heads, on the reverse of one of which the broken sceptre is engraved; a fragment of a small pin; a disc of stout plate about 3 inches in diameter, with a central boss, having two holes at the upper edge; two fragments of armillæ; a fragment of fine interlaced chain; a spiral silver ring, seven-eighths of an inch in diameter; a double hook in form of an S; a narrow band like a riband of silver, about half-an-inch in width, and upwards of a yard in length, tapering gradually to a point at one end; numerous fragments of thin plate, possibly the remains of the coating of a shield. On some marginal portions appears a border of oblong projections, hammered up possibly to represent nail-heads. The plate, when entire, appears to have been round, resembling possibly the bronze plating of ancient British bucklers; the curve of one portion suffices to show that the circle measured 21 or 22 inches in diameter. It deserves notice that the embossed ornament, although more rudely wrought, bears much resemblance to that of the gold corslet found at Mold.[2] The entire weight of the relics recovered by General Durham was 24 oz., while the entire hoard has been estimated at not less than 400 oz.

It is said that the portion of the treasure recovered by General Durham was found in the sandhill. This may be so far reconciled with the other statement that the treasure was found in or near a cist in the "Law," if we conceive that the finder concealed them in the sandhill, and removed them, as Dr. Buist says, "piecemeal," selling them "for what they would bring, and to whomsoever chose to purchase them."

But however these relics were originally deposited, their number and variety will not allow us to believe that they were the personal ornaments of any one person.

The finding of Roman coins in, or in connection with, early tombs is not unusual. In the chambered tumulus at Uley in Gloucestershire a secondary interment near the summit was found, accompanied by coins of the Constantine series, which was held to show "that this was an ancient monument during the Roman rule in Britain."[3] And outside of New Grange a gold coin of Valentinian and one of Theodosius have been found, besides golden torques and rings.[4]

The coins generally found with hoards of silver relics, as at Cuerdale, and Skaill in Orkney, have been Saxon and Cufic.[5]

[1] This supposed shield, with the sword-hilt, is figured on one of the plates of Dr. Buist's report. They are of a very modern type, and merely the result of Mr. Robertson's recollections after an interval of more than ten years. The leaf-shaped plates were supposed by Dr. Buist to have formed parts of scale armour, for which they are manifestly unsuitable, as they have no perforation by which they could have been attached.

It may indeed be doubted whether the idea of a coat of mail and a sword-hilt did not arise from a popular belief that a warrior and his steed had been buried in the Law in an erect position, and that the armour of the warrior was of massive silver.

It is curious that the gold corslet now in the British Museum, found near Mold in Flintshire, was discovered in consequence of an apparition which an old woman believed she saw of a spectre clad in gold, which appeared to glide into the Goblins' Hill. This circumstance she related next morning to the farmer, whose workmen, in 1833, found the corslet referred to. It is probable that the stories connected with the inhabitant of the Goblins' Hill had brought the scene to the old woman's imagination.

It is remarkable also that about two or three feet from the spot where the corslet lay, an urn was found containing a vast quantity of burnt bones and ashes, thus associating the place of deposit, as in the case of Norries Law, with incinerated bones and an urn (Arch. Journal, vi. p. 259; Arch. Cambr. vol. iii. p. 101).

[2] Mr. Albert Way in Arch. Journal, vol. vi. pp. 252-257.

[3] Arch. Journal, vol. xi. p. 324.

[4] The Boyne and the Blackwater, by Wilde, p. 204.

[5] Arch. Journal, vol. iv. p. 194; Proceedings of Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, vol. iii. p. 249.

That coins were found with the Norries Law relics seems unquestionable, but it is to be feared, from Mr. Robertson's statement, that the whole of those first found were melted.

Of two silver coins which seem to have been found along with the other relics discovered by General Durham at a later period, in the sand at the base of Norries Law, but are now lost, sketches by Mr. Skene are preserved which show that they were coins of the Emperors Valens and Constantius II. (from A.D. 360 to A.D. 380).

Two brass coins are in the possession of Miss Dundas which she obtained from a labourer named Carstairs. He said that he found them in 1822, along with some silver coins, while digging for sand on the west side of Norries Law. The silver coins were sold by the finder, but the others, as he asserts, have been in his possession ever since. The spot of sand was the same as that in which were similarly discovered in 1819 the relics called the Norries Law Armour.[1] Of these coins, one is a Roman second brass of Antonia, the daughter of Mark Antony and wife of Drusus, who died A.D. 38. The other coin is a greatly-defaced specimen of the Byzantine series, which it would be difficult to assign to any particular emperor, but which is considered by one of our best numismatists to belong to a period of about the seventh century, probably about the time of Tiberius Constantine, who died in A.D. 682.[2]

The only conclusion which these facts will warrant is, that Roman coins of silver and brass, ranging in date from the fourth to the seventh centuries, have been found in digging the sand adjoining Norries Law, a few feet to the west of the outer circle of the Law—a spot where, according to the preponderating opinion, the relics first discovered had been deposited, and where there can be no doubt that those recovered by General Durham, and now in the National Museum, were subsequently found.

While we are thus to a great extent deprived of the exact facts attending this remarkable discovery, and therefore of their assistance in attempting to define the period of the deposit, we may yet draw some useful conclusions as to their date from the style of art of the silver ornaments in question, of the principal of which drawings are given in the previous volume (Plate CXXXIII.) This style is that which is most remarkably developed in the Irish illuminated MSS. of the seventh or eighth centuries, to which period the Norries Law ornaments have been assigned by one who, of all others, is entitled to speak with authority on such subjects.[3] But while agreeing with that style, some of these relics have engraved on them, in addition, the mysterious "symbols" which are only found on the sculptured cross-slabs of Scotland, with which, therefore, they probably have to be associated both in origin and date.

"It is, therefore," says Mr. Way, "satisfactory to establish a date upon no ill-grounded evidence: many questions, however, are presented of great moment in reference to an obscure period of the history of these islands which must be left to future investigation. The strongly-marked analogy of forms or types of ornament with those prevalent in Ireland; the source whence that singular rudiment of decorative design was derived, by some archæologists attributed, and with much probability, to an oriental origin; the purpose for which these objects were destined, assumed, perhaps on no sufficient evidence, to have been connected with appliances of warfare; above all, the historical importance of the inquiry as relating to vestiges of international relation—to the influence of hostile migration or primitive commerce;—these and other questions into which it is not practicable now to enter, will suggest themselves to the archæologist in connection with the subject before us as matters fraught with most curious interest. The striking identity in details connecting these relics with some of the earliest Christian monuments in North Britain will stamp them also with an unusual value."

[1] Note by Miss Dundas.

[2] Memorandum by George Sim, Esq., Edinburgh.

[3] Mr. Albert Way in Arch. Journal, vol. vi. p. 257.

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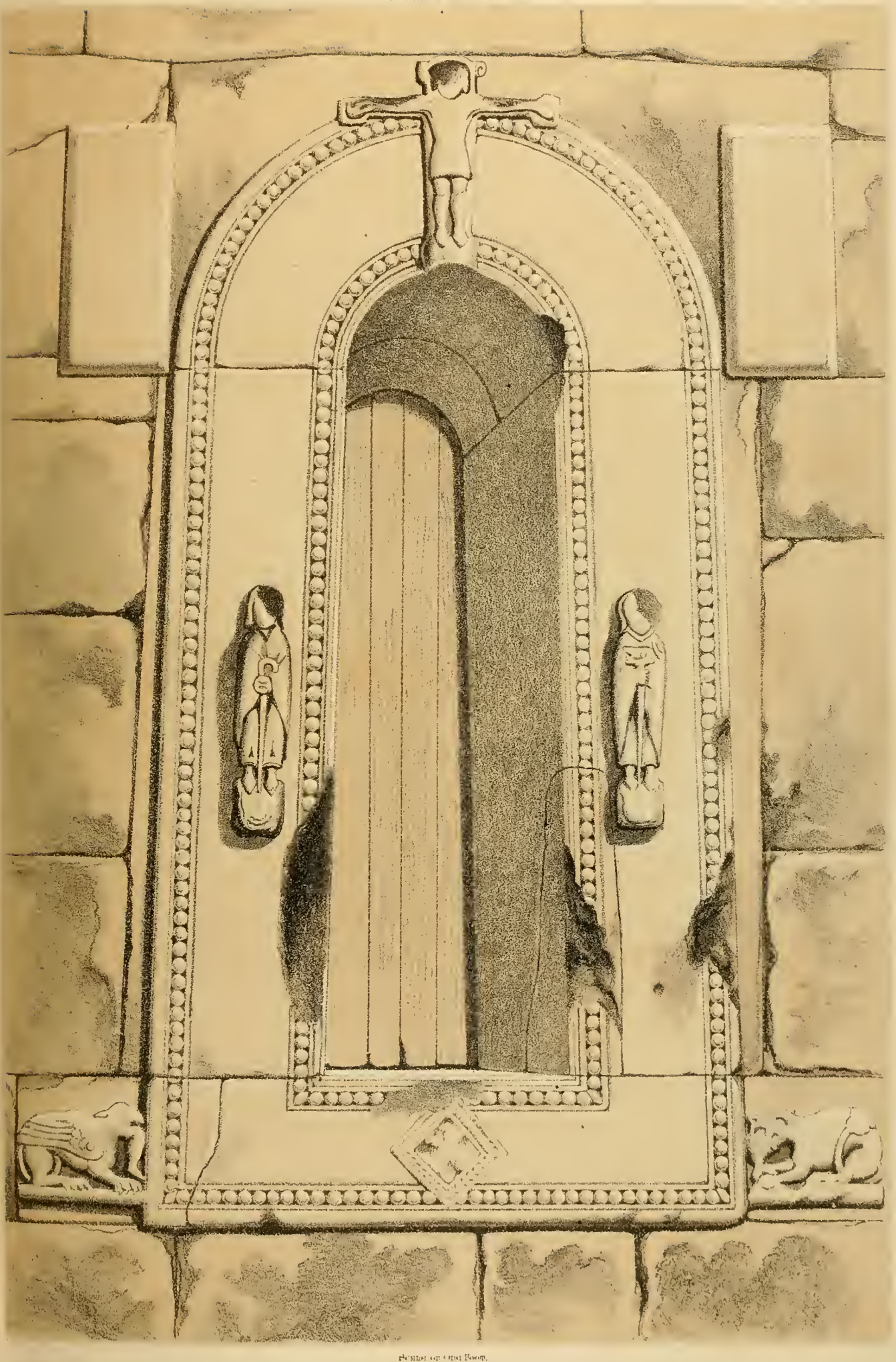

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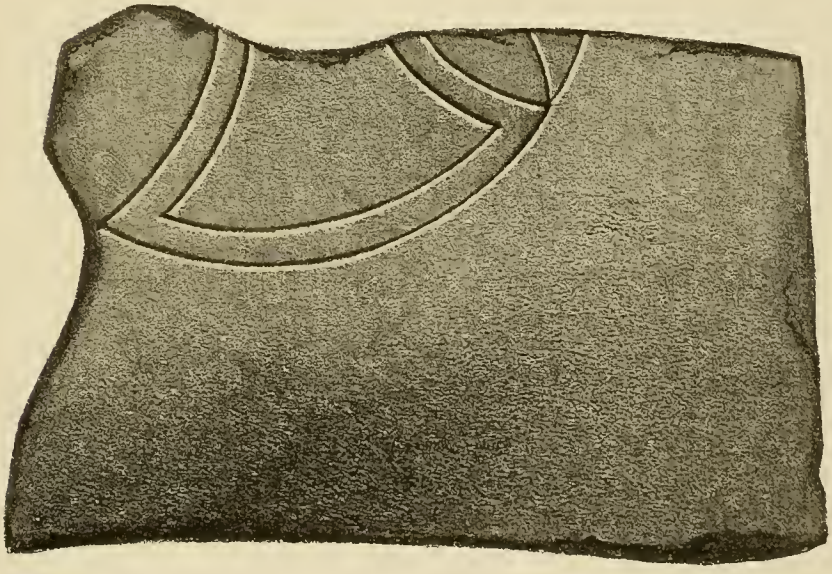

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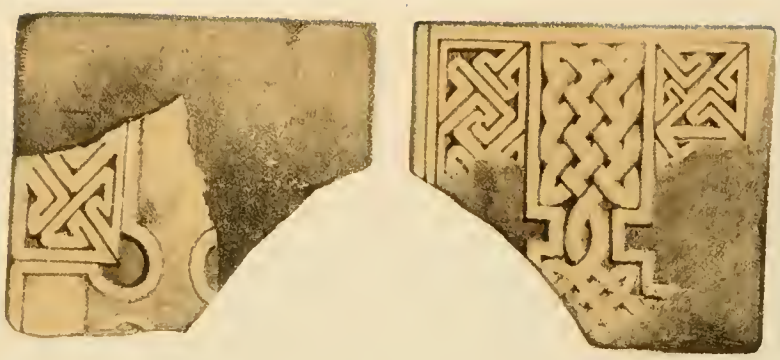

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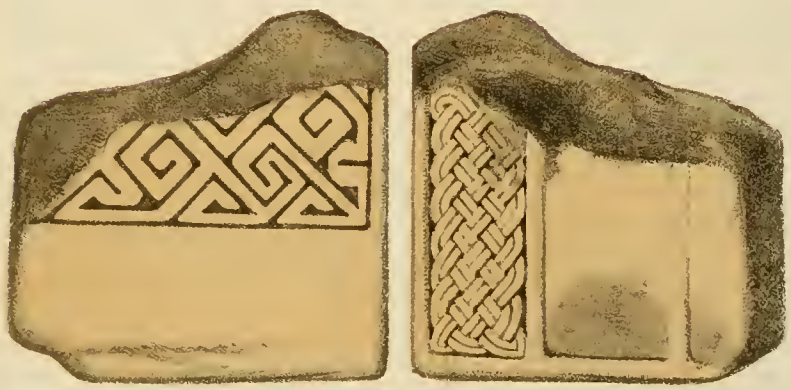

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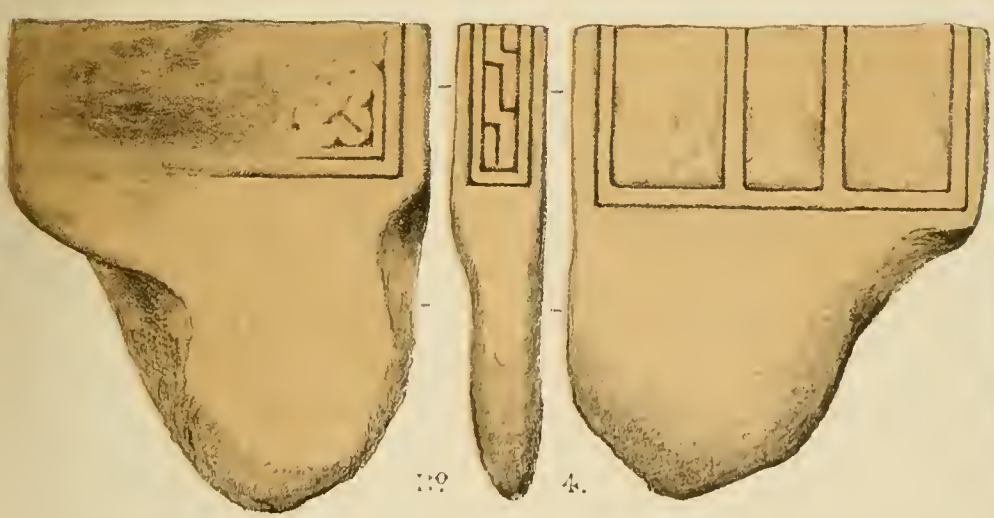

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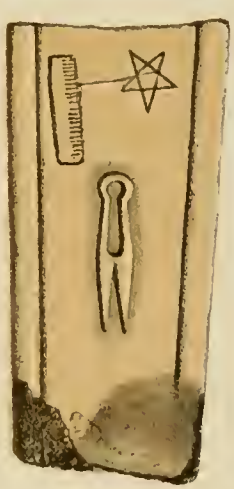

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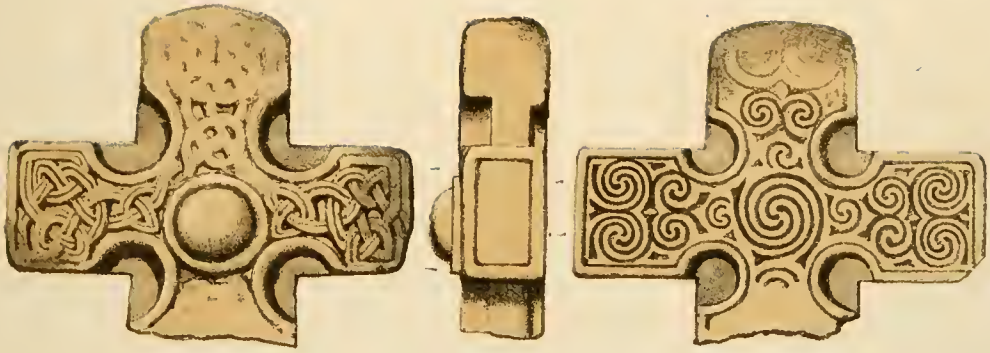

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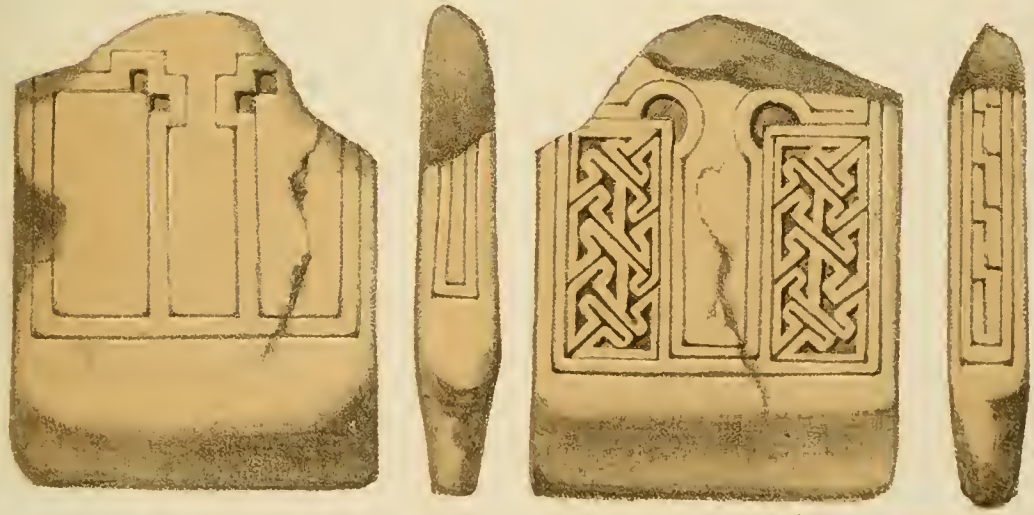

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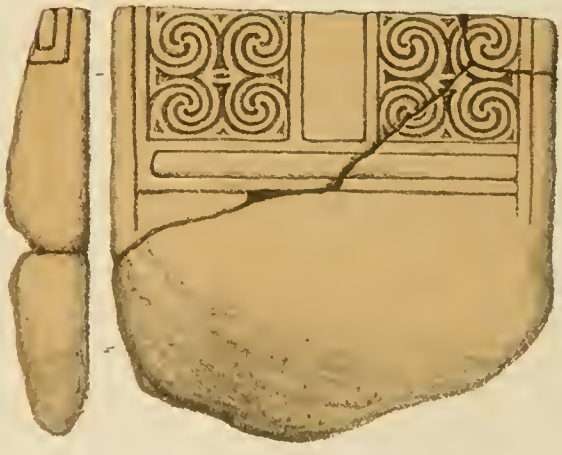

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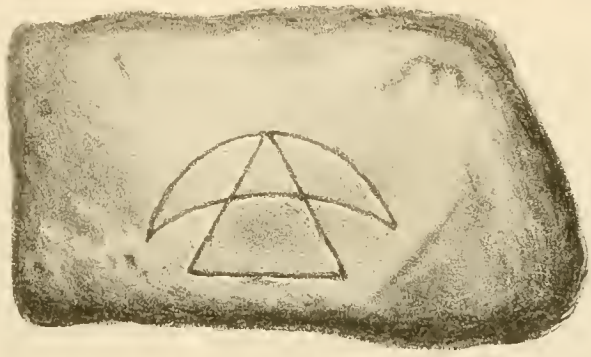

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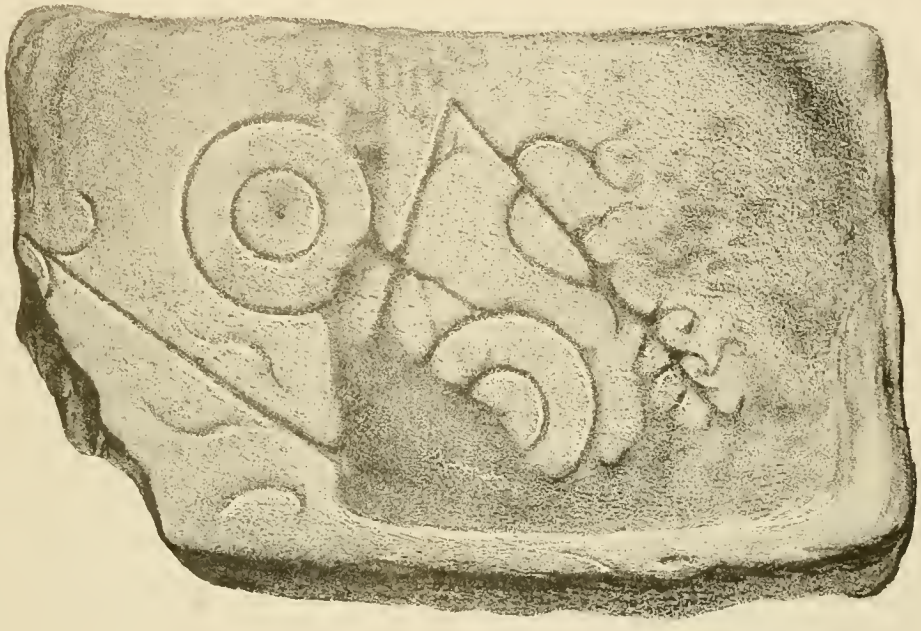

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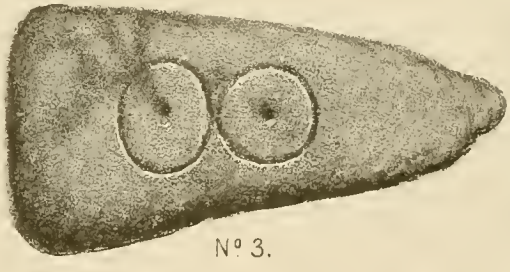

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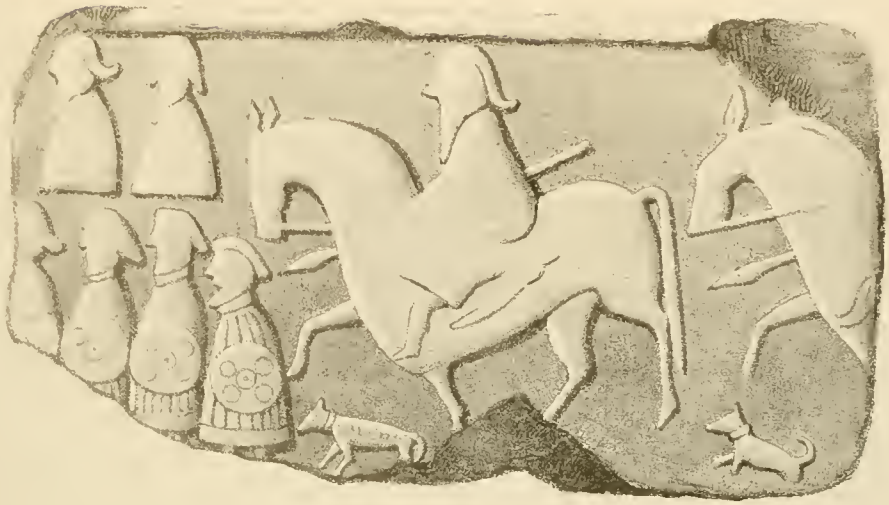

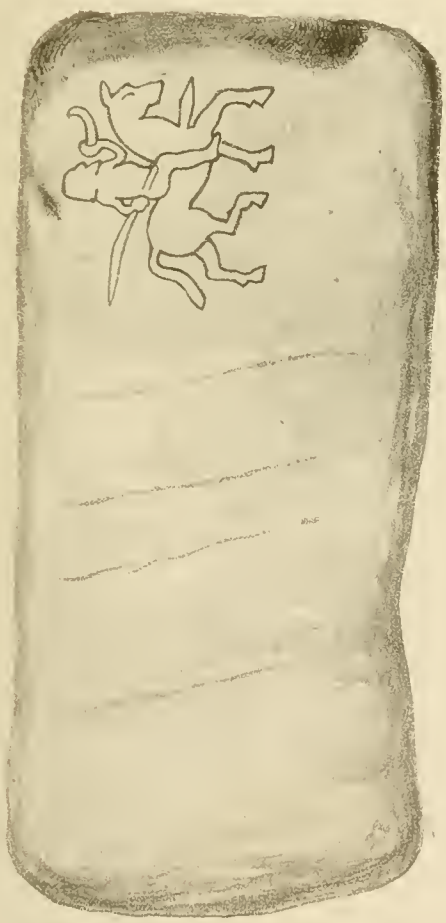

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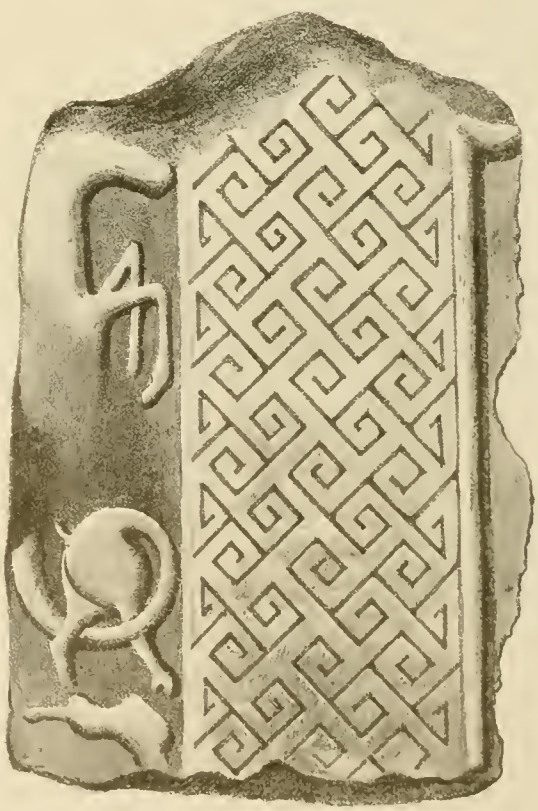

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PLATES XIX & XX.

AT RUTHWELL, DUMFRIES SHIRE

Scale of One Foot

Scale of One Foot

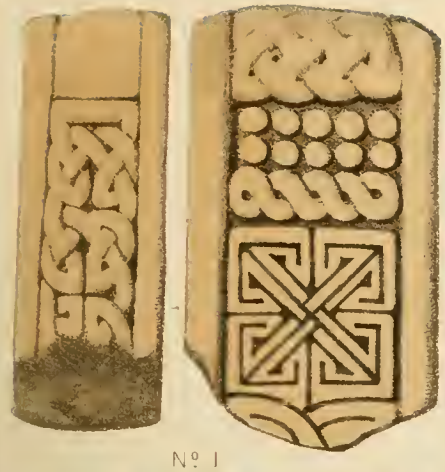
ST. DENNIH, ABERDEENSH.

DRAWN BY REMBE FOR THE SPALDING CLUB 1856.

REMBRANDT, LITHOGRAPHERS EDINBURGH.

ST. GOSPORTH. CHURCHYARD.

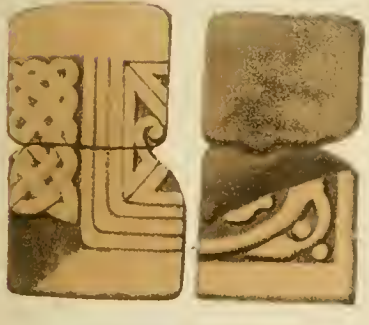
Scale of One Foot



N° 1

N° 1.

N° 2



N° 3.

N° 4.

N° 5

No. 1.

No. 2

No. 3.

No. 4

No. 5

No. 6

No. 7.

No. 8.

No. 9.

No. 10

N° 13.

N° 14.

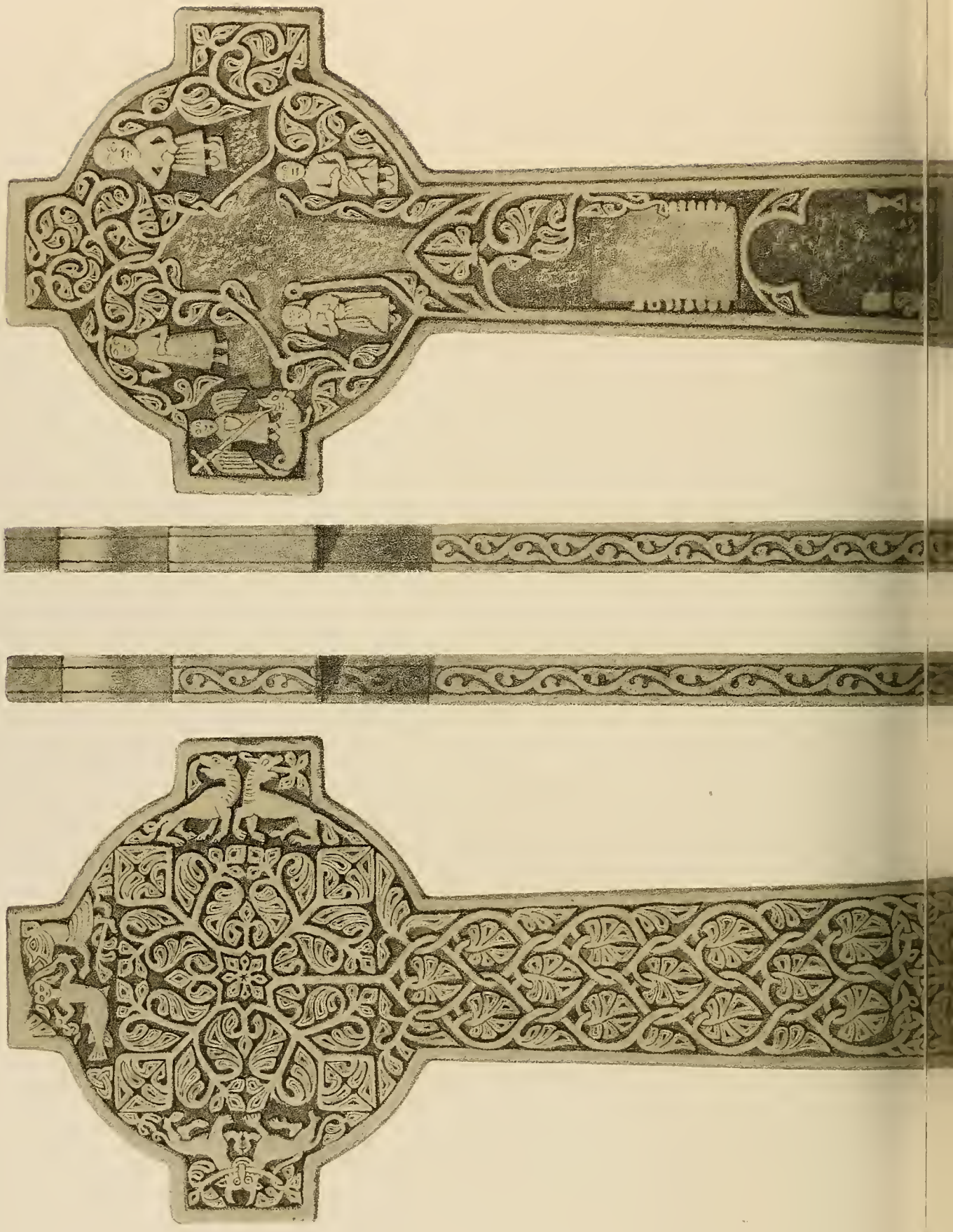
N° 15.

N° 16.

N° 1.

N° 3.

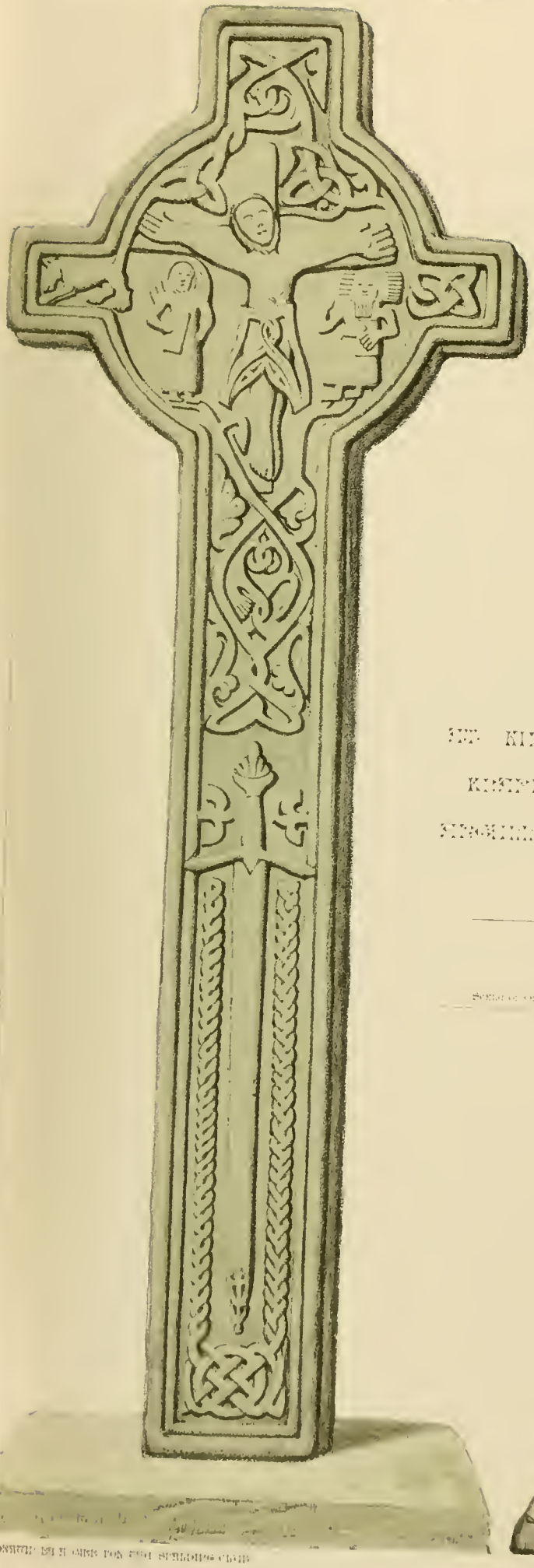
N° 2.

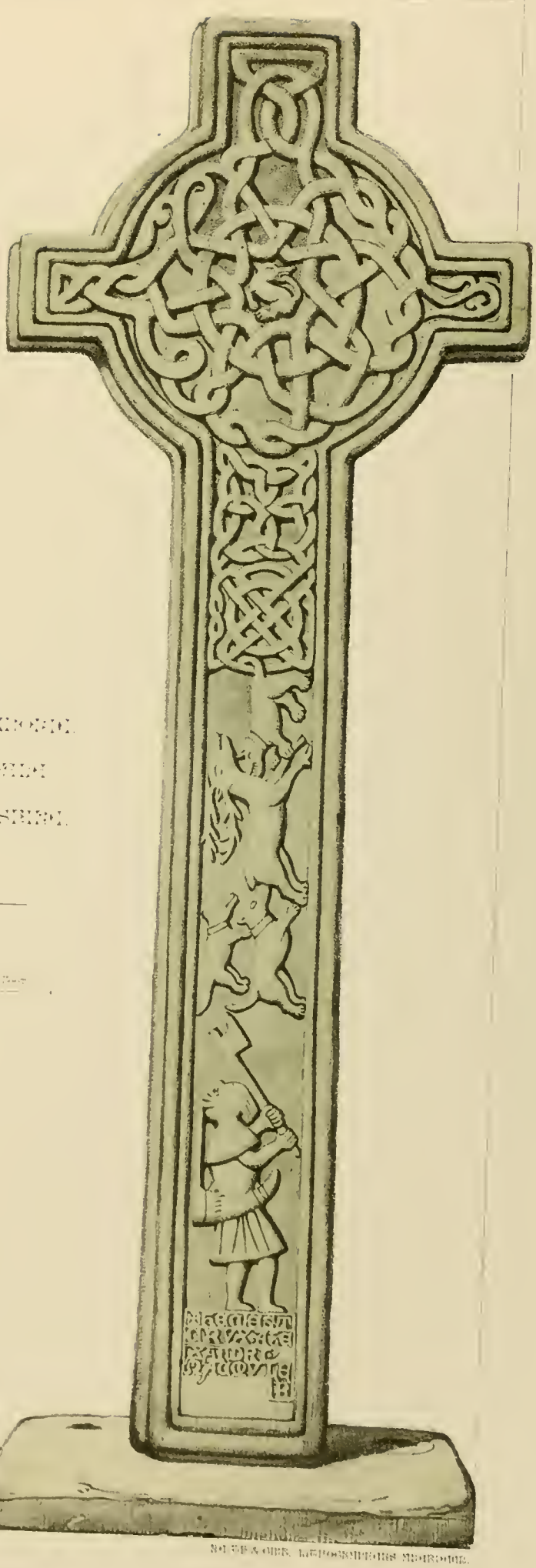


Scene of One Foot

Fallen & ship. Lightning upon Mount Carmel.

ARVAGO:HIC
IACIT:





FRAGMENTS AT KELLS, IRELAND.

DRAWN BY HORSBURGH FOR THE SPALDING CLUB. Scale of One Foot BRITTON'S LITHOGRAPHERS, EDINBURGH.

ST. KILDALTON, ISLAY, ARGYLLSHIRE.

DRAWN BY MESSRS. FOX AND SUTHERLAND.

ST. KILMARTIN, ISLE OF MULL, ARGYLLSHIRE.

ENLARGED SKETCH OF INSCRIPTION

CROSS AT

ABBEY MISERICORDE.

Bellairs & Co. Lith. Northampton.

ST. MARTINS CROSS, IONA.

ARGYLLSHIRE.

"LA CHAISE DE DAGOBERT"

MUSÉE DE CLUNY

PARIS

Imp. de Chaix, Rue Bergère 20.

Salle du Moyen Age. Lith. Chaix. Rue Bergère 20.

ABERCROMBY ST. JOHN.

ARGYLL-SHIRE.

No I.

Scale of one Foot

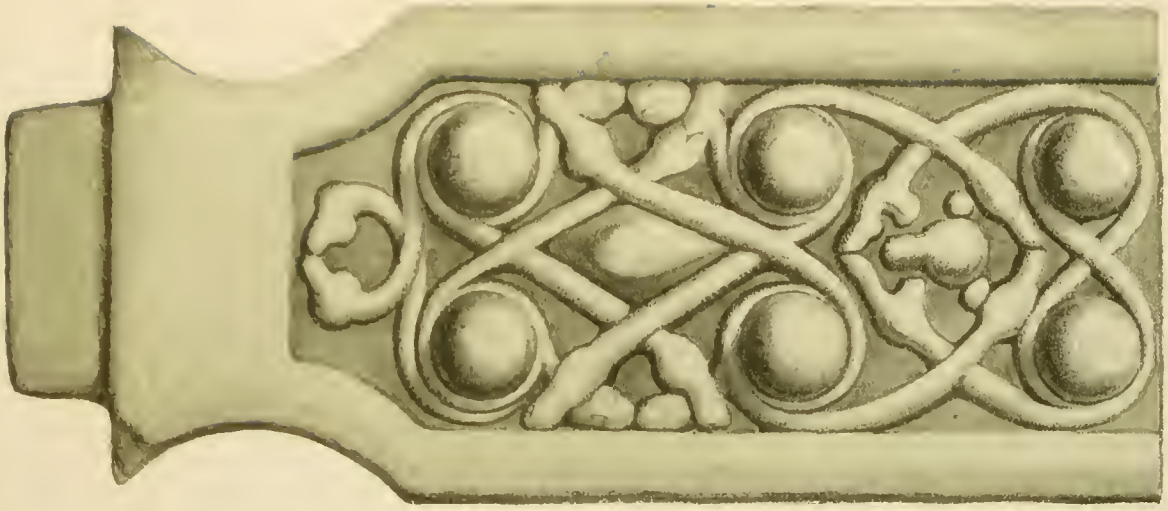
DRAWN BY HIGGIE FOR THE SPALDING CLUB. 1859.

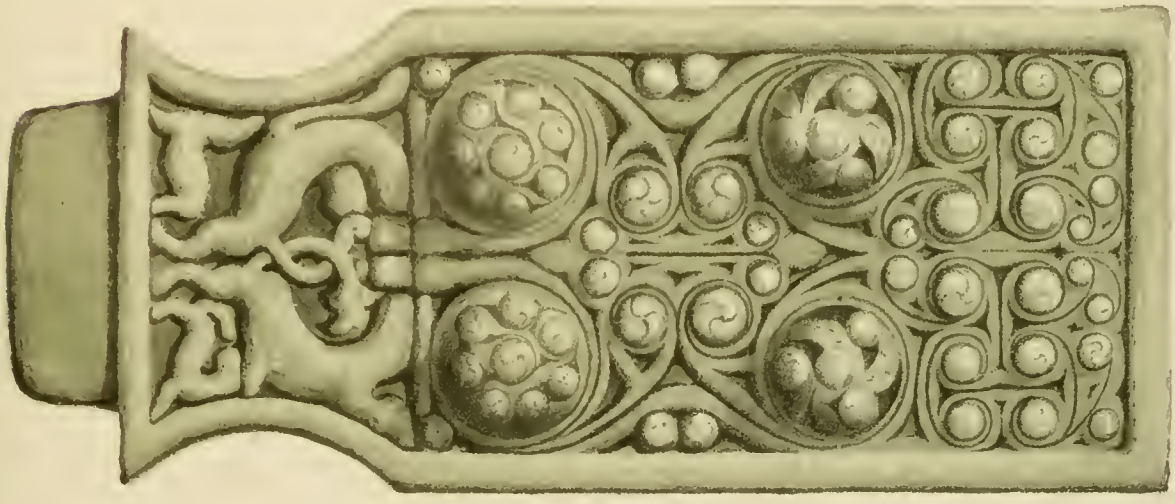
DEANCH BY R. CHIBB FOR THE BANNATYNE CLUB, 1839.

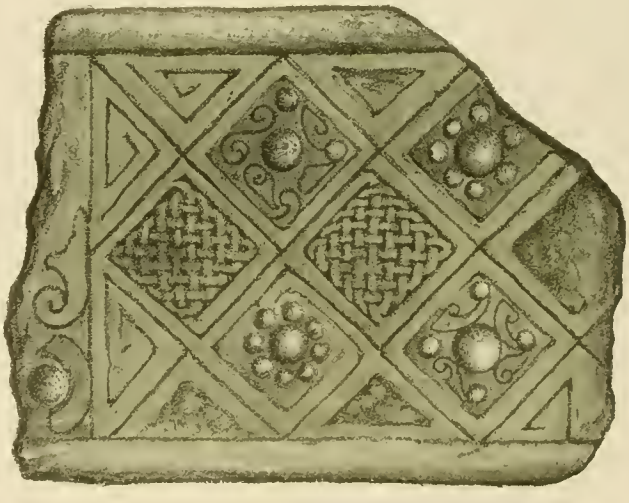
EDINBURGH: LITHOGRAPHED BY HENDERSON.

No. 2.

DEANCH BY R. CHIBB FOR THE BANNATYNE CLUB, 1839.

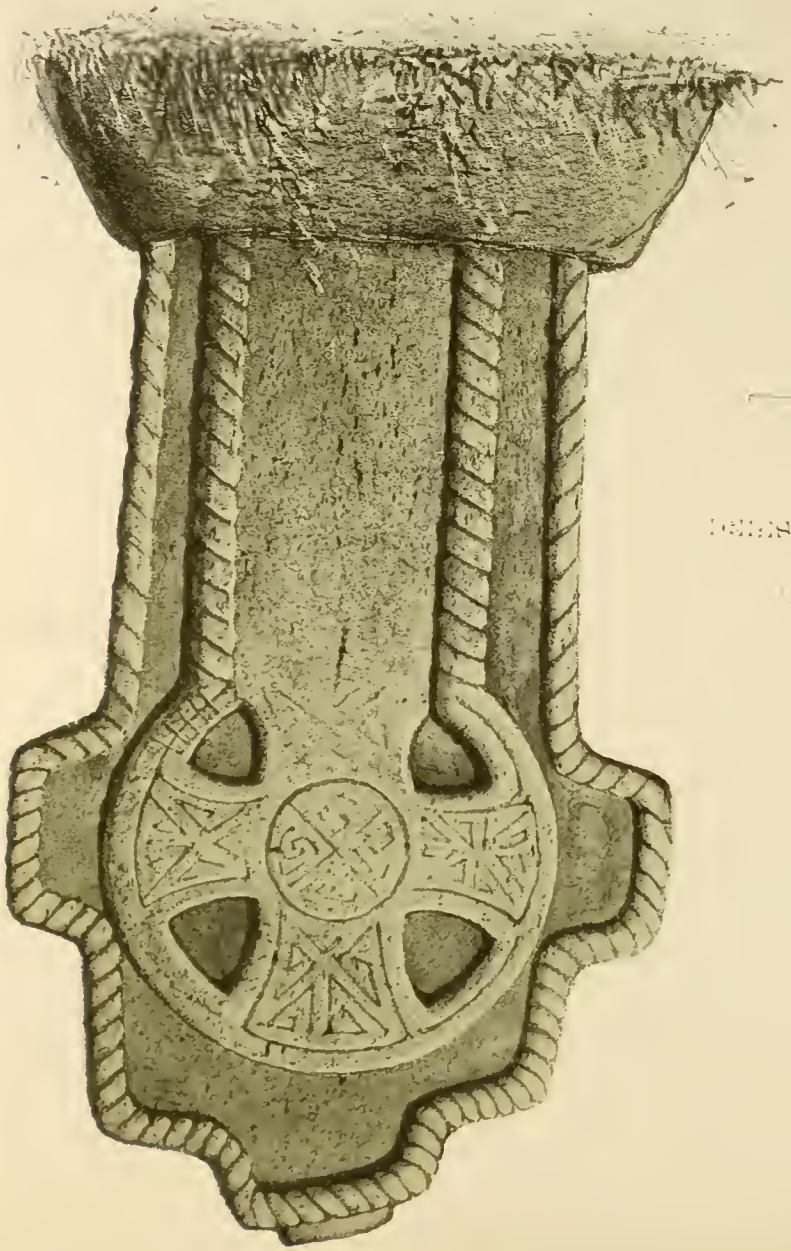






Scale of One Foot

Scale of One Foot



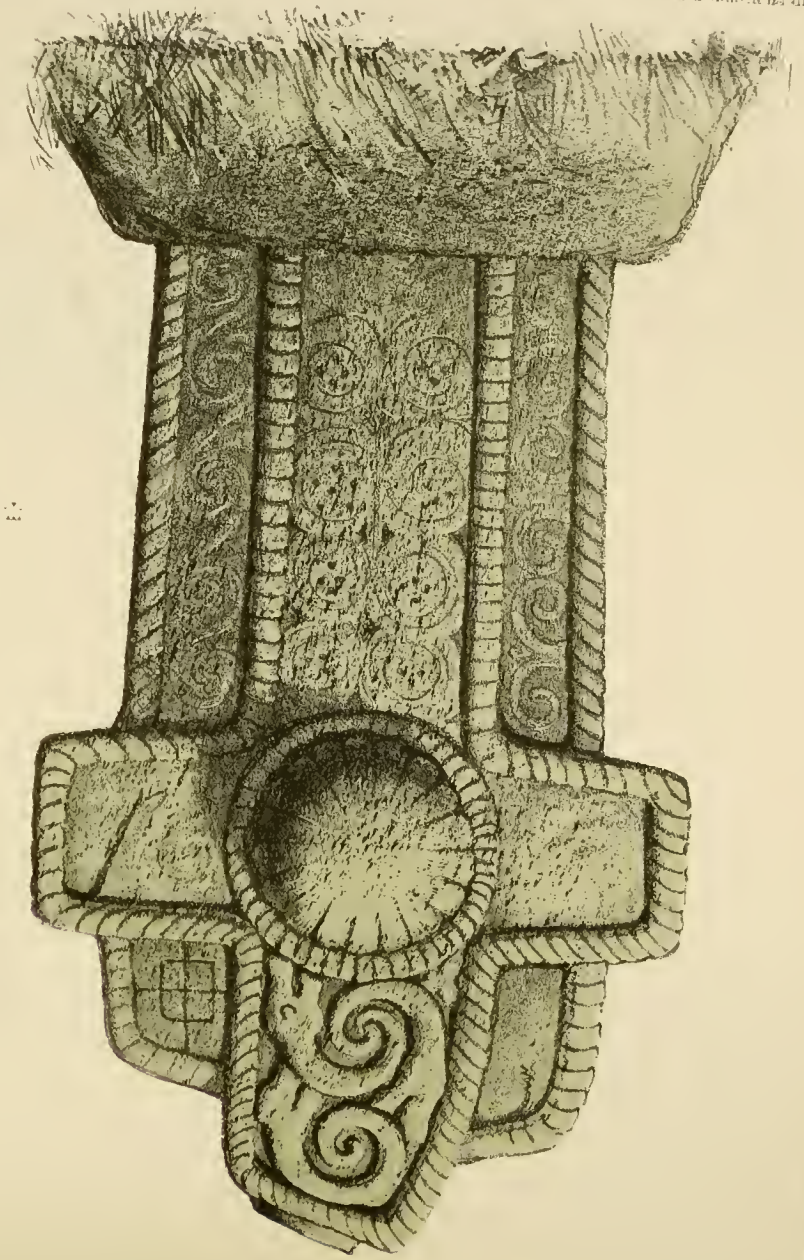


PLATE L.

Scale of One Foot

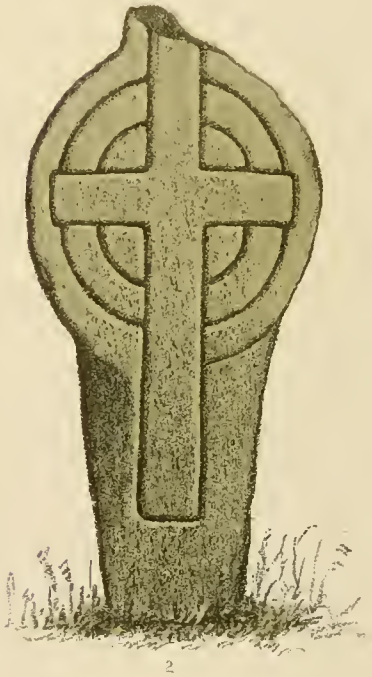
DRAWN BY HIGHS FOR THE SPALDING CLUB. 1859.

Scale of One Foot

EDGAR & GIBB, LITHOGRAPHERS, MIDDLEBURY

AT KIRKAPOOL, TIREE.

AT ABERCEL TIMEN.



2

AT KILNOMAN, ISLAY.

DRAWN BY SIMMS FOR THE SPALDING CLUB. EDINBURGH: LITHOGRAPHED BY HORSBURGH.

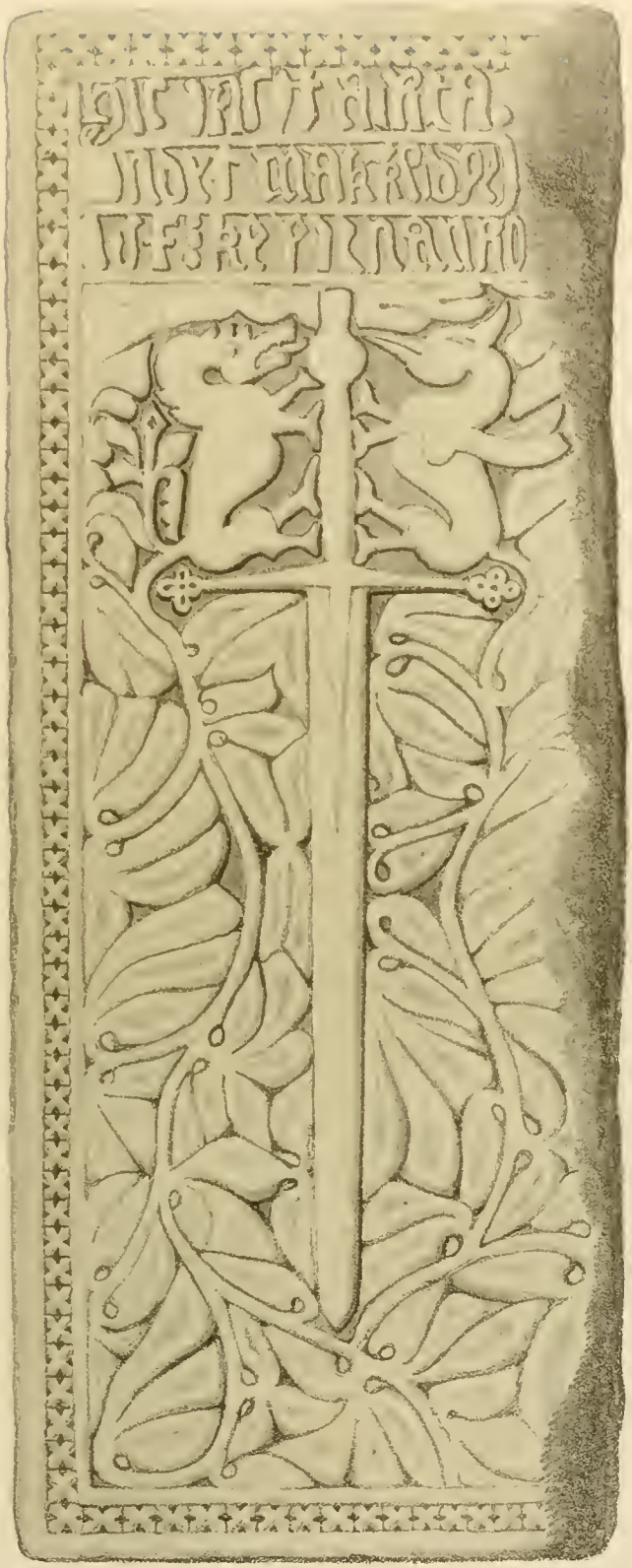
Scale of One Foot

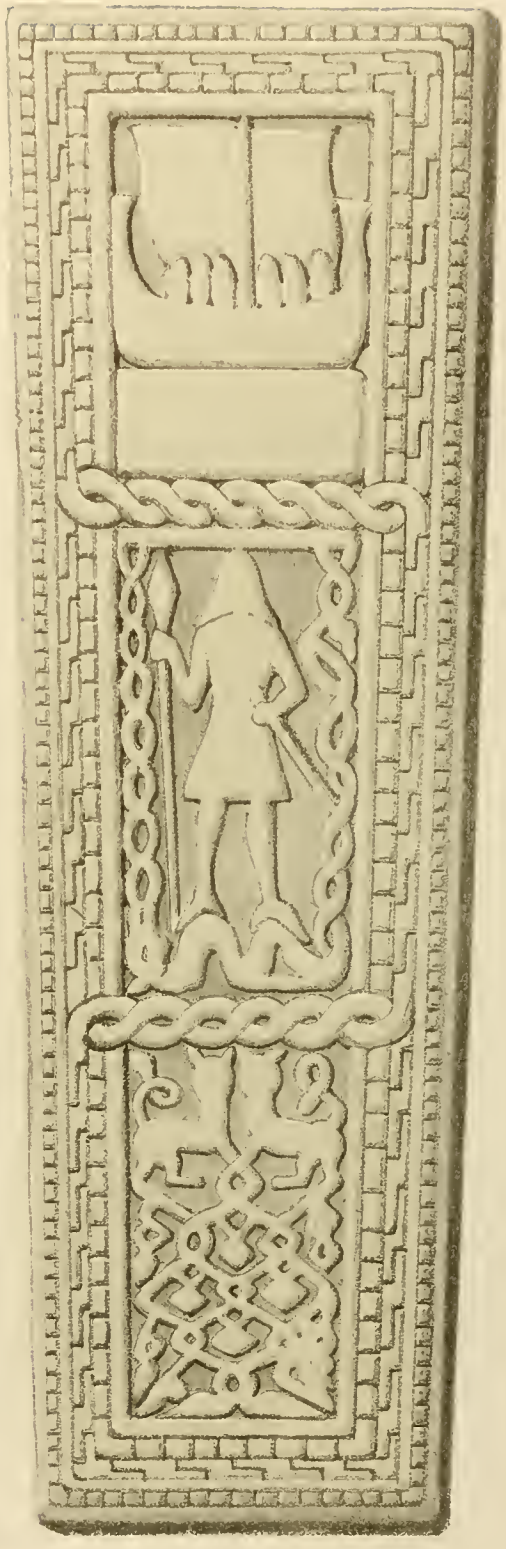
ST. WILFRID'S NEEDLE, RIPON.

AT KILMORY-KNAP,
ARGYLLSHIRE.

AT ST. CALLAN'S,
BUTE.

IV. PLYMOUTH, CLISSHAM, TYRONE.



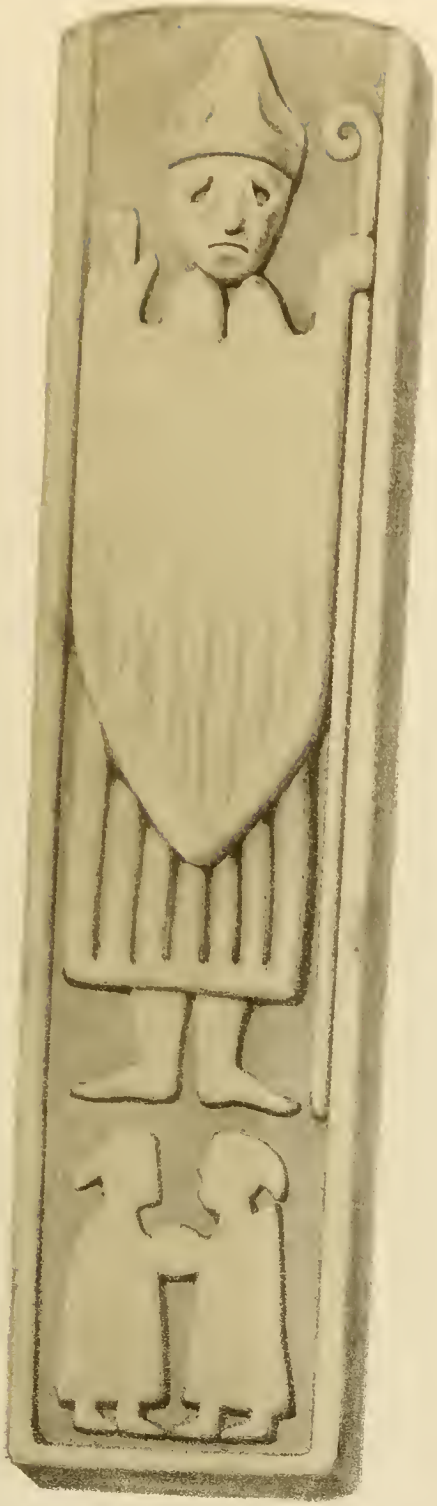


N° 1

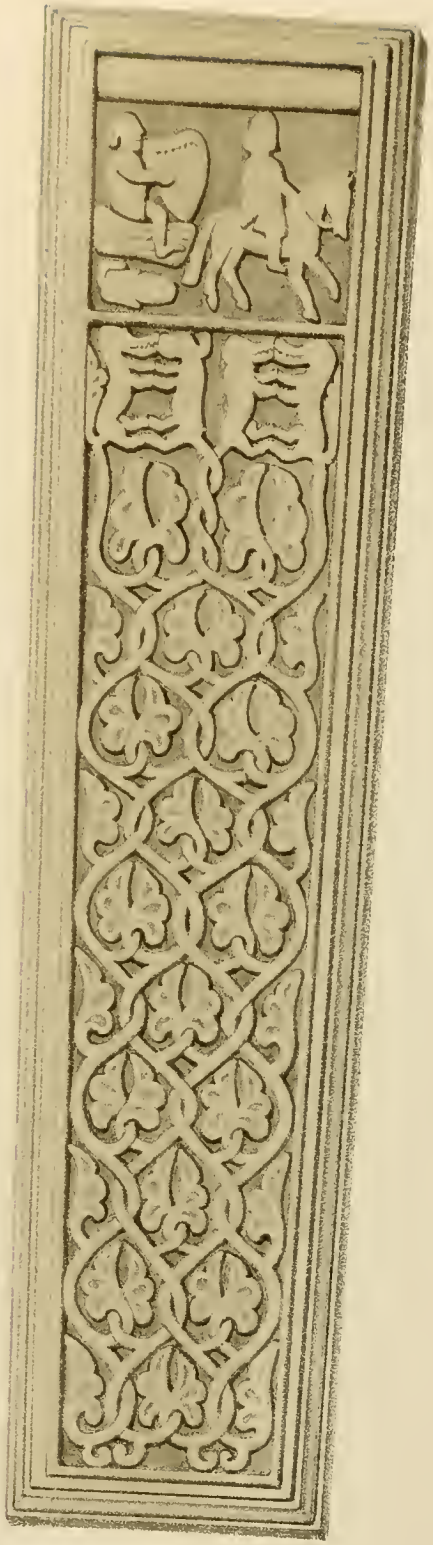
N° 2

AT ORKNEY, ARGYLL-SHIRE.

IN IONA, ARGYLLSHIRE.



N° 1



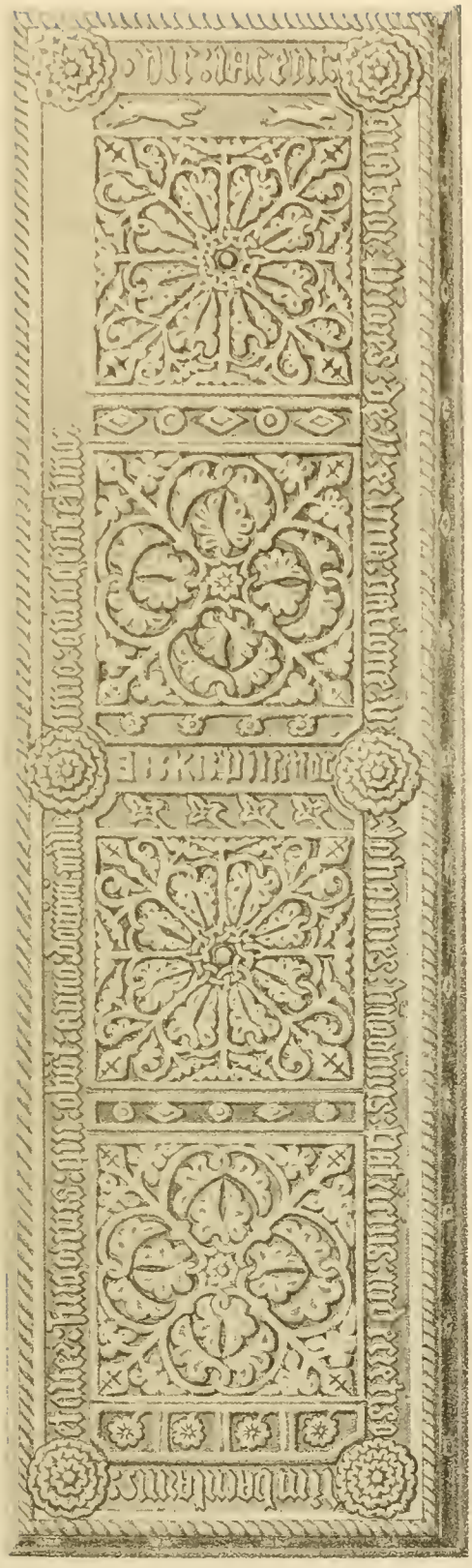
AT IONA, ARGYLLSHIRE.

N° 1.

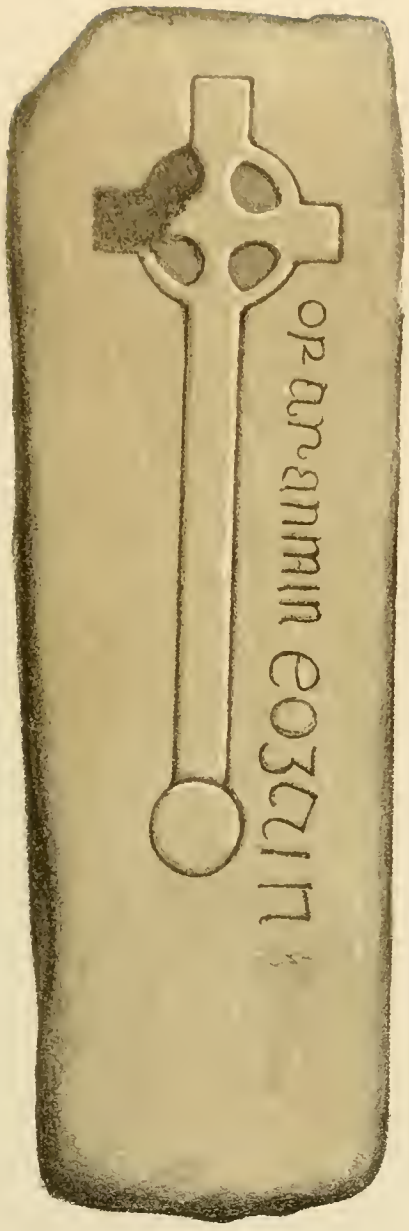
FRAGMENT AT
ORANSAY.

N° 2.

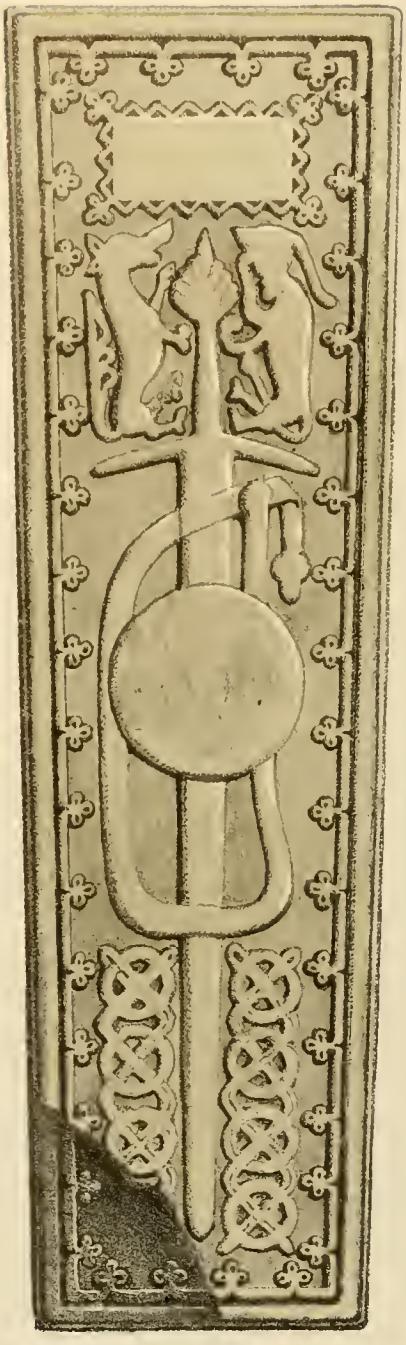
AT IONA. ARGYLL SHIRE.



AT IONA, ARGYLLSHIRE.



AT IONA, ARGYLL-SHIRE.



AT KEILS, KNAPDALE

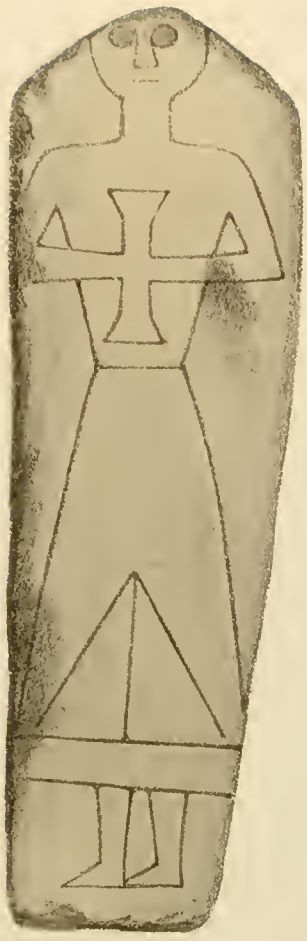
Bossie on Oval Boss

AT KILCHOMAN, ISLAY.

AT KILMARTIN, ARGYLL-SHIRE.

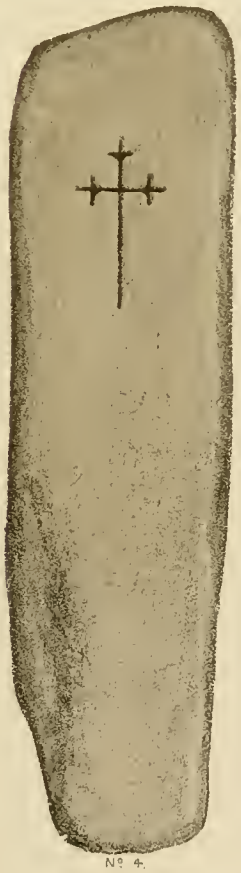
Scale of One Foot

No 1.



No 2.

No 3.



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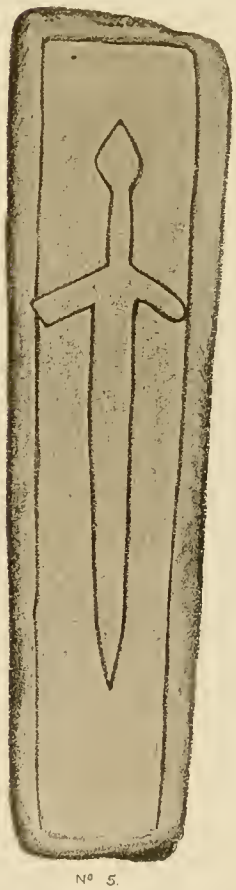

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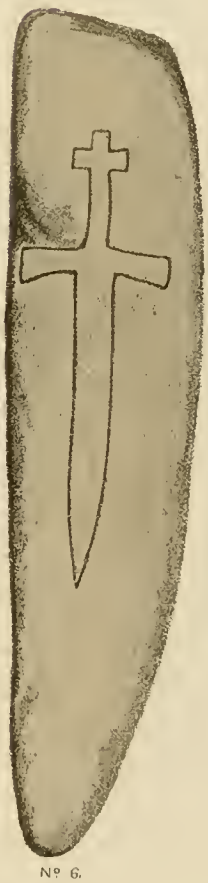
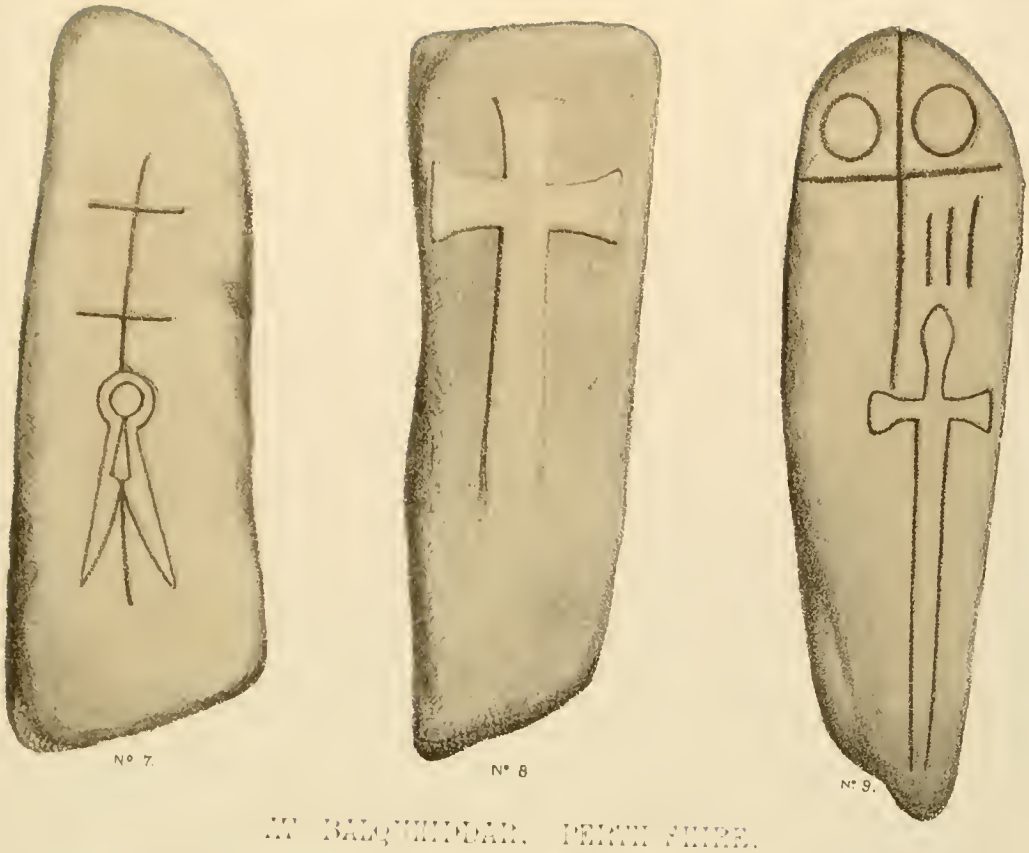
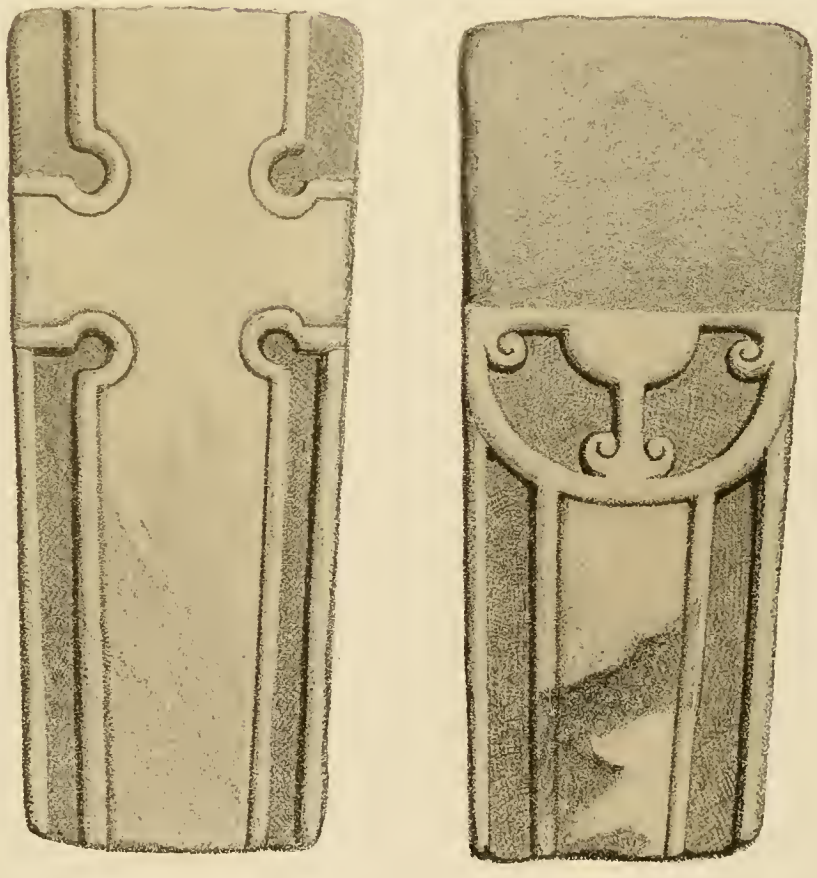


No 6.

AT BALQUHIDDAR, PERTH SHIRE.



AT BALQUHIDDAR. PERTH SHIRE.



AT PYNKELL. PERTH SHIRE.

DRAWN BY JAMES FOX FOR THE SPALDING CLUB

SCHEN CHR. LITHOGRAPHERS EDINBURGH.

PUBLISHED BY SUBSCRIPTION FOR THE SPALDING CLUB.

EDINBURGH: LITHOGRAPHED BY HENRY & CO.

AT KIRKCALM, WIGTOWNSHIRE.

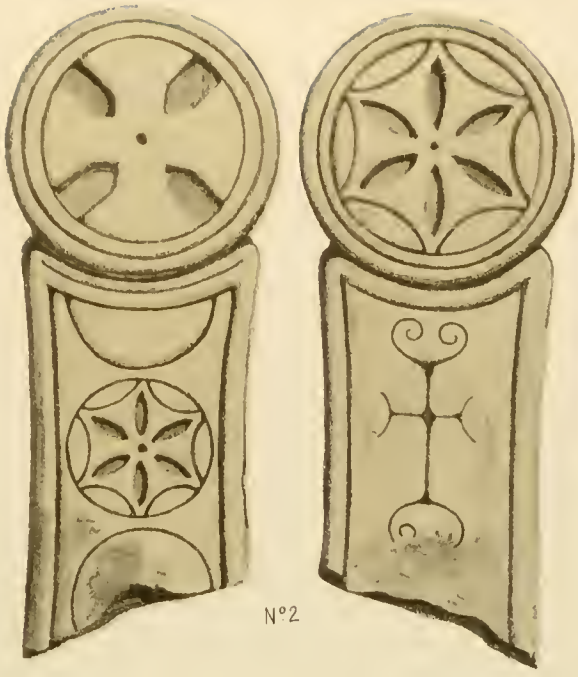
HICIACENT
SCIETPRAE
CIP.VISACER
DOTESIDE?
VIVENTIVS
EMMORIVS
SET
FLOREN
TIVS

N° 1

N° 2

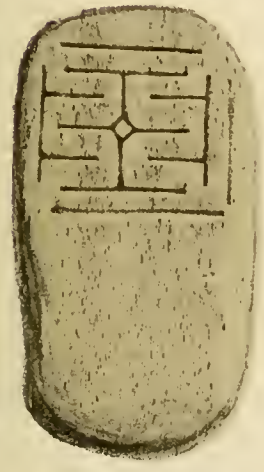
N° 3

N°1



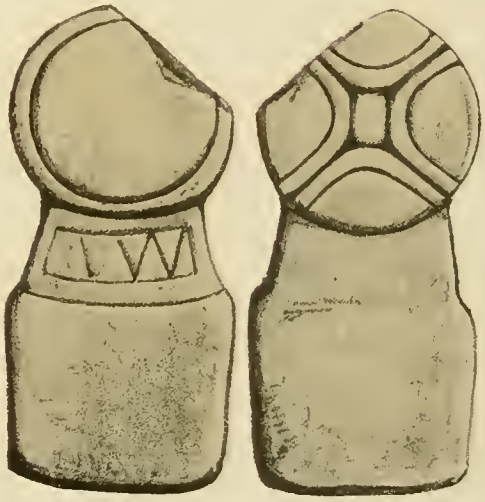
N°2

N°3



N°4

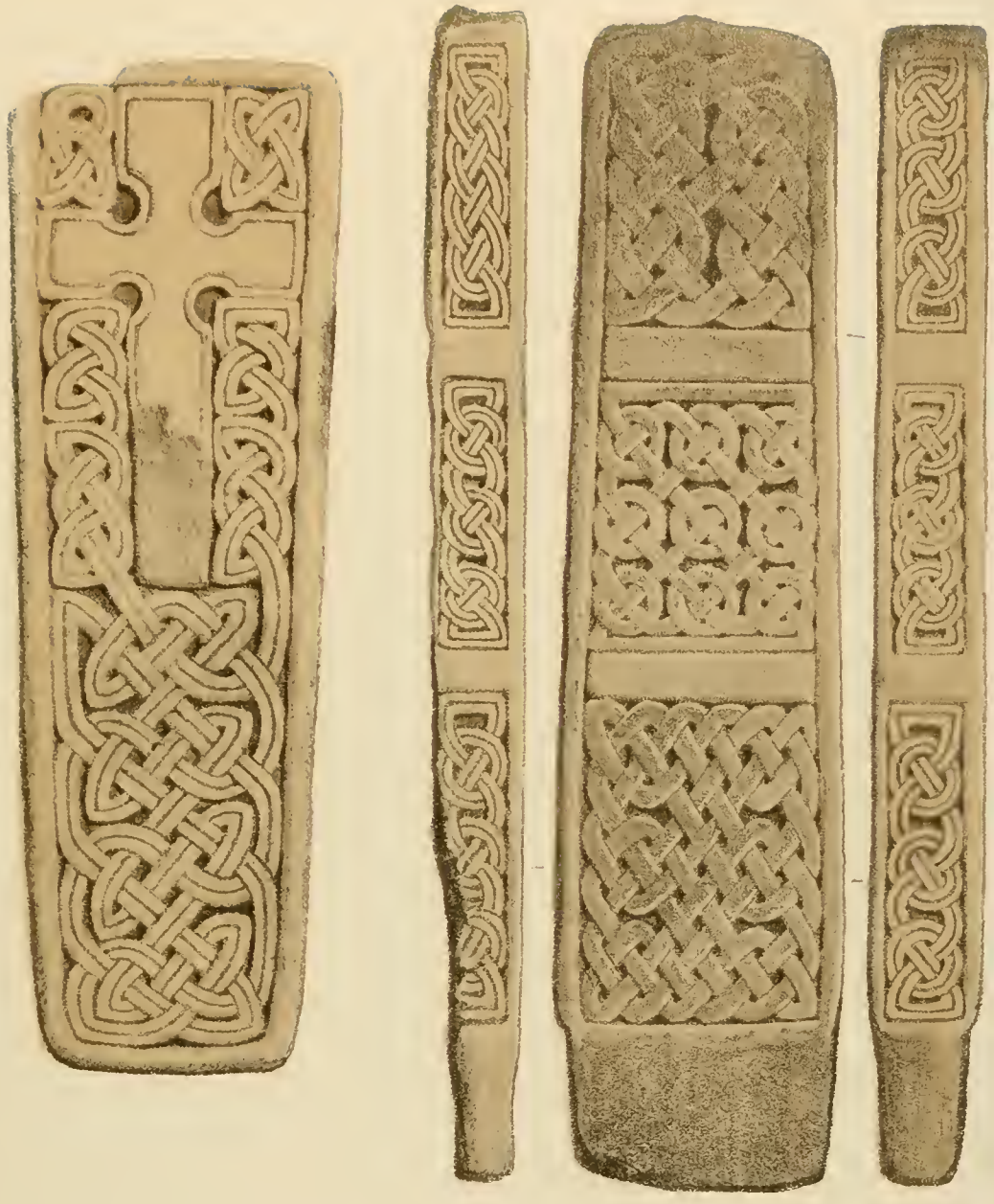
N°5



N°6

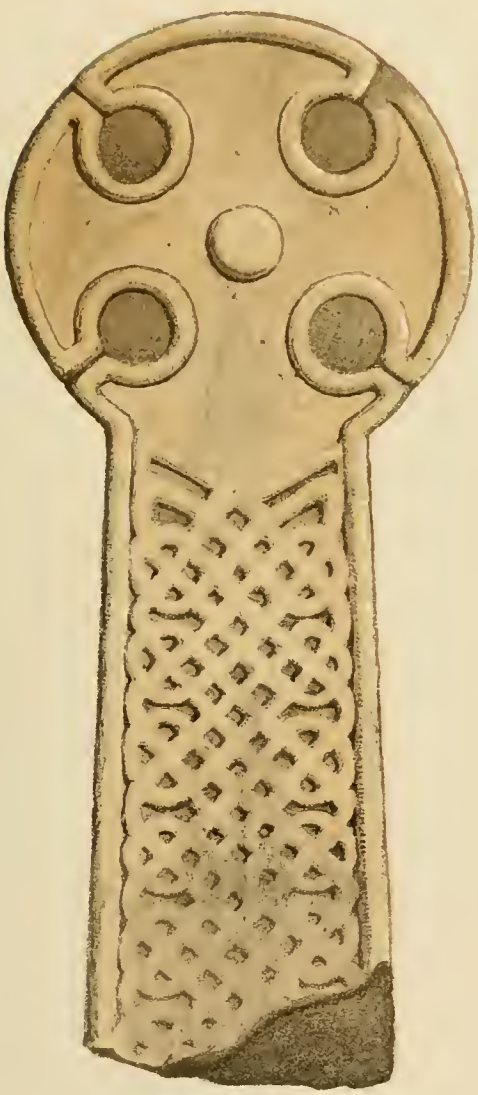
N°7

N°8



ST KENTIGERN, RENFREW-SHIRE.

AT LIBERTON, EDINBURGH.



AT WITTHORN.

NEAR WHITHORN.
WIGTONSHIRE.

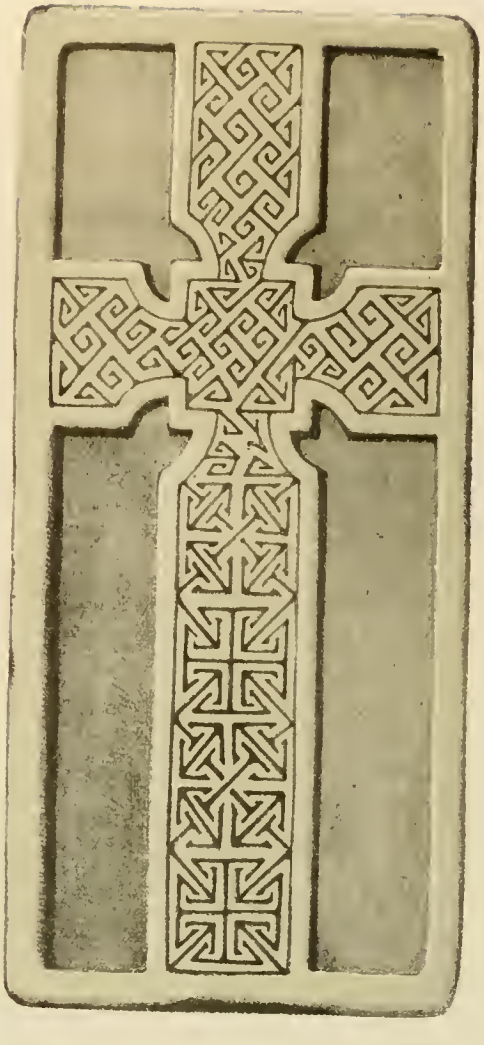
Scale of one Foot

DAWSON & SONS

BOTHES & GIBB, EDINBURGH

ST MACHAR, CATHEDRAL'S SIDE.

No. 1



N°2

N°3

Scale of One Foot.

MONK'S STONE, TYNEMOUTH,
NORTHUMBERLAND.

H. GIBB.

H. GIBB.

SCALE OF ONE FOOT

MONK'S STONE, TYNEMOUTH.
NORTHUMBERLAND.

N° 1.

N° 2.

N° 3.

N° 4.

FRAGMENT AT ROTHBURY, NORTHUMBERLAND.

N° 1

N° 2.

N°3.

N° 4

Scale of One Foot

FRAGMENT IN NEWCASTLE MUSEUM,
NORTHUMBERLAND.

FRAGMENT IN NEWCASTLE MUSEUM,
NORTHUMBERLAND.

AT AYCLIFFE, DURHAM.

AT AYCLIFFE. [illegible]

N° 1.

N° 2.

AT CHESTER-LE-STREET, DURHAM.

FRAGMENTS AT HEXHAM, NORTHUMBERLAND.

No 1.

No 2.

No 3.

No 4.

No 5

AT HEXHAM, NORTHUMBERLAND.

COPED STONE AT HEXHAM.

Scale of One Foot

FRAGMENTS AT HEXHAM, NORTHUMBERLAND.

Bronze Sword found in Ireland

AT ASHBURTON, DEVONSHIRE.

Scale of One Foot.

AT ROSSIE PRIORY, PERTH-SHIRE.

DRAWN BY R. CHEE FOR THE SPALDING CLUB.

AT ROSSIE PRIORY. PERTH SHIRE.

SUTHERLAND, LIVINGSTONE, EDINBURGH.

SCALE
OF ONE INCH

FULL SIZE

SCALE OF ONE FOOT

AT INVERTHEN, FORFAR SHIRE.

No 2.

No 3.

FRAGMENTS AT STANTHWAITE, YORKSHIRE.

Scale of One Foot

DRAWN BY H. GIBB

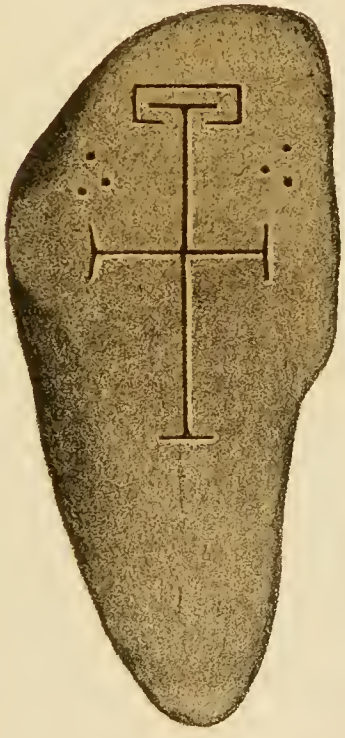
SCHOOL & COLL. MEDIEVAL

Printed on Dried Paper.

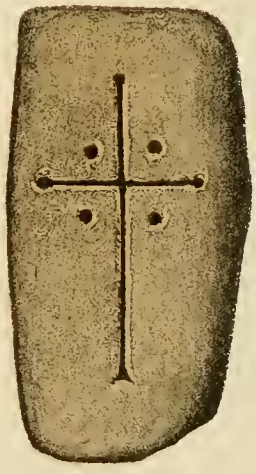
DRAWN BY H. GIBB

SCHEN & GIBB, EDINBURGH.

FRAGMENT AT FORTEVIOT, PERTHSHIRE.



AT KILAN MORE, ARGYLLSHIRE.



AT HARRIS, INVERNESS-SHIRE.

AT KINTRADWELL, SUTHERLANDSHIRE.

AT FETH, ORKNEY.

AT BLANERLEAN, BANFFSHIRE.

N° 1

N° 2

N° 3

AT KLOCKHAUGO, MORAYSHIRE

DRAWN BY J. GIBB

SCHENCK & GIBB, LITHOGRAPHERS

AT FINDLARIG,
MORAY SHIRE.

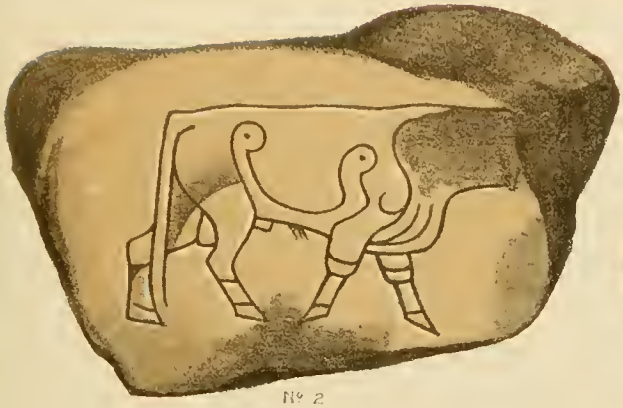
NEAR GRANTOWN,
INVERNESS SHIRE.

N° 1.

N° 2.

AT COSTLAW, AYTHERNESS SHIRE.

Scale of One Foot



№ 2.

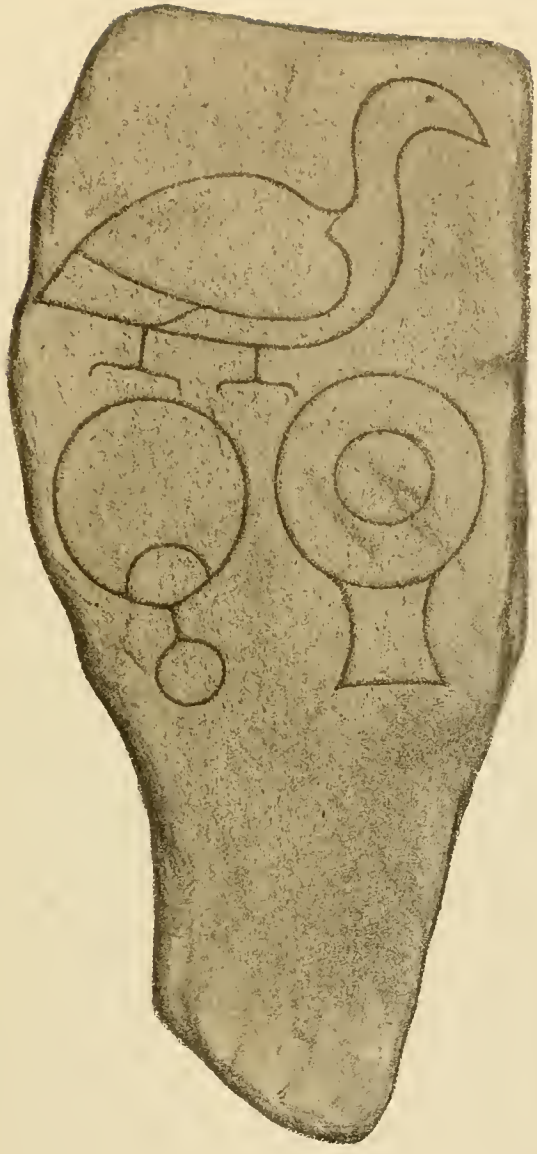
№ 3.

№ 4.

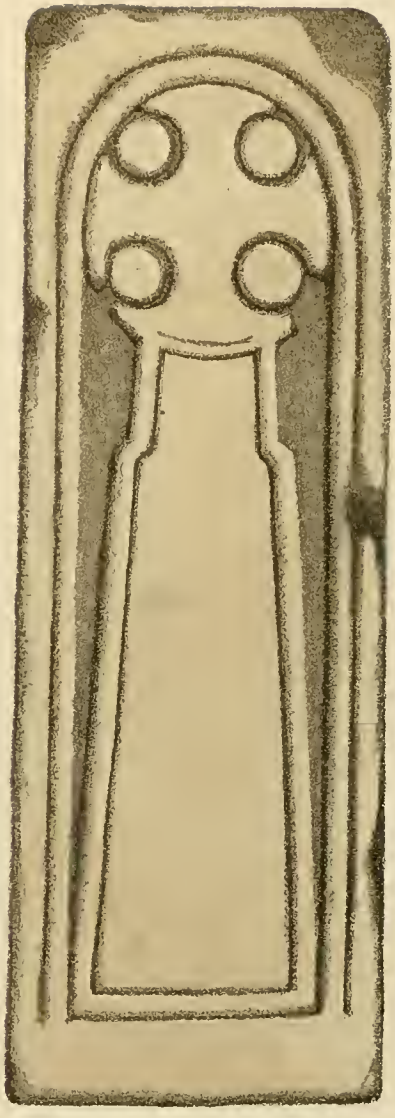
5.

6.

7.

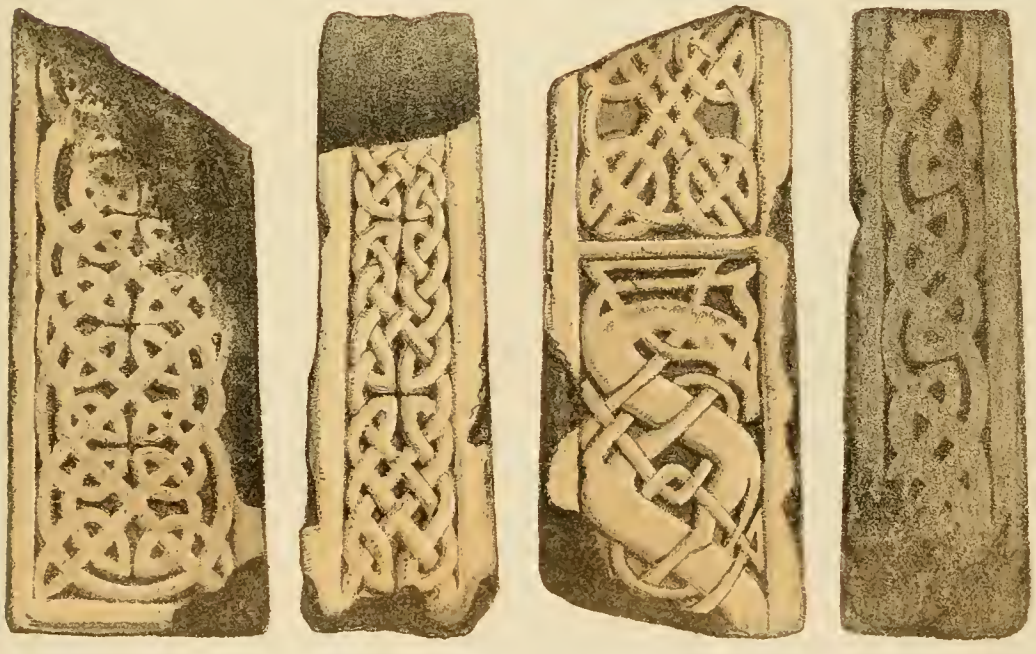


AT TILLYTARMENT
ABERDEENSHIRE.



AT GAIRFORT
INVERNESS

FRAGMENT FROM COLDINGHAM, BERWICKSHIRE.



FRAGMENT FROM ST ANDREWS, FIFESHIRE.

FRAGMENTS AT BILLINGHAM, DURHAM.

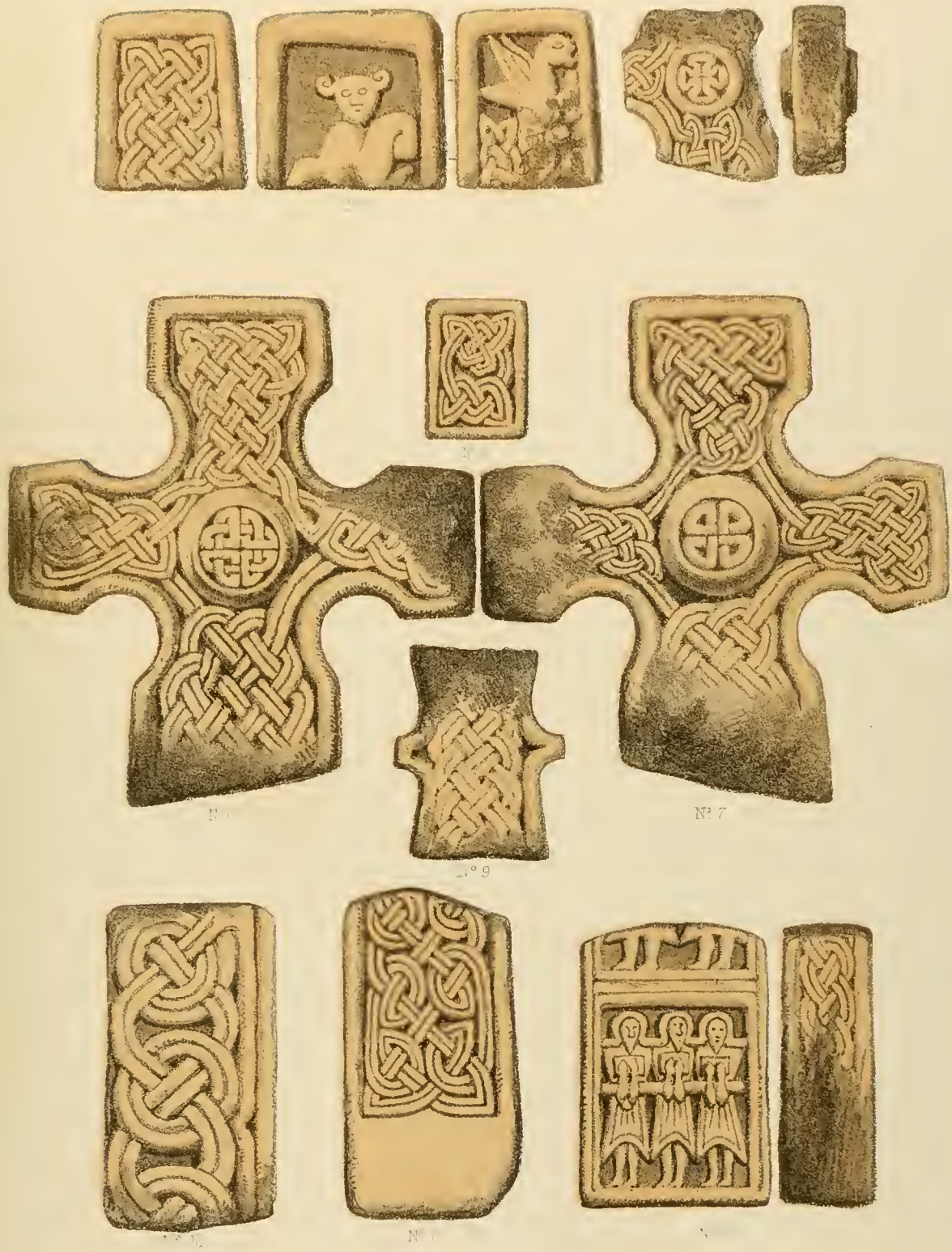
Scale of One Foot

DENKMÄLER DER KUNST

SCHLESWIG, VIEWEG

FRAGMENTS AT GAINFORD, DURHAM.

Scale of One Foot

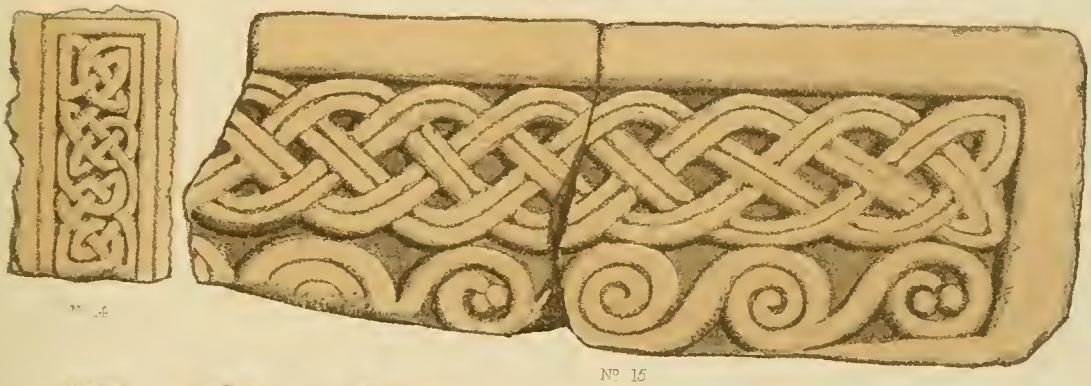


FRAGMENTS AT GAINFORD, DURHAM.

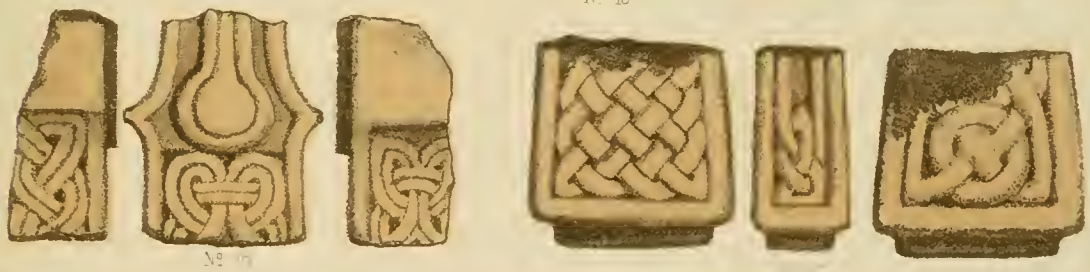
SCALE OF ONE FOOT

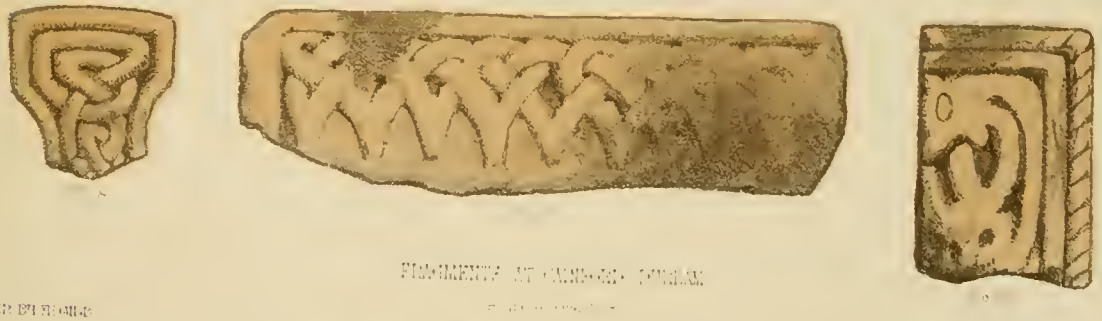
COPYRIGHT BY RIGHTS FOR THE SPECIFIED CLASS.

SOUTER & GIBB, LITHOGRAPHERS, NEWCASTLE.



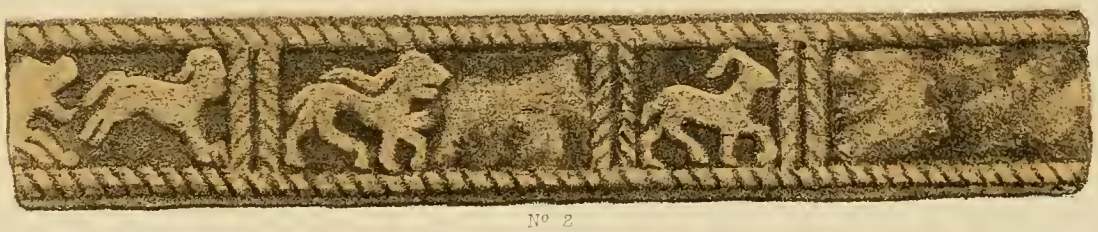
Nº 15





FRAGMENTS IN THE MUSEUM OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES, NEWCASTLE ON TYNE.

Scale of One Foot



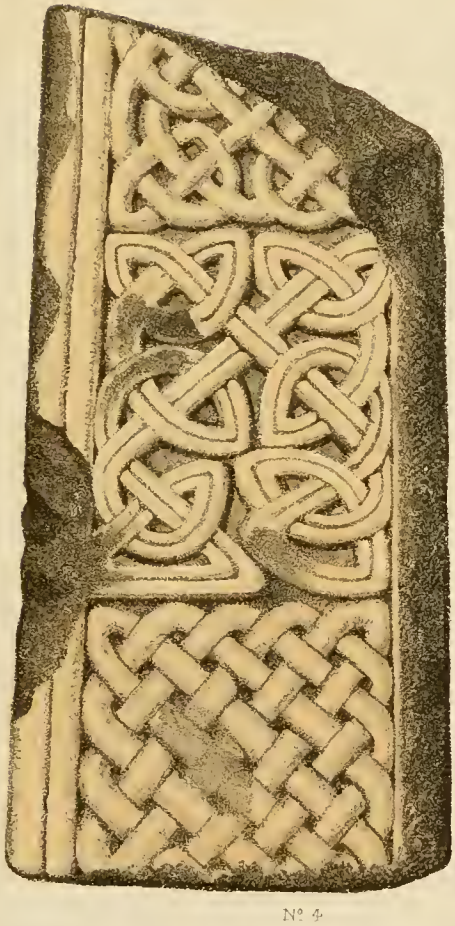
No 2

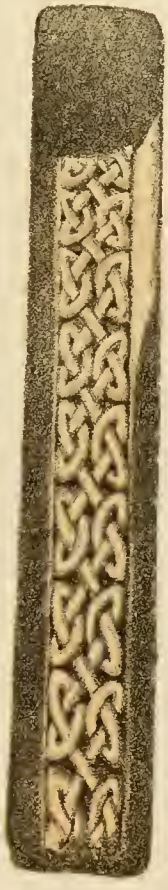
No

FRAGMENTS AT MONKWEARMOUTH, DURHAM.

Scale of One Foot

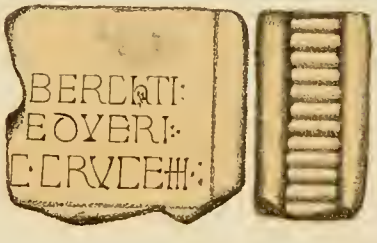
N. 1.





N° 4.

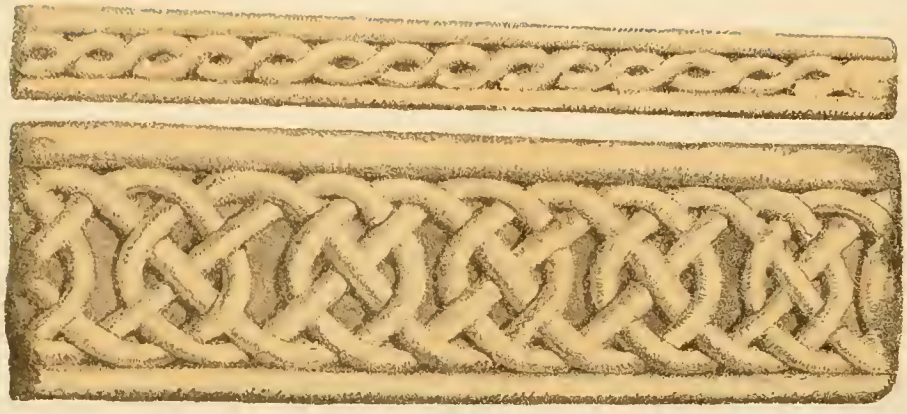
N° 2.



N° 3.

FRAGMENTS AT JARROW, DURHAM.

AT ALNMOUTH NORTHUMBERLAND.



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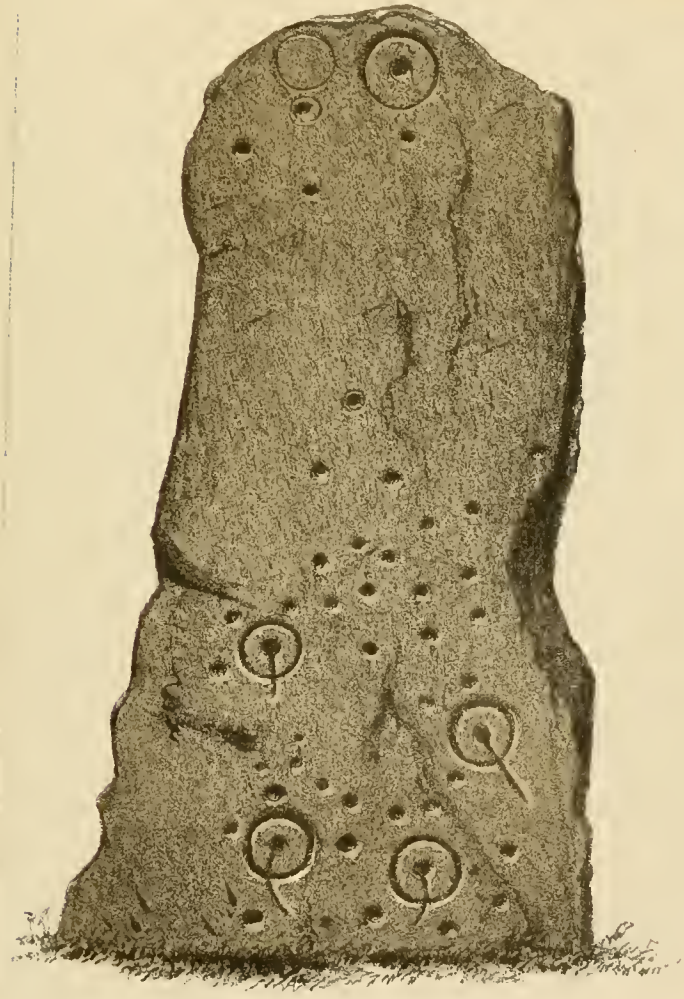


LAUCHMOOR

AT GLENCAIRN DUMFRIES SHIRE

AT MANSFIELD. AYRSHIRE.

AT KIRKINNER WIGTONSHIRE

AT KIRKINNER

AT WHITHORN

AT KILBRIDE ARRAN

AT NEWBIGGIN, LESLIE, ABERDEENSHIRE.

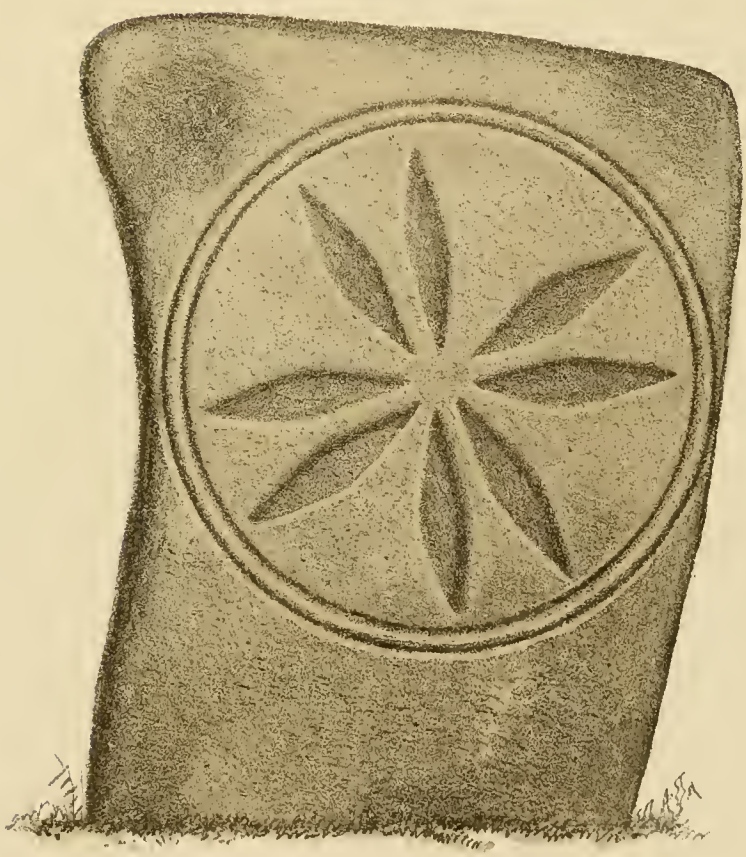
Scale of One Foot

AT MONIFIETH, FORFARSHIRE.

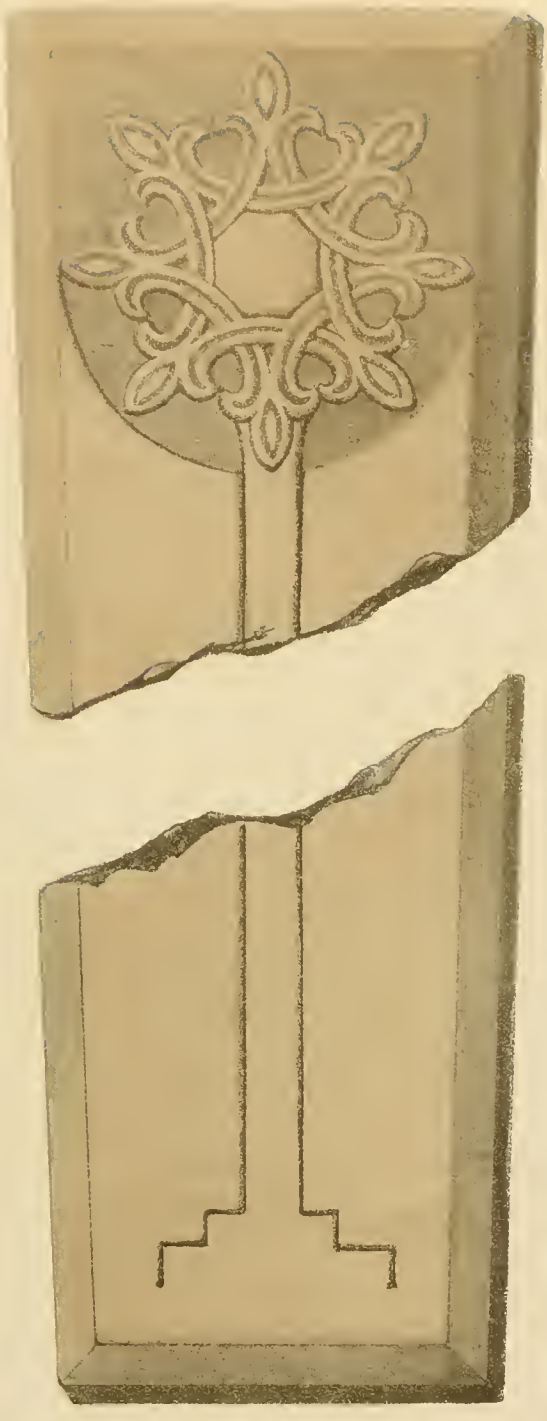
DRAWN BY H. GIBB

EDMONSTON & GIBB, EDINBURGH

AT INVERUGIE HOUSE ABERDEENSHIRE

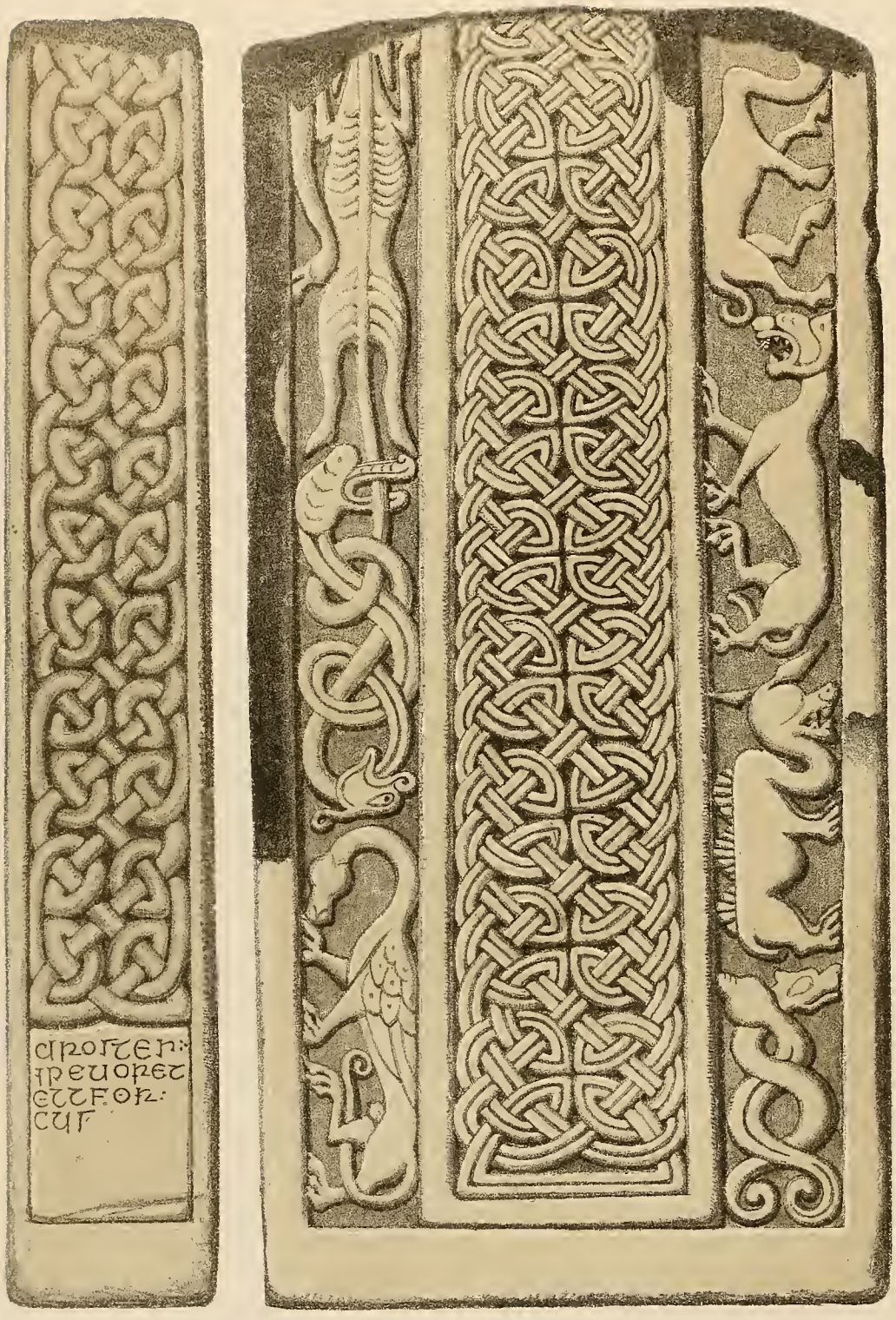


THE KEITH STONE FIFESHIRE



AT KILDRUMMET CASTLE
ABERDEENSHIRE.

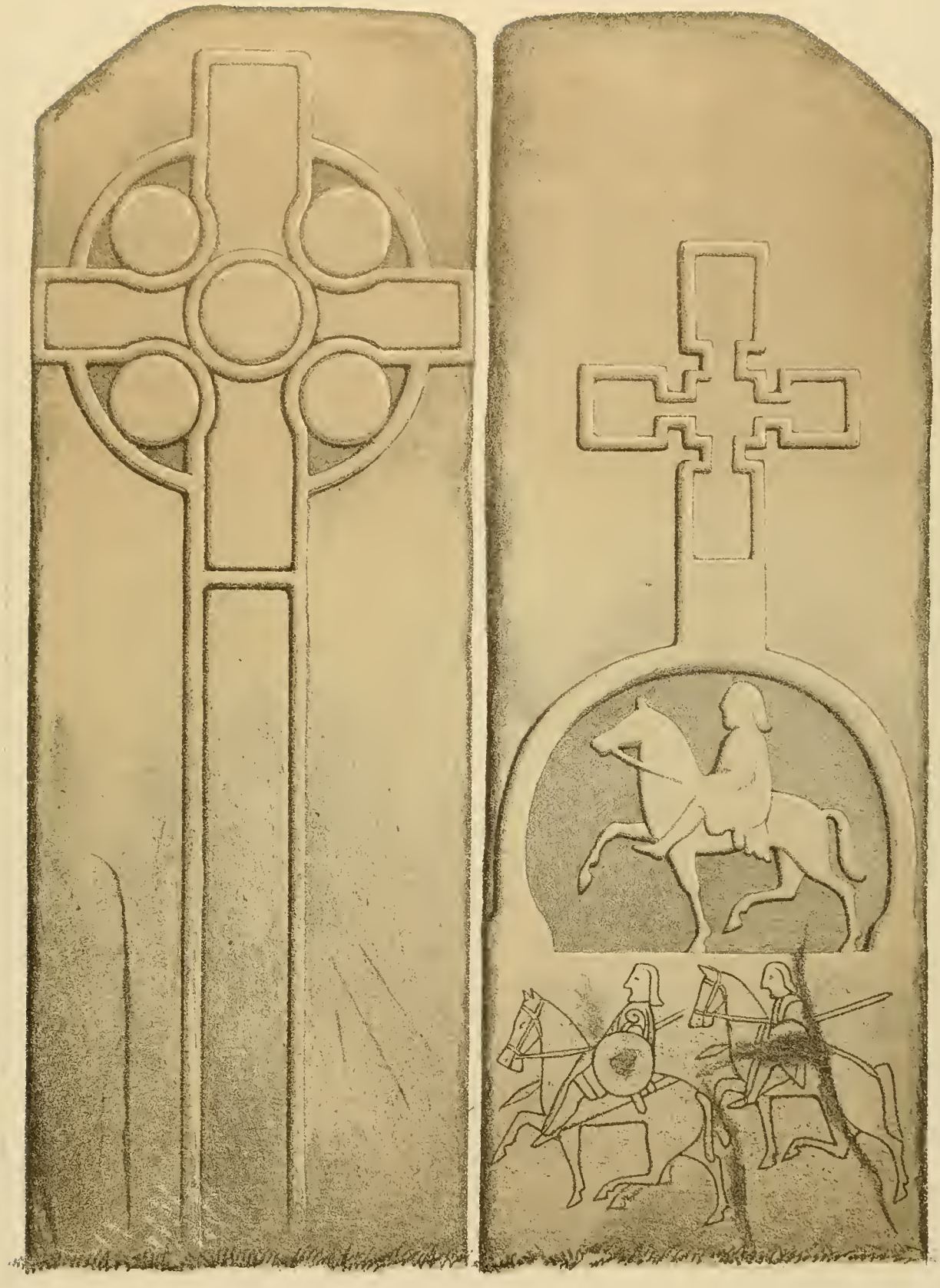
AT [illegible]
PERTHSHIRE.



III. THE CHURCH YARD OF ST VIGEANS.
FORFARSHIRE.

IN THE CHURCH YARD OF ST MICHAEL,
PENNARD.

INSCRIPTION ON STONE AT ST NINIANS

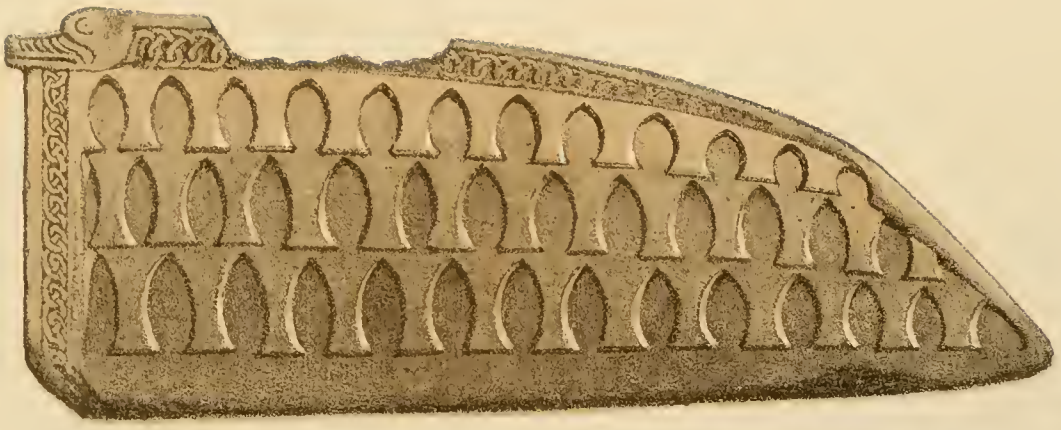


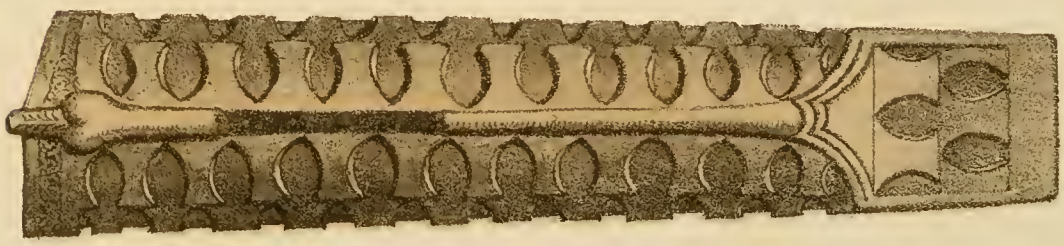
AT ELLERTON-ON-SWALE.

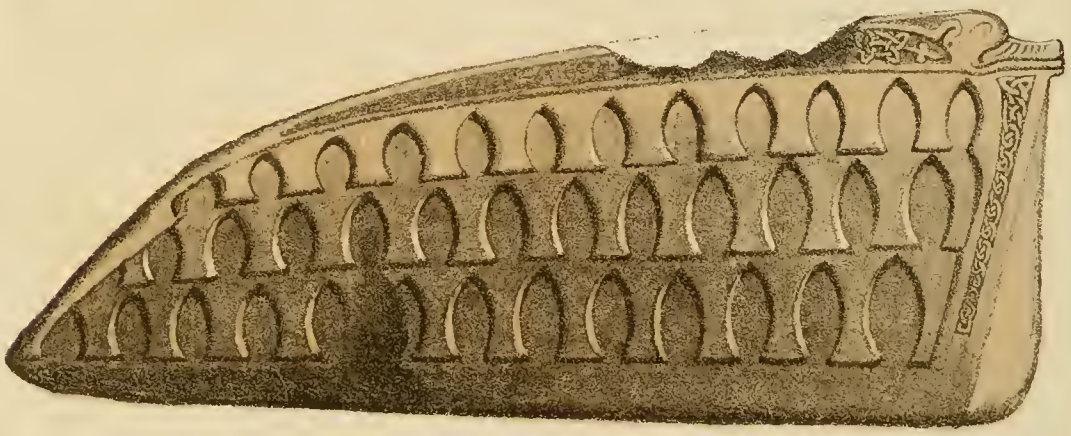
AT BALBLAIR, INVERNESS-SHIRE.

AT DUNRISLEER, DUMFRIES-SHIRE.

AT BANCHORY HOUSE, KINCARDINESHIRE.







AT MEIGLE PERTHSHIRE

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